

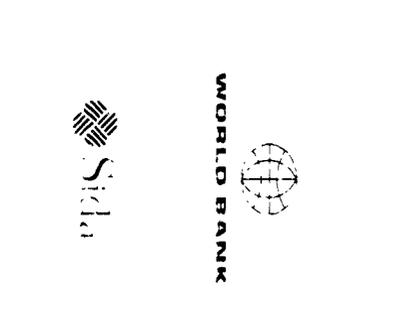
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Latin American Experiences
of Gender, Conflict
and Building
Sustainable Peace:
Challenges for Colombia

By Caroline O. N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark



Report of a Conference held
in Bogota, Colombia in May
2000 organized by the Urban
Peace Program and the
Colombia Country Office of
the World Bank with the
support of Swedish International
Development Authority



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List of Acronyms

AIG	Interdisciplinary Association of Gerontologist, Colombia
Anmucic	Colombian National Association of Rural and Indigenous Women
ANUC	National Association of Rural Users, Colombia
CAT	Centres for Temporary Attention, Colombia
Cepal	Economic Commission for Latin America
Cestra	Centre for the Study and Research of Employment, Colombia
Cinep	Centre for Popular Research and Education Foundation
Codhes	Commission for Human, Economic and Social Rights, Latin America
Compaz	Companies for Peace, Colombia
DANE	National Department for the Administration of Statistics, Colombia
DRI	Fund for the Financing of Rural Investment in Colombia
ELN	National Liberation Army, Colombia
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
Flacso	Latin American Faculty for the Social Sciences
Fmln	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, El Salvador
ICBF	Colombian Institute of Family Welfare
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women, Washington, DC
IDB	Inter American Development Bank
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
Ilpes	Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning
M-19	Movement of the 19 th of April, Colombia
OAS	Organization of American States
Ormuafro	Organization of Afro-Colombian Women
PAR	Program of Assistance to the Repopulation and Development of Emergency zones, Perú
QMW	Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London
Redepaz	Citizen's Network for Peace, Colombia
Rhemi	Interdiocese Project of the Catholic Church for the Recuperation of Historical Memory in Guatemala
SENA	National Service for Learning, Colombia
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority, Sweden
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
Unhchr	United Nations High Commission for Human Rights
Unhcr	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
Unicef	United Nations Children's Fund
Unifem	United Nations Fund for Women
Usaid	United States Agency for International Development

Acknowledgements

This report is based on the proceedings of a conference held in Bogotá, Colombia, on May 8th and 9th, 2000 which was organized by Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark in the Urban Peace Program, Latin America and Caribbean Region, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Unit of the World Bank in collaboration with the World Bank's Colombia Field Office. The success of this conference, and subsequently this report, is based on the collaboration of a number of people whom we would like to thank.

First and foremost we would like to thank everyone who participated in the conference and in particular those who took the time to prepare presentations and commentaries and traveled from throughout the region to attend the event. The rich discussion and debate over future strategies for gender sensitive interventions in conflict and peace would not have been possible without their enthusiasm and commitment.

The financial support and the personal dedication of Eivor Halkjaer and Goran Holmqvist at the Swedish International Development Authority (Sida) were instrumental in making the work program on gender and conflict possible. We would also like to acknowledge the support of the Dutch Government for providing trust fund resources for Fiona Clark's work on this project. We also thank Björn Sternby, Ambassador of Sweden to Colombia, for opening the conference.

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We thank the contributors Sara Gómez Acevedo (Diálogo Mujer), Donny Meertens (Universidad Nacional de Colombia), Gloria Tobón Olarte (Red Nacional de la Mujer), María Eugenia Vásquez (Colectivo María Va) and Sally Yudelman (International Center for Research on Women) for their feedback on the conference providing valuable comments and suggestions for this report.

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Caroline Moser & Fiona Clark

April, 2001

Introduction

This report brings together the knowledge and practice presented at a two-day conference on Latin American experiences of gender, conflict and building sustainable peace and the challenges for Colombia. The Conference was held in Bogotá, Colombia, on May 8-9th, 2000 and attended by one hundred and seventy representatives of civil society, international organizations, government and academia from Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Perú¹.

Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark of the Latin American Urban Peace Program organized the conference, in collaboration with Jairo Arboleda and the assistance of Marisol Fletcher in the Colombia Country Office of the World Bank. In writing the report we have drawn heavily on commissioned commentaries by Sara Gómez, Donny Meertens, María Eugenia Vásquez and Sally Yudelman, as well as on the conference papers.

Conference Objectives

The Conference had the following two objectives:

- To better understand the gendered nature of conflict and post conflict reconstruction for peace in Latin America.
- To identify practical initiatives at the policy, program and project levels to build peace during and after conflict.

The gendered causes, costs and consequences of violence and conflict frequently are still marginalised in international and national debates concerning violence and conflict resolution. In organizing the conference, and this associated publication, therefore, our purpose is to contribute to raising the profile of this critical issue, and, in this way to assist in mainstreaming a gender perspective into negotiation and planning for sustainable peace in Colombia.

The conference focused on six different themes and, in each case introduced examples from both international and Colombian experiences. This structure was intended to provide the opportunity for Colombians to reflect upon recent post-conflict experiences –both successful and less successful– in Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Perú from a gender perspective, and then to relate these to their own reality. Themes included the following:

¹ For a list of organizations represented at the conference please refer to Annex 1.

- ❖ The gendered nature and impacts of conflict
- ❖ Diversity of gender, age, ethnicity and geography in conflict and peace
- ❖ Gender issues in displacement
- ❖ The effects of conflict on ex-combatants and women's organizations
- ❖ The participation of women in peace processes
- ❖ Gender, justice and reconciliation.

At a final round table, a number of institutional representatives, both national and international, commented on the implications of the conference findings for potential, practical interventions.

The conference included 39 speakers, commentators and discussants that represented different nationalities as well as ethnic groups and ages. They attended on behalf of institutions associated with different areas of intervention including human rights, community development, peace movements, international organizations, government departments and academia. This resulted in two days of rich, detailed discussion around the different experiences of those who participated in the conference concluding with an overall consensus concerning the following.

- ❖ The women's movement in Colombia needs to unite and develop a holistic project for peace.
- ❖ Women, with diverse faces and voices, needs and capabilities, must be accepted into the process of conflict resolution and peace building –to ensure the construction of an equitable, democratic, pluralistic and, above all, sustainable peace.

This report describes the different presentations made during the two days, highlighting discussions and recommendations that arose out of each session. The report starts with a short background describing the genesis and logic of the conference. It then discusses the six themes. In each case it first identifies issues raised by international experience, then relates them to the Colombian reality, and finally presents local level Colombian experiences on the same theme. This is followed by a summary of the round table discussion, when members of different organizations involved with conflict and peace building –at government, NGO and international level– related interventions associated with their organizations to issues raised during the conference. The report ends with general conclusions and recommendations.

We hope that this report will provide an overview of the manner in which conflict and peace building are gendered, as well as a useful overview of the different experiences presented at the conference. This is intended to assist practitioners –whether in international relief and development organizations, government departments involved in conflict resolution and peace building, or in NGOs and civil society organizations working for peace– to develop more gender sensitive interventions for sustainable peace specifically in Colombia and in the Latin American Region.

Background to the Bogotá Conference

Our work on Gender, Violence and Conflict is an important component of the Urban Peace Program. This is a recent initiative, lead by Caroline Moser in the Latin

American and Caribbean Region of the World Bank, and financed largely by a Swedish International Development Authority Trust Fund. It focuses on the effects of violence on poor communities in the region, and on the development of appropriate integrated multi-sectoral strategies for violence reduction, urban peace, and development. Key components of this program have included the development of a conceptual framework for violence reduction (Moser 1999), and participatory urban appraisals of violence in urban communities of Colombia and Guatemala (Moser & McIlwaine, 2000a, 2000b). Both components highlighted the interrelationship between political, economic and social violence and identified a lack of research, or focus by policymakers, on the gendered nature of the causes, costs and consequences of violence—particularly in relation to political violence, conflict and peace building.

To begin to address this knowledge gap, as well as to raise awareness of the issue among international agencies, in June 1999 we organized a global conference on *Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. Designed in collaboration with an advisory group², this was attended by some 120 World Bank staff, academics, NGO representatives and members of agencies such as the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB), United Nations Fund for Women (Unifem), United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCR), the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), and USAID. We commissioned 20 speakers from around the globe to present papers linked to the conference's main objectives. These were to bring together recent analytical work on gender, violence and conflict, to discuss the operational implications of this perspective for peace building and conflict prevention, and to explore potential partnerships among governments, development agencies and other actors in civil society.

Topics covered included the gendered nature of violence, rape and sexual abuse in conflict situations, the coping strategies of refugees and internally displaced persons, gender and the reintegration of combatants, the role of community groups in peace building initiatives, the construction of violence and peace through different masculinities and femininities, the reconstruction of women's lives and social capital, and gender in peacekeeping operations. Twelve of the conference papers have been published as an edited book. This highlights, in particular, the gendered vulnerabilities and agency of men and women in conflict situations (Moser & Clark 2001).

The Bogotá Conference: Gender, Conflict and Building Sustainable Peace. Experiences from Latin America

While the global conference on Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence provided an important overview of the experience of gender dimensions of conflict, it was largely analytical in nature. In addition, because issues were covered at a global level, their practical implications were only discussed at a very general level.

² The advisory group was made up of members from UNIFEM, the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). It worked collaboratively with World Bank staff to plan this conference. Financial support for the event was provided by the World Bank Institute Gender Sector Board, the Gender and Development Thematic Group and the Swedish International Development Authority (Sida).

We therefore decided to plan a Latin American regional follow up workshop³, which was held in Bogotá, Colombia, as an important follow-up to the first conference and provides the basis for this report. Focusing at the regional level, this meeting carried forward key themes introduced at the previous event and extended the area of debate into operational issues relating to program interventions to address the gendered needs of both women and men affected by conflict and violence.

Conference Structure

The conference was structured into seven parts, six principle themes and a concluding round table. The themes were organized logically in terms of a temporal progression from issues relating to the impacts of violence and conflict, to those focusing on interventions to build peace and reconciliation. The six themes were as follows:

- A Gender Analysis of Conflict and Building Sustainable Peace
- Diverse Voices of Conflict and Peace
- Internal Displacement: Gendered Needs and Practical Interventions
- The Gendered Effects of Conflict: Women Ex-Combatants and Women's Organizations
- The Participation of Women in Peace Processes
- A Gender Perspective of Interventions for Justice and Reconciliation

The first theme was intended to provide participants with an overview of gender issues relating to conflict in Latin America generally, and in Colombia more specifically. Each of the subsequent themes included presentations on international experience from one of the visiting countries, Colombian experience at the national level, and Colombian experience at the local level⁴.

The exploration of different experiences of the same problem allowed for comparisons, reflections and the identification of commonalities and differences between diverse conflicts and countries. This enabled us to identify crosscutting topics in different social, political, and cultural contexts. In reviewing the problems confronted and overcome in other countries, Colombian participants were able to compare this to their own reality. This assisted them in identifying potential interventions for them to either adapt as “best practice interventions” to their own reality, or to avoid “repeating mistakes” made in other countries in the region.

Each session also contributed towards a wider goal –to identify the main opportunities and constraints both for development organizations and for the

³ This follow up conference was again designed by Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark through consultation with a number of women's organizations in Bogotá in February 2000, and with the help of an advisory group. This group was made up of Jairo Arboleda (Colombia Country Office, The World Bank), Ramina Johal (Women's Center for Refugee Women and Children), Donny Meertens (Universidad Nacional de Colombia) Rebecca Sewall (USAID), and Sally Yudelman (International Center for Research on Women).

⁴ For the full conference agenda please refer to Annex 4.

Colombian women's movement— to confront conflict and to play an important role in the construction of the future of their country. Finally, the exchange of experience between different countries facilitated the establishment of informal networks between participants on specific topics or issues. In itself, this helped to reinforce and empower individuals and groups who felt marginalized. By sharing personal experiences, difficulties and successes they provided mutual support and understanding for each other.

The following sections provide summaries and analysis of the six themes and their associated recommendations.

1. A Gender Analysis of Conflict and Building Sustainable Peace

The first session presented the logic for a gender analysis of conflict, as well as for building a sustainable peace. This provided the background for the other specific topics covered during the two days. It was intended to draw attention to the wealth of history and experience of gender and conflict that exists in the region. Giulia Tamayo⁵ started by *summarizing the key gender issues*, providing a *synthesis of both good and bad regional experiences in terms of the difficulties faced during conflict*, organizing resistance and building peace in Latin America.

In her paper Giulia emphasized the lack of commitment on the part of Latin American states in conflict to women's issues during and after the conflict. She stressed the need for Inter-American agencies and the UN system to be more attentive to the vulnerability of women and to consider the multiple forms of violence to which they are subjected as a result of conflict. This also included sexual and domestic violence. Giulia called for a comprehensive approach to deal with the effects of conflict, which would simultaneously protect women's human rights, attend to, and reduce the costs of conflict that tend to affect women disproportionately, and propose strategies for capacity building at personal, collective, social and institutional levels.

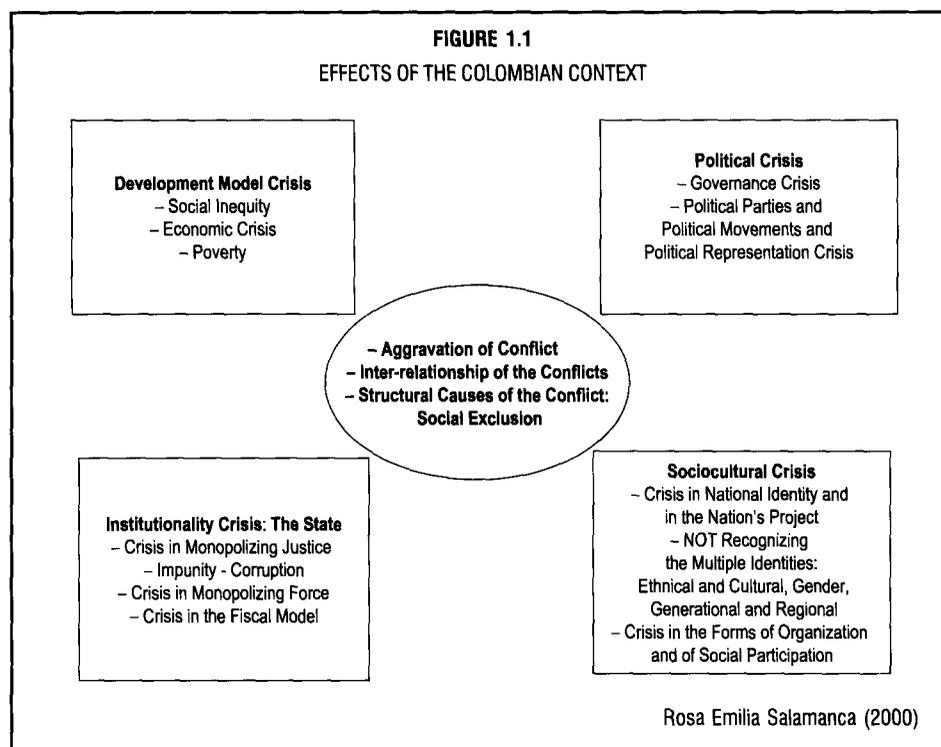
Rosa Emilia Salamanca followed with a presentation on *gender and conflict in Colombia*, in which she discussed the structural causes for the conflict, based on a concept of social exclusion that incorporates political, economic and cultural exclusion. The effects of exclusion are evident in the different crises and tensions evident in the country. These include the crisis of the development paradigm, the political crisis relating to the legitimacy of the state as well as a socio-cultural crisis (*see figure 1.1*).

The challenges facing Colombia, therefore, include the construction of a sustainable peace, a strong, national project, a legitimate government and responsive State with democratic institutions, economic inclusion, decentralization and the strengthening and recognition of civil society. In her presentation, Rosa Emilia also addressed the challenges that face the women's movement if they are to contribute actively to the peace process and be perceived as social and political actors (*see box 1.1*).

For example, I very specially highlight the case of the Colombian ex-combatant women, almost obliterated from the national scene, and their meeting with the El Salvador and Nicaragua ex-combatant women whose reflections renewed the former's enthusiasm to fight for peace without giving up their identity and to critically evaluate their experience. One of them said, "Sharing the experiences of other countries in this region that are ahead of ours in some reflections and actions, has made us feel not quite so alone in facing our difficulties".

María Eugenia Vásquez (2000)

⁵ For the profiles of speakers please refer to Annex 2.



BOX 1.1
CHALLENGES FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

To build a concept for the country with the active participation of women, taking into account their diversity as political and cultural actors seeking to be included socially, economically, and culturally.

<p>Conflict</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there diagnoses from a gender perspective that allow us to know the impact and effect of violence on women? • Have plans and programs been made that allow facing the effects of violence in women? • Has the participation of women in conflicts been sufficiently analyzed? • Do women have strategic proposals for this moment in time that the country is suffering? • Is there a women's organizational force or more to make women more visible and to position their strategic concepts? • Have women carried out actions that allow alliances with other sectors to gain knowledge, contributions, and support for these strategic concepts? 	<p>Post-Conflict</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do women have a concept for the country in the socio-cultural, economic, and political fields from a gender perspective? • What role could women play in the transition "from War to Peace", in rebuilding the social weave, justice and reconciliation, institutionalizing democracy, among others?
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Rosa Emilia Salamanca (2000)

These two opening papers were followed by *an operational framework for a gender analysis of violence reduction* presented by Caroline Moser. This paper showed the importance of a gender perspective for understanding violence and conflict, and highlighted the multiple types and levels of violence –political, economic and social– that can simultaneously affect both men and women. The framework introduced four levels of potential causality of conflict and violence, as well as evaluating the costs of violence in terms of its erosion of the physical, human, natural and social capital of men and women –all of which have detrimental consequences for the sustainable reconstruction of both local communities in particular as well as societies in general (see Table 1.1).

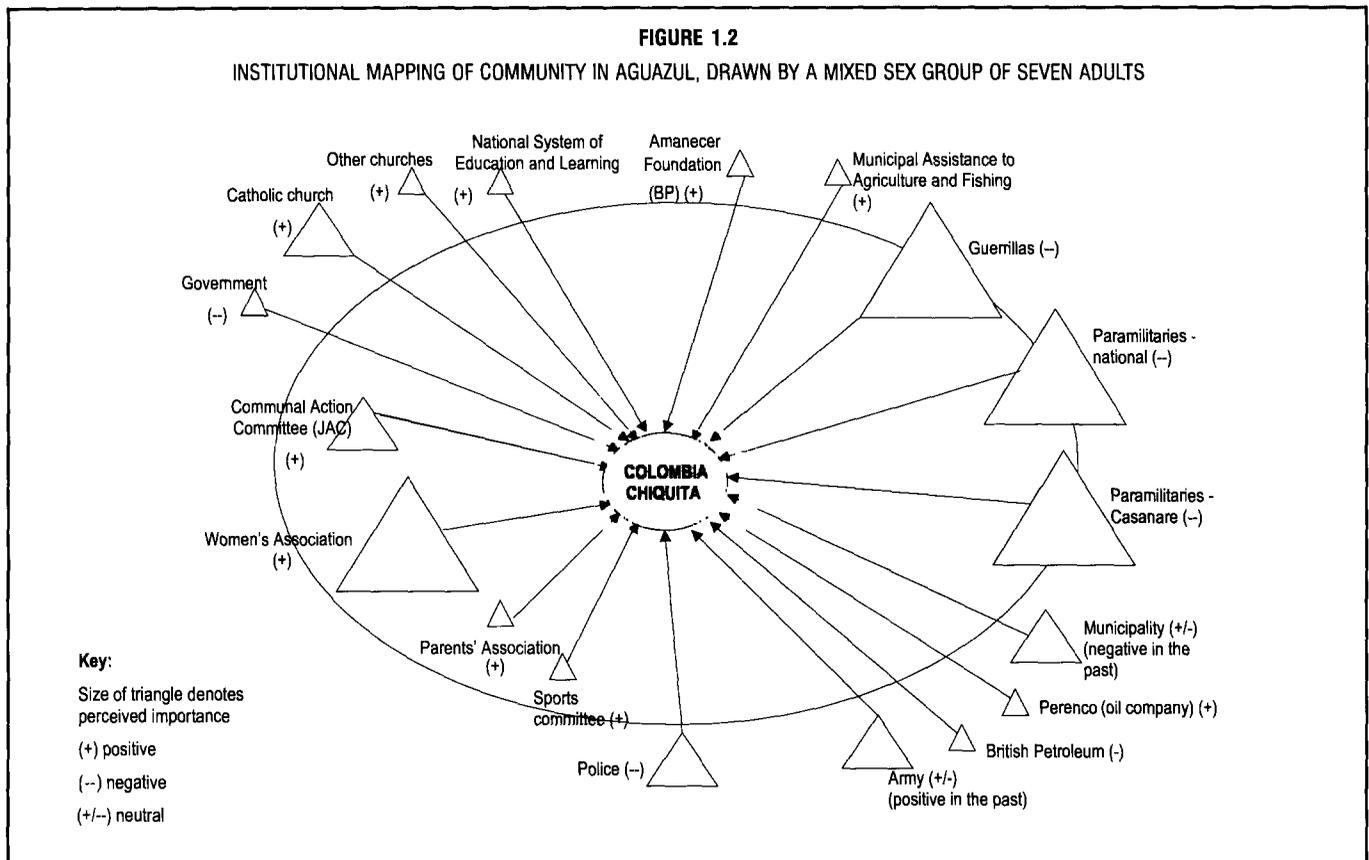
TABLE 1.1
CATEGORIES OF VIOLENCE

Category	Definition	Manifestation
Political	The commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, to obtain or maintain political power.	Guerrilla conflict; paramilitary conflict; political assassinations; armed conflict between political parties; rape and sexual abuse as a political act, forced pregnancy/sterilization.
Economic	The commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for economic gain or to obtain or maintain economic power.	Street crime; carjacking; robbery/theft; drug trafficking; kidnapping; assaults. Including rape, made during economic crimes.
Social	The commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for social gain or to obtain or maintain social power.	Interpersonal violence such as spouse and child abuse; sexual assault of women and children; arguments that get out of control.

Moser (2001)

In her presentation Caroline focused particularly on social capital. She differentiated between productive social capital –which benefits the community as a whole– and perverse social capital –which, while benefiting those members of a relevant organization, generally harms or discriminates against other members of the community. One important challenge in reducing levels of violence and constructing peace in post-conflict contexts concerns the creation or reconstruction of productive social capital. If trust and cohesion are to be rebuilt in local communities, this requires the suppression of perverse social capital or interventions that facilitate it to change from a perverse to a productive form.

Caroline illustrated this with a number of institutional mapping exercises undertaken in recent participatory research in urban poor communities in Colombia and Guatemala. The maps, drawn by local community members, identified which social institutions were perceived as trusted in the community, as well as those were which were not trusted (see figure 1.2). The research study showed that overall social institutions run by women, as well as women’s organizations, were perceived as highly trustworthy as well as providing an important function within the community. Such institutions therefore can play an important role in conflict resolution, as well as in rebuilding community level social fabric. In the discussion that followed mention was made of an additional possible category of capital, psycho-emotional capital, which it is critical to acknowledge in reconstruction processes if local people are to be empowered to take control of their lives.



Moser & McLwaine (2000a)

Recommendations

This important session combined a human rights perspective with a socio-political analysis of conflict, and included a gendered operational framework for violence reduction. Four principle areas were emphasized, each of which is briefly summarized as follows:

The importance of a holistic approach

One critical message, both from the conference papers and from the ensuing discussion, is the importance of a holistic approach for understanding and dealing with conflict. This needs to recognize *different levels and types of violence*, which co-exist, overlap and affect the lives of civilian populations, as well as those directly involved in armed confrontation. In such a holistic approach the continuum among political, economic and social violence, as presented by Caroline, is critical; it recognizes the importance of interventions that focus in an integrated manner on the linkages between the causes, costs and consequences of these different types of violence, as illustrated by Rosa Emilia.

Equally important is an understanding *of the historical, social, cultural and economic antecedents to the conflict*, as the contextual background within which armed conflicts

and daily social violence in the Latin American and Caribbean region develop. To ensure a deeper and more integrated understanding of the gendered impacts and costs of violence and conflict for men and women, *a gender perspective is critical*. This is based on the understanding that men and women's experiences, vulnerabilities and actions during conflict are determined by the underlying gender roles and identities that each is assigned in their society, and that these exacerbate some of the difficulties they encounter both during and after conflict.

In the same vein, the *concept of human security* needs to be enlarged so as to take into account the macro and the micro, the public and the private, the material and the psycho-emotional. The responsibility for human security needs to move beyond being solely of the State to encourage individual and collective responsibility for security and peace. A holistic approach to understanding violence and conflict is critical for the formulation of integrated policies and interventions to reduce as well as prevent violence.

Recognition of the multiple relations between women and men, violence and peace

Second, it is important to recognize the multifaceted nature of the relation between women, violence and peace. Since conflict and peace building have been seen predominantly as male domains, women, and gender issues, have generally been excluded from discussions of conflict and peace. More recently, women have become more visible as refugees, and internally displaced, as victims of sexual violence and abuse in conflict zones and as widows of war. In all of these contexts, however, women are portrayed in their submissive role as victims. Whilst women do disproportionately suffer certain risks, damages and disadvantages (*see box 1.2*), this representation tends to obscure the many roles that both men and women play in situations of armed conflict.

BOX 1.2

THE IMPACTS OF ARMED CONFLICT ON WOMEN

- ❖ The increase in loads and responsibilities between the sexes in war economies (the load for women generally increases).
- ❖ The different social and psychological baggage that men and women displaced by the violence have; where women are more vulnerable at the moment of the uprooting, but achieve more autonomy in the reconstruction.
- ❖ Sexual abuse; the repression of maternity among combatants; woman's responsibility for (non) reproduction, which is continuous and reinforced during the life of the armed groups.
- ❖ The destruction of the environment and of the social fabric in which women were responsible for the survival of their families.
- ❖ The increase of women heads of family.
- ❖ The education and socialization in which violent solutions to the conflicts are reinforced.
- ❖ The return: in the case of women, many times it is not voluntary.
- ❖ The pressures and obstacles to women leaders' arising in survival organizations (women leaders' arising when men are devoted to war; and the men's pressure (above all at home in the families) for women to abandon such leadership).

Based on Tamayo (2000) and Meertens (2000)

The opportunities for change seen in the “chaos” generated by the conflict in gender relations were not mentioned. Because “shaking foundations” can lead to opening new paths, negotiating new roles, defining new identities, advancing by small steps toward autonomy. Also, even though it is true that we must overcome the view that women are only victims, we must, however, not idealize women as “builders of peace”.

Thus, a vision that incorporates opportunities for change necessarily requires reflection on men as well.

Donny Meertens (2000)

Through its coverage of different population groups, in diverse stages of conflict and peace, the conference addressed issues of diversity. This highlighted the importance of recognizing the vulnerability and agency of both men and women in conflict situations, as well as the fact that neither men nor women are homogenous groups. As such they play a variety of roles in both conflict and peace processes. To portray women always as victims denies them their agency, and neglects identifying the opportunities that conflicts can create for them. Similarly, men are not always the perpetrators of violence, but also play multiple roles.

Vulnerability and agency

The third issue concerns the importance of recognizing the *vulnerability and agency* of women in conflict situations. Giulia stressed the need to protect the human rights of women and other vulnerable groups, not only as a requirement of international humanitarian law, but also as a key for reconciliation and development.

However, an overemphasis on emergency aid in humanitarian assistance means that frequently people’s potentials are not realized or acknowledged. It is therefore equally important to build human capacity that develops the personal, collective and social capabilities of people affected by conflict. In such a context it is especially important to value and support the contributions and proposals made by women for dealing with their situation, since at the local level they often implement the most innovative of projects.

Lack of comprehensive information

Finally, a critical missing element to implement such initiatives is *concrete information on the actual situation of women* in conflict. In the male-biased discourse of war, women are so often invisible. Consequently, we need more information on the ways that women are directly and indirectly affected by conflict and the roles they play in resolving armed conflict and in building peace. We need to consult them, and listen to their projects for peace if they are to be incorporated into peace negotiations and conflict resolution at a local, national and international level. Recommendations such as these were reiterated at different points throughout the conference.

2. Diverse Voices of Conflict and Peace

Much of the thinking on women, and gender issues, has failed to sufficiently disaggregate the category ‘women’ to be able to distinguish the multiple positions held by women. If we are to gain a full understanding of the consequences of armed conflict and violence for all women, it is necessary to listen to their diverse voices. A truly democratic, sustainable peace in Colombia will not be possible, if it fails to include its multi-cultural, multi-ethnic populations of all ages and socio-economic status.

The objective of the second session was to raise awareness of the diverse voices that women have, by presenting conflict and peace experiences of women of different social, age and ethnic groups. In the first international presentation Dorotea Gómez

related the experiences of *indigenous Guatemalan refugee women* before the conflict, during exile and upon their return. She described the important changes that these women underwent whilst in exile in México. Women were forced to break their previous cultural and political isolation, and had to learn to organize and manage family and community life, as well as confronting new, different public situations to those to which they were previously accustomed.

On their return to Guatemala, many women suffered greatly due to poverty, continued violence and the pressure from men to revoke the changes they had made in their social and political participation, and to return to the *status quo ante bellum*. The case study showed clearly the need for integrated return policies for returning population. Not only would this ensure their safety, but also the progress made –ensuring that they did not lose the social and political gains they might have made. To achieve success, it was crucial to involve the men in return community projects.

Leonora Castaño then presented the particular point of view of *rural women in Colombia*. Since the conflict has up until now been felt most fiercely in rural areas, women in these areas have to deal with new, and often disturbing, circumstances. High levels of conflict over land and territories limits land cultivation. This means that women find it difficult to ensure the food security of their families as well as being under physical threat themselves. Leonora described how high levels of internal displacement from rural areas towards towns and cities means women have to adapt to new forms of income generation, which include acting as ‘couriers’ (*mular*) for drug dealers, and becoming prostitutes.

Aura Marlene Márquez portrayed the particular reality *older people*, emphasizing the tendency to perceive of old people as individuals with a past rather than a future. Consequently, as a group they have tended to be left out of the gender and development as well as conflict and peace debates, with critical consequences for policy making. Marlene described the consequences of conflict and displacement for older people in terms of loss of space, a rupture of social networks, and becoming a socio-economic burden. Many old people, however, remain in their homes in conflict zones, “taking care of their history” (“*Cuidando su historia*”). Consequently old people are often the most marginalized in conflict situations, facing severe difficulty in terms of access to services. Because of their invisibility they subsequently do not receive adequate attention or support even when there is assistance in conflict areas.

The session ended with the presentation by Lina Rodas, a youth leader from Medellín, Colombia who discussed the *impact of corruption, poverty, drugs and civil war on youth*. Lina highlighted the fact that in the face of severe poverty, high unemployment and systematic exclusion and stigmatization of young people, the various armed groups involved in conflict provide an attractive and economically viable alternative to Colombia’s younger generation. Then, by way of contrast, she described ways in which young people are working together to contribute to a peaceful and inclusive society. Such initiatives seek to break the stigma experienced by young people, promote their recognition as social and political actors, and provide them with opportunities so they resist entering ‘employment’ with armed groups. Although the session did not include a presentation specifically by Afro-Colombian women the importance of this marginalized group in Colombia was widely recognized. Consequently they were represented in many of the other conference sessions.



Dorotea Gómez on the experiences of Guatemalan Refugee Maya women.



Lina Rodas, youth leader from Medellín and Anders Kompass, High Commissioner of the United Nations for Human Rights.

When designing, in addition to gender differences, it is essential to keep in mind other variables, such as the person's age, their ethnic group, where the program or project is developed, the cultural environment, their socio-economic situation, educational level, vocation, skills, etc. and thus avoid standardized answers.

María Eugenia Vásquez (2000)

Recommendations

The main recommendation from this session concern the need to acknowledge diversity and develop context, and population, specific interventions in assisting the diverse groups affected by conflict. Since each group experiences conflict differently, interventions to address their problems should take into account a range of issues determined by gender, age, ethnicity, race and geography as well as socio-economic groups –if they are to be effective and acceptable. The experience from Guatemala showed very clearly that if diversity issues are not acknowledged and tackled during the peace process, post-conflict reconstruction processes that continue to marginalize significant sectors of the population are incomplete. In order to ensure a sustainable peace in Colombia diverse groups need to be heard, acknowledged, and permitted to participate as equal citizens in the formulation of the future of their country, regardless of gender, age, ethnicity or geography.

3. Internal Displacement: Gendered Needs and Practical Interventions

One critical and much publicized effect of conflict is that of involuntary displacement. This can occur internationally, as in the case of Guatemala and El Salvador as well as internally, as in Peru and Colombia. Refugees and the displaced are also often perceived as a homogenous group, yet the gendered experience and implications of displacement are significant. This session therefore highlighted the different impacts of displacement on men and women and discussed possible interventions for dealing with them.

Forced displacement is the clearest expression of the violation of human economic, political, and social rights and of not applying International Humanitarian Law (IHL) ...The threat of death, the loss of loved ones, the destruction of homes, women and their families are the reasons that make them seek protection, knowing that exile is the punishment for belonging to a region where an armed confrontation is being fought.

Gloria Tobón Olarte (2000)

Experience was drawn from Perú, with Paca Villanueva providing an overview of the *Peruvian Program of Support for the Repopulating and Development of Emergency Zones* (PAR). Paca highlighted the different social, economic and psychological changes that displaced populations undergo, and which have to be adequately dealt with, if families and communities are to be able to rebuild their lives. Furthermore, she stressed the importance of accompanying the return displaced people with strategies and actions for rural development that invest in employment generation, housing, agriculture and other needs faced by the returnees. One interesting component of the Peruvian program was the relocation of inhabitants from marginal urban areas to the provinces. The objective of this initiative was to set up stronger links between country and city, and to avoid a return to the pre-war isolation of rural *campesino* communities.

This experience was compared to that of Colombia in a presentation by Gloria Tobón Olarte, in which she described the *destruction and reconstruction of identities experienced by displaced men and women*. As a consequence of the armed conflict, Colombia has an estimated 1,700,000 people displaced within its borders. Of the displaced families 32% are female-headed. Gloria criticized humanitarian assistance programs for their overemphasis on welfare rather than capacity building. In particular, the critical importance of providing psycho-social and emotional attention to people affected by conflict and displacement resonated in all three presentations in this session, as well as in other sessions throughout the conference.

Lina Arrieta illustrated the *experience of the Corporación María Cano* (a local women's NGO) in assisting displaced people in 37 settlements in the department of Córdoba, Northern Colombia. Of particular note was the greater flexibility of women in contrast to men, in their participation in income generation projects and their greater capacity for dealing with change and establishing survival strategies on arrival in the cities. Men dealt better with displacement *per se*, but found it difficult to reestablish their lives in their new environment. Yet Lina emphasized the critical importance of including and involving men in the process of reconstructing daily life. Project focus should be on the alleviation of poverty and the strengths, not the weaknesses, of the communities should be recognized and used.



Paca Villanueva (speaker) from Perú and Ellen Beattie, Red de Solidaridad Social, Colombia.

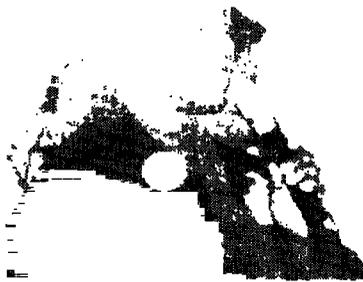
Recommendations

In this session the discussion focused on the importance of identity –the identity that people lose when they are forcefully and abruptly uprooted from their homes, the identity imposed on displaced persons on arrival in their location of refuge, and the identity that needs to be reconstructed on emergence from the crisis situation. As Dorotea Gómez mentioned in session two, for Guatemalan Mayan women displacement and exile in Mexico not only resulted in significant changes during exile, but also the places to which they then returned were also changed through the landscape of war. Such changes carried with them emotional and personal distress often not adequately dealt with by the humanitarian agencies assisting them during these processes. These included feelings of loss, of separation, and of change –all difficult to deal with. Again, the desperate need for psycho-social support to displaced communities came up very strongly here.

In the reconstruction of roles and identities it is crucial to involve displaced women's husbands or partners. Since the reconstruction of identity is linked to the loss of historical memory, the recounting of the stories of displaced people is critically important. This serves as a mechanism for the processing of pain, and counteracts the fragmentation of families and communities, and the silencing of identities and cultural and social memory.

Criticisms of the Peruvian program included its failure to address either gender issues or the emotional recovery of the victims of displacement. Participants emphasized that displacement must be treated in the wider context of pacification and reconciliation processes. In Perú, a country without a national reconciliation process, such issues and pain have laid dormant and have not been dealt with. The causes of forced displacement need to be addressed, as do those relating to rebuilding human capacity –for instance through support and capacity building of rural women's groups. In addition the importance of accompanying women when returning to communities received special emphasis. Not only is this important to guarantee their safety but also to ensure that they retain their capacity to act independently and autonomously within the family and the community.

Finally the session emphasized the need to shift from programs that focus on humanitarian assistance and welfare to efforts more closely linked with the longer-term development of the individuals and their communities. This means that programs



Afro-Colombian woman from the *Mujeres Actoras Autoras de Paz* movement comments during a conference session.

In El Salvador there are thousands of persons who still do not live in peace, who cannot sleep, who cannot recover the trust in their environment that they lost during so many years of escalated violence and lies, who do not know how to behave without being violent because they never learned anything else and because the only behavior that has given them good results in the past is violent interaction.

Morena Herrera (2000)

for displaced people should not only include assistance for basic survival needs, but also address the reconstruction of social and economic processes, through capacity building and community participation. Humanitarian assistance therefore needs to be linked to local development policy for long term effectiveness. Displacement erodes all forms of capital, but especially the social capital that many women, especially, rely on to meet the needs of their families. It is critical therefore to assist in creating an environment in which social networks can be re-established and strengthened. This is essential not only to alleviate the isolation experienced by displaced families within their receiving communities, but also to help them regain their independence. As discussed earlier with reference to vulnerability and agency, perceptions of displaced people need to change from seeing them as victims, to recognizing that they are actors in their own development and recuperation.

4. The Gendered Effects of Conflict: Women Ex-Combatants and Women's Organizations

As discussed above, women in particular, and the civilian population in general, are primarily perceived of as victims of conflict. To challenge this perception, this session highlighted some of the ways in which women can also be perceived as actors in conflict situations—both during armed conflict itself and in peace processes. Whilst it is important to acknowledge the serious victimization of innocent civilians during conflict, it is also necessary to acknowledge that women combatants face discrimination both in armed groups, and on demobilization, and that armed conflict has serious impacts on women's organizations.

The session began with a presentation by Morena Herrera of the history of the work of the *El Salvadoran women's organization 'Las Dignas' in the reintegrating women ex-combatants after the civil war*. Despite the fact that women constituted 30 per cent of demobilized combatants and 60 per cent of the FMLN's⁶ base of active collaborators, they were almost entirely absent from the 1992 signed political agreements that signified the end of armed conflict.

Morena emphasized that although peace was the principle post-conflict goal, little thought was given to what would happen once it was achieved. Peace needed to be seen as more than just a cessation of the armed conflict and to include the reconstruction of social fabric and human relations eroded by violence. Often the political and economic urgency to sign peace accords meant that concerns relating to the re-establishment of social relations necessary for a sustainable, peaceful society were not addressed.

Based on *Las Dignas's* experience with ex-combatant women in post conflict El Salvador, Morena then outlined the work they have undertaken in the fields of mental health, and in the psycho-emotional and social rehabilitation of both individual and collective lives of conflict affected populations. Women, such as these, needed

⁶ Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

to address guilt feelings, as well as pressure and tension relating to the social stigma associated with involvement in the armed conflict. This was a consequence of their perceived transgression of their maternal role in the family, and parameters surrounding the exercise of their sexuality. Women who were still feeling the pain of the war needed time to absorb loss, but had received little help to do so.

María Eugenia Vásquez then followed with a presentation *on the consequences of conflict for women ex-combatants in Colombia*. Her paper was based on the experiences of women combatants demobilized from the armed groups, such as the M-19 that disbanded in 1990. She outlined the difficulties women faced, because of the gendered identity ascribed to them both on integration into the guerrilla as well as on demobilization from the guerrilla. She described the many transformations that women underwent in the guerrilla. These related, for example, to the increased autonomy and control women had over their lives whilst in the guerrilla and the difficulty in justifying and maintaining it after demobilization.

Women suffered a double stigma for having simultaneously transgressed the political as well as social norms of society by entering the guerrilla. The progress that they might have made in their personal development and independence was then denied to them on return into civilian life when they suffered rejection and stigma, because of changes in their behavior. This was especially the case for rural and indigenous women where they returned to village life and the double burden of household and family. Their domestic burden was such that it impeded them from participating in political meetings or organizations. In addition there was often strong opposition from husbands, and men in their communities preventing them from taking up new political roles. In total this made post-combatant life a very isolated and frustrating experience for these women.

Luz Estela Navas, then described in greater detail the experiences of *rural ex-combatant women in the Cauca region*, stressing that the process of reinsertion was not the same for everyone. For women, the experience of having fought with one of the insurgent groups changed them fundamentally through their adaptation to a masculine regime –in which strength, courage and control were valued and submissiveness, weakness and sensibility were seen as fundamental failures. The majority of rural women that joined the guerrilla did so between 15 and 17 years of age with very low educational levels, often no more than primary level. In general, these women joined the guerrilla not so much for political conviction as to escape the pressures and oppressions suffered in their family and community. In joining the guerrilla they became actors in their own right, and, achieved a certain level of equal footing to men. On returning to civilian life these women were once again invisibilized in their country, in their organizations and indeed among themselves. Their biggest weakness was their lack of organization, and therefore their most important need was to re-establish their leadership and take their place in the peace building process to which they have so much to contribute.

Recommendations

A key issue relating to ex-combatants is the invisibility of women in the reinsertion and reintegration programs. Not only is this due to the fact that women's participation

In El Salvador the past is still alive today and will be in the future also. The past decreed the end of the disorders caused by grieving and of the traumas, which have not had time to heal; the end of conflictive family and social relationships that cannot be understood if they are taken out of the context of war.

Morena Herrera (2000)

Ten years have passed since the guerrilla organizations laid down their arms in Colombia and we women who were part of this process still have paths to take, grieving to get over, rebuilding to complete. Due to various factors, the process of re-entry has not been homogenous for all of us men and women who are part of it, specially for us women who have had to face, because of our gender condition, even more so, economic, social, and cultural inequalities and iniquities.

Luz Estela Navas (2000)



Luz Estela Navas presenting her experiences of ex-combatant life in rural Colombia.

in armed groups until recently has not been acknowledged, but also because many women leave the guerrilla forces secretly of their own accord. Their invisibility, therefore, also relates to the need to keep secret their former identity as an ex-combatant because of the heavy social, and political, stigma associated with it. Consequently a great need exists for the positive re-interpretation of women's experiences, and their reasons for joining insurgent groups. This requires the necessary 'space' in which they can tell of their experiences, value them and come to terms with their past. All of this will help them to overcome the feelings of guilt and shame they hold. Such assistance may help these women to strengthen their relationships with their families and communities and help them to achieve a more equal co-existence with men. All three papers raised the importance of psycho-social support for, and among, ex-combatant women as a critical intervention to secure the long term social and economic survival of ex-combatants and their families.

An important aspect of the social changes that women in the armed groups undergo is a change in attitudes towards sexual behavior, with a less traditional, more open attitude. Women can have multiple partners and different types of relations in the guerrilla where birth control and contraception are seen as necessary for the war project, and maternity is repressed. Their amorous relations are influenced greatly by the intensity of the situation in which they are living, where death and loss are a possible outcome of every day. Not only does this create emotional and romantic ties that are invariably lost or weakened on return into civil society, but also many women are overcome with a great sense of guilt in the suppression of their maternity.

Those women that do bear their children and leave them with friends and family are faced with the difficult reality of abandoning their children and often do not, or cannot, re-establish relation with them on demobilization. The emotional and psychological strain on women, as well as on children and foster families, is tremendous, and potentially destructive if not adequately addressed. On reintegration into civilian life, women are therefore more likely to need measures beyond financial and material help. They need support in developing dialogue, and in gaining acceptance by local communities as a basis for reconciliation, working together with widows and orphans of the war, and children who were involved in the armed groups. Security for them is as important as for male combatants as the risk of revenge from communities and punishment from the armed force that they left is very high.

Another critical component for the assimilation of combatants into civilian life is facilitating current combatant women to meet with ex-combatant women. In this way women members of the currently active armed groups can share experiences and expectations with those who have already been through a demobilization and reintegration process, and put forward lessons learned and proposals for the next round.

In order to rebuild their economic, social and political lives on their reinsertion into civil society, it is essential to ensure that women ex-combatants are granted the same access, and eligibility, to services and amnesties as male ex-combatants. Women combatants must participate equally at the peace negotiation table. Not only will this ensure that they gain access to the same services and assistance as male combatants, but also that they have the opportunity to express, and negotiate, their own specific needs and views.

BOX 4.1
RECOMMENDATIONS

Suggestions for Working with Women Ex-Combatants

- ❖ Work the reconciliation with institutions, persons, and social environments that welcome women ex-combatants.
- ❖ Evaluate and disseminate past and present contributions and experience.
- ❖ Create spaces for reflection among women ex-combatants and combatants to think about processes of cultural change.
- ❖ Be present at the negotiating tables, to defend strategic interests.
- ❖ Take the concepts of democracy with equity to their daily lives shared with men.

Recommendations to the General Directorate for Re-entry

- ❖ Have women ex-combatants participate in designing the policies for the de-mobilized population.
- ❖ Investigate and follow-up women ex-combatants' situation and position.
- ❖ Have psychosocial attention projects available for women ex-combatants, widows, and girls disengaged from the conflict.
- ❖ Consider the gender perspective in programs and projects to improve women's situation and overcome being subordinated.
- ❖ Promote new leaders and strengthen those existing in all aspects of economic, social, cultural, and political life in this country.

María Eugenia Vásquez (2000a)

The Consequences of Armed Conflict for Women Leaders and Women's Organizations in Colombia

The final part of this session focused on the *impact of conflict on members of women's organizations and on women political and social leaders*. Pilar Rueda illustrated how both are targets of the armed groups and experience physical threats, either directly to themselves or to their families. This has resulted in numerous women being forced to flee their community and at times the country. According to data of the Colombian Commission of Jurists, in 1998 a woman lost her life every 2 days at the hands of socio-political violence, which adds to the increasing number of abuses of the human right to life.

Such abuses and threats towards women are merely an extension of more generalized gender discrimination in society at large, which serves to reinforce not only the power of arms but also the power of men over women. These tactics are used to weaken the leadership of particular women, as well as intimidating them to submit to the orders and requirements of armed groups. This exemplifies some of the important ways in which intimidation and terrorization are used as tools of war.

The involuntary displacement, resulting from high levels of violence and threats, and the subsequent dislocation of communities is one of the principal factors that impacts on the function of women's groups. One inevitable effect of the breakup of local communities is the closure of local women's organizations. The very high levels of fear and mistrust created by the relentless violence exacerbate this. Both phenomena have serious implications for the mutual support structures that are so important for the daily survival of families and communities, and for wider social and political interaction. The subsequent erosion of social capital among women, and in women's organizations, that this causes has, as yet, not been researched. However it is clear that such circumstances severely threaten the progress that women leaders in particular,

Women's organizations are not enemies worth convincing or eliminating because they do not fight for positions elected by popular vote, nor do they have great economic and political interests in the zone; they are simply "a pebble in the shoe" that makes social and territorial control progress more difficult. That is why, at times, people try to "convince" them that what they are doing can only lead to problems.

Pilar Rueda Jiménez (2000)

and the women's movement in general, have made for themselves, their families and their communities.

Recommendations

Participants in the conference stressed the need for more concrete information on the levels of violence and threat to women's organizations, and to women activists, in conflict countries. As one important consequence of war with long-reaching impacts on the process of rebuilding Colombian society, this issue not only needs to be acknowledged, but also requires serious investigation.

In addition, as a result of increased visibility of the threats carried out against women leaders and their organizations and families, protection measures need to be put in place. Demands need to be made for respect for the democratic and personal rights of the women in question, in adherence with international human rights laws.

Gloria Quiceno, in her commentary, stressed the need to look beyond the peace negotiations and the peace process *per se*, and to acknowledge instead that peace is nurtured in the home, the community, and in society in general. Peace is the responsibility of everyone, not just those that sign the peace accords, as was highlighted with great emphasis in the accounts of ex-combatant women.

Because of its negative impact on the social fabric, because of its consequences on the institution of democracy, and because of the costs that it signifies for the Colombian society, it is urgent for us to put figures, a name, and a face to the violence perpetrated against women's organizations. Simultaneously, State protection and justice actions must be undertaken and must have the support of international cooperation agencies for the actions along these lines that are initiated in this country.

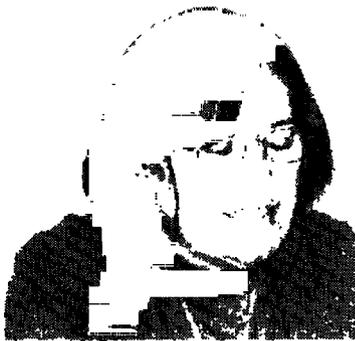
María Eugenia Vásquez (2000)

5. The Participation of Women in Peace Processes

Following the sessions on gender analysis of conflict and the gender-specific impacts of violence and conflict, the conference looked forward towards building peace and reconciliation. This session, therefore, focused on the opportunities and constraints for women to participate actively in peace processes.

Guadalupe Salinas began by examining *the participation of Nicaraguan women in the revolution and ensuing democratization process* in Nicaragua. She described the very bleak situation faced by women after the revolution, when they were excluded from post-revolution policy and planning, and not included in any of the demobilization or reintegration programs.

Echoing the demands voiced in Session 3 of the importance of locating reconstruction in the context of wider pacification processes, Guadalupe commented that the euphoria surrounding the Nicaraguan revolution had the perverse effect of obliterating the 'space' necessary for debate and discussion surrounding the future construction of the country. This meant a lost opportunity for the negotiation of new roles and relations within post-conflict Nicaragua, and consequently new 'spaces' in society were not opened up for women. However, as Guadalupe stressed the efforts of women during the war had not been in vain. A process of reorganization and increased awareness has become evident in new spaces such as the *Asamblea de las mujeres de las fuerzas fundamentales de la revolución*, which criticized the *Sandinistas* for being machista. Furthermore women underwent a 'personal revolution' through a socialization process for gender equity, which is now showing signs of expression among their children. The identification of, and mobilization around, common problems such as the stigma attached to being an ex-combatant, accelerated the



Guadalupe Salinas speaks of women in the democratization process in Nicaragua.

adaptation process among these women. This assisted them in their development of a political and social movement, which guaranteed them a stake in Nicaragua's evolving new nation.

Sara Gómez in her presentation on *the women's movement for peace in Colombia* emphasized the great efforts being made by women at the regional level to find ways to participate in the peace process. From local to international level, they are lobbying for the implementation of the Beijing, and Beijing plus five platforms for action. However, Sara stressed the severe constraints women experience in participating in the peace process. This relates not only to the fact that many of them live in considerable geographical isolation, but also under the permanent threat of the conflict. As depicted by Pilar Rueda in the previous session, women who do participate, or organize, for peace risk at best permanent harassment, and at worst death threats, from armed groups. In addition to the traditional gender discrimination that limits women's political participation, the time they have available to participate in meetings is also limited by their domestic responsibilities.

Nayibe Mina illustrated the reality of *Afro-Colombian Women in Colombian society and the peace process*, emphasizing the historic, systematic discrimination against afro-Colombian communities. She described how poverty in itself is a form of violence as is the loss or abandonment of identity. Both are severe limitations for Afro-Colombian women's participation in a peace process. Although they have not been recognized as viable political and social actors, they are mobilizing and do have a part to play in the peace process. Nayibe therefore emphasized the need for a future Colombia to be a multi-ethnic and multicultural society if there is to be a secure, viable peace for the country.

In his commentary, Camilo González spoke about the threat that women pose to men as, through their participation in the peace process, they seek to change the status quo. He cited this as the principal limitation to women's participation, illustrating this with data showing the low representation of women in the Colombian peace movement (see table 5.1). Women outnumber men in peace marches and other protests but their participation in decision-making or negotiating arenas has been embarrassingly low. He stressed the need for peace to address not only the cessation of armed conflict but also the suppression and elimination of structural violence, which limits certain

In spite of the twenty years of confrontation, there was NO ample process for peace or national reconciliation or historical clarification. In fact, the triumphant atmosphere of the Sandinista revolution squelched the "need" for such a process. That is how many "men's codes" and war mentalities influenced the reconstruction of the society on a daily basis.

Donny Meertens (2000)



Sara Gómez explains the difficulties and efforts of women in Colombia to participate in the peace process.

TABLE 5.1
PROPORTION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PEACE ORGANIZATIONS IN COLOMBIA (PERCENTAGE)

	Coordination	Management Office
National Council for Peace	85-15	66-34
Mandate for Peace Secretariat	90-10	25-75
Permanent Assembly for Peace	80-20	50-50
Citizen Network for Peace, National Committee	75-25	30-70 or 20-80
Committee for Reconciliation	100-00	-
Nv. Children for Peace	30-70	20-80
"No More" Center	75-25	10-90

Camilo González Posso (2000)

sectors of the population's access to rights, services, and opportunities, such as women, Afro-Colombians, indigenous, and ostracized youth. Finally he called on the women's movement to come forward, together, with a joint project for peace, since their participation in the development and planning of Colombia's future is critical.

Recommendations

A peace process provides as much of an opportunity to create a broader, more inclusive and equitable society, as it does to agree the political terms for an end to conflict. Women, therefore have a great potential space in which to put forward their ideas, needs and actions for their country. However, other Latin American experiences convey the clear message that it is crucial for women to be involved from the outset of negotiations and peace mobilizations to ensure that there is a gender perspective at the negotiating table.

Too often gender, social exclusion and human rights are all seen as secondary issues to be dealt with once the peace accords have been signed. However, if the equal rights and opportunities of marginalized sectors of the population are not written into the peace accords it is likely they will be left out of the reconstruction process. Even when peace accords are heralded as successful, as is the case for El Salvador, this does not guarantee the inclusion of women, or their interests and need, in post conflict unless affirmative action is taken to hold society accountable to the promises made. This was vividly shown by the presentation by Morena Herrera on El Salvador in the earlier session.

Thus, first and foremost, it is of paramount importance that the Colombian women's movement join together around its common needs and aims, with respect for ethnic, age, social and geographical diversity, to form a united vision for their future as women and the future of their country. In this way they need to project their vision onto civil society's peace movement, and to use it to occupy a 'space' in the debates, the actions and at the negotiating table.

Since the space is increasingly being taken up by a multitude of other organizations and factions, this needs to be done very rapidly. At the same time this vision has to be fully inclusive of all sectors of the women's movement and include women in government, in civil society and in the armed groups themselves. The challenge, therefore, is to find the common ground among them to ensure a coherent and strong movement. Only in this way can they to put forward concrete practical interventions for the inclusion of women in the public arena and to push for gender equity from the private space of home and family to the public space of education, employment and political opportunity.

This will need to be acted out at different levels. Box 5.1 shows the four principal civil society movements for peace by women in Colombia at the national and regional level. However, these movements find it difficult to have an impact on the national level peace negotiations as they are not represented in other civil society movements for peace nor by the people sat around the negotiating tables. Magdala Velásquez, as the only woman member on the *Consejo Nacional de Paz*, has the unenviable task of speaking for the multitude of women and women's organizations that are active in Colombia. Consequently it is essential to open up 'space' and opportunities to facilitate

A great need is perceived for a strong, resistant, coherent Women's Movement, diversified at all levels, to influence all public and private spaces and domains, not only regarding the settlement of the armed conflict but also regarding all manifestations of social, political, and cultural conflict.

Sara Gómez (2000)

BOX 5.1

ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN BY WOMEN IN COLOMBIA

Ruta Pacifica

- ❖ Materializing themselves by meshing focal points with the confluence of diverse women's sectors: peasants, indigenous groups, black women, and leaders of the populace.
- ❖ Making the effects of the war on women visible: the absence of their companions and sons; direct humiliation, such as rape and abuse of their bodies turned into war booty.

Women in Vigil for Life

Promoted by Red Nacional de Mujeres (National Women's Network): permanent actions that promote broad civilian society participation to draw the attention of the warriors by asking the question, "HOW MUCH LONGER?"

- ❖ Carrying out exercises of symbolic denouncement and rejection of the armed actors' acts.
- ❖ Generating a regional and national current of active presence against violence in its various manifestations.

Chain of Women for Peace

A Popular Women's Organization from Barrancabermeja, Santander

- ❖ They promote making a human chain of thousands of women against war and for peace, using the motto, "WE WON'T BEAR NOR RAISE CHILDREN FOR THE WAR".
- ❖ They gather women's opinions regarding how to face the war and how to build peace.

Women Who Are Authors of and Actors in Peace

Mobilization actions and forums for peace

- ❖ Put limits to exercising power in political and private ambits where the seeds of violence are sown.
- ❖ Settle the armed conflict through negotiation, respecting the will of the civilian society.
- ❖ Settle the social conflict through agreements with the various groups, making women's situation visible.

Gloria Tobón Olarte (2000a)

and encourage the participation of a wider range of women from civil society at the negotiating table.

Secondly, women combatants should be present and involved at the discussions between their insurgent group and the government to ensure their representation in any peace agreements reached. As mentioned before, they should have space to discuss their positions and plans for gender equity in their own organization as well as society at large with civilian women, women ex-combatants and other women affected by conflict.

Thirdly, government departments and organizations working with conflict affected populations and involved in the peace process, and ministries in charge of planning and development need to ensure the greater participation of women in the design, implementation and evaluation of policies. In addition to assisting women to restore their economic and social well-being, these organizations need to help women strengthen their political participation and promote them as political and social actors.

At all levels, this participation will have to be handled carefully. Merely including women is not enough if their voice and contribution is not given equal weighting to that of their male counterparts, and if male-biased codes and policies continue to be the status quo. It is necessary to transform the very relations and codes of conduct that govern the interaction between men and women since these determine how their voices are heard and opinions taken on board. This requires a change in men's attitudes at the negotiation table, and their acceptance of women on an equal footing,



Morena Herrera of Las Dignas El Salvador.

as citizens with the same rights and valid and necessary contributions to make to the future of their country.

6. Gender Perspective on Interventions for Justice and Reconciliation

Justice and reconciliation are two contradictory but necessary components of any peace process. Negotiations for peace and the signing of peace accords are invariably accompanied by high expectations that the perpetrators of violence and abuses will be held accountable and brought to justice. Victims and families of the dead and disappeared seek justice and retribution for their losses. At the same time, this creates an obstacle to the national reconciliation necessary if a society is to move on, and to unite in the (re)construction of a post-conflict, peaceful country. Both issues relate to the processing of pain and injustice, and to coping with the emotional and psycho-social impacts of armed conflict –and are the primary arena for the adoption of the human rights rhetoric.

In this session key questions related to the extent to which:

- ❖ Justice through its emphasis on retribution and revenge impedes reconciliation, thus reinforcing the divide between victims and perpetrators.
- ❖ Reconciliation cannot be achieved in the absence of justice, in a context where pain and hate cannot be processed and overcome, as highlighted by Donny Meertens in her report on the conference, ‘that which is ignored cannot be punished, and therefore cannot be forgiven’.
- ❖ These phenomena are gendered, and whether as perpetrators of violence, victims or peace makers, have different implications for men and women.
- ❖ Justice and reconciliation have to be dealt with at all levels –the national, local community and family levels.

In the Latin American region probably the most significant initiative for justice and reconciliation was the *Rhemi project in Guatemala*. Edelberto Torres Rivas from Flacso/UNDP Guatemala gave a presentation on the project. In tracing the history of the 36-year Guatemalan conflict, he emphasized the State’s violation of human rights. The Rhemi project, run by the Catholic Church took three years to examine 16,000 cases of human rights abuses, and resulted in four volumes of documentation in which the role of the military was severely denounced. At the same time the official Truth Commission, headed by Christian Tomuschat, in their 14 volumes of testimony concluded that 65 percent of the war victims were Mayas. In particular, Mayan women were shown to be the direct victims of numerous cases of rape.

In his presentation Edelberto highlighted the shortfalls of the Rhemi project as the Commission’s inability to identify those individuals responsible for the abuses, thus stopping short of justice. While many sectors wanted to forget what happened, there existed a real need for judgment and punishment in post-conflict Guatemala. Without coming to grips with the past, society has not been able to move on.

In contrast to this experience, and to move the discussion from national to local level, Ana Daza presented a case study of the *Casas de Justicia in Colombia*. This is a



Edelberto Torres Rivas of Flacso/UNDP Guatemala presents the Rhemi report.

national network of local-level judicial institutions that bring together the different actors to resolve conflicts at that level. This highlighted the importance of family and community conflicts and social violence that occur within a context of high levels of political violence. Ana based her case study on the violent, problematic barrio of *Aguablanca* in Cali, and emphasized the importance of local level conflict resolution through the generation of a new social order that focused on dialogue and conciliation, rather than coercive sanctions and punishment. She described a cycle of poverty and violence that affects this community, leading to low self-esteem and a poorer quality of life, resulting in more violence. Her main message was the importance of training local women in conflict resolution, as a means of empowering them while breaking the violence-poverty cycle, and as a mechanism for sustainable, peaceful co-existence at the local level.

Liliana Piñeros completed the session with an example of *informal level conflict resolution* in a community in Ibagué. She addressed issues relating to the tensions arising between local residents and the influx of displaced families and described in detail how the project formed a committee of women conciliators to deal with conflicts and disagreements in their local neighborhood.

Recommendations

As in other sessions, the principal message to emerge was the importance of ‘memory’ in the national reconciliation process. This refers to the importance of the recollection of people’s experiences, sufferings and actions –allowing for their visibility, their public processing, and their acknowledgement and valuing as a part of ‘official’ history. In order to share and process the pain of the victims and their families, this includes documenting the many human rights abuses committed against the civilian population. Critical here is the visibility of women as victims of human rights abuses, such as sexual assault, and the forced recruitment of young girls and women into armed groups, as well as compensations for widows and orphans of the conflict.

However, it is also related to increased visibility of women’s active roles in conflict as collaborators and combatants. It is important to acknowledge them as political and social actors instead of stigmatizing them for transgression of gender and societal norms. This will value their contribution to history, and grant them the same privileges as men ex-combatants. Through such public recognition, women ex-combatants can begin to come to terms with their past. At the same time this will open ‘space’ to initiate their dialogue and conciliation with civil society as well as with widows and orphans of the government forces.

Both processes require psycho-social analysis of the effects of conflict, and psycho-emotional support to conflict affected populations. This is essential if the cycle of vengeance, hate and violence is to be broken. The type of support required needs to be designed and delivered with a gender perspective, since men and women suffer different traumas and deal with them differently. In the delivery of such services to indigenous populations it is important to also respect their traditional healing and reconciliation methods, and take account of other linguistic and cultural barriers.



Liliana Piñeros tells of her experience of local community conflict resolution in Ibagué, Colombia.



A comment from the floor...

To achieve true reconciliation and a sustainable peace, however, it is also necessary to nurture new types of social and political behavior permeating all levels of society. Aside from the national reconciliation process, it is crucial to also support local conflict resolution and conciliation processes. These should encourage new non-violent social contracts that avoid the punitive and coercive measures that have proved to be ineffective.

For a truth commission to be truly effective and lead to real reconciliation, it is crucial that the government, and other forces involved in the conflict are fully committed to accept both the commission and its results. As Edelberto's account of the Rhemi illustrated, the main problem was the commission's inability to identify the perpetrators, and to call them to justice. In addition, the fact that neither senior government nor military officials agreed to receive the report considerably diminished the potential for debate around its contents and the implications of the report. Two days after the release of the report, Bishop Gerardi was murdered. This indicated the controversial nature of the report, and led to greater frustration and despair among the victims of violence, and the advocates for peace, rather than generating a commitment to peace or reconciliation.

In conclusion, justice and reconciliation are meaningless one without the other. This shows the essential need for a holistic approach to conflict resolution, justice and reconciliation, which deals with pains and frustration at different levels and in all sectors of the population and takes into account the gendered needs in this process.

Challenges for Colombia

After the presentation of these six themes at international, national and local level—designed to assist Colombian participants to reflect upon their own reality and provide them with concrete ideas for interventions—the final panel session provided the opportunity for government, non-governmental organizations and international organizations to reflect upon these themes in terms of their implications for Colombia. The main points of different representatives are summarized as follows:

Yolanda de Herrera, CARE/El Salvador

Yolanda de Herrera stressed the importance of thinking ahead as to what should occur when peace comes. She emphasized the need to develop programs that address the causes of poverty by assisting the internally displaced. She illustrated this by describing an internally displaced people's (IDP) program in El Salvador where she worked. This had many problems including a lack of political will to help the displaced; a high dependence on USAID funding; no gender focus, and no participation by the displaced in the planning and evaluation of the program. In trying to attack too many problems, the program failed to be very effective. She commented that although El Salvador is now at peace, the majority of the population lives in worse poverty than before the war. Colombia needs to make sure that in the design, and implementation, of its programs for peace, the emphasis goes beyond temporary assistance and to attacking poverty and the causes of conflict to helping bring about reconciliation.



Yolanda de Herrera explains the limitations and successes of a program for IDPs in El Salvador.

Leila Lima, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Colombia

Leila Lima recalled that the first time gender was integrated into the UNHCR system was at the Cirefca conference in El Salvador in 1992. Integrating gender is a long-term process because it not only requires ideological change, but also changes in the institutional culture. Gender training for men will assist them to treat women with respect. UNHCR is now incorporating a gender focus into its programs, and training personnel working with refugees, returnees and the internally displaced in human rights and gender skills. In the monitoring and evaluation of programs as well as in internal mechanisms and procedures, clear indicators for mainstreaming gender are required. In Colombia, where the issue of the displaced is of critical importance, UNHCR is paying special attention to the needs of displaced women. These include protection from sexual violence, forced prostitution, slavery, forced marriage, and attention to sanitation and reproductive health. The Commission is also working to insure the participation of women in the planning and distribution of food aid, to obtain documentation and in literacy and other educational programs.

Nazli Lozano de Jure, National Counselor for Women's Equity, Colombia

Nazli Lozano pointed out that 54 percent of the IDPs in Colombia are women and 36 percent of them are heads of household. The President's *Plan Colombia* addresses the need to lessen the impact of violence on women, build peace and family life, and defend human rights. The Plan includes programs for work, reproductive health, education, housing and to counteract violence. There is an emphasis on rural women, female ex-combatants, and conformity with international agreements. For the displaced, the government is providing protection for children, legal information, conflict resolution, human rights education, inclusion of women in productive and income generating projects, assistance to women suffering violence, and psychological counseling.

Marcella Rodríguez, Red de Solidaridad Social⁷, Colombia

Marcela Rodríguez listed the lessons learned so far in Colombia. Violence has different impacts on men and women. Differences also exist in terms of rural and urban areas, ethnicity, and age groups. The overall impact of violence and displacement however has been the systematic violation of human rights, the erosion of the social fabric, and the terrible conditions in which displaced women have to live. It is important to analyze the situation more profoundly and identify the root causes of the violence and the conflict. Alternatives need to be sought. Concrete progress can be seen in the creation of the *Law of Assistance to the Internally Displaced (Ley 387)* and decree 290 of 1999. The latter facilitates the provision of documentation, land and access to

⁷ Social Solidarity Network: The Colombian government's special department dealing with internally displaced people.



Magdala Velásquez and Caroline Moser
at the round table discussion.

*Peace is democracy, self-esteem, and the
absence of individual and structural
violence.*

Magdala Velásquez (2000)

resources, and to the services of the CATs (Centers for Temporary Attention). Other necessary steps include the consolidation of areas of co-existence, protection of women under physical threat, and the support of women leaders.

Magdala Velásquez, National Council for Peace, Colombia

Magdalena Velásquez stressed that peace is more than accords, that it is a democratic culture. Negotiations for peace are critical, but require an agenda and a methodology. Except for the *Asambleas*⁸, there has been little civil society participation in the peace process. Women, ethnic groups and the elderly have been excluded. It is important to build the confidence of civil society in the peace process, but there is little transparency on either side. The US Aid Package will encourage war and erase the emphasis on the structural causes of the war. The *Council* has asked the government and the FARC to put women and employment on the agenda.

Caroline Moser and Jairo Arboleda closed the conference with thanks to all the participants for their assistance and contributions throughout the two days. They credited the rich material and discussion that had been generated by the conference and urged the women's movement and the organizations present to take seriously the recommendations that had been made throughout.

Final Comments and Overall Recommendations

In this final section we have three main objectives:

- To highlight the main strengths and weaknesses of the conference.
- To summarize the most important recommendations from the very rich discussions that were held during the two-day conference, as well as those identified in the commissioned commentaries.
- To briefly outline followed up initiatives that we have implemented since the conference, necessary to continue the energy and impetus generated by the event.

The main strengths of the conference were identified as the following:

- ❖ The usefulness of comparing cross cutting topics, and their gendered expressions, in different political, cultural and economic contexts in diverse countries and conflicts, to assist in the identification of best practice interventions.
- ❖ The identification of both opportunities and constraints for the women's movement in particular, and humanitarian assistance and development organizations in general, in applying a gender perspective to the construction of a sustainable peace.

⁸ The *Asambleas* are a mechanism established early in 2000 by a consortium of NGOs for civil society participation in the discussion between the Colombian Government and the FARC and the ELN.

- ❖ The facilitation of a space for informal exchange and networking between individual and group representatives from conflict affected populations, to come together to share common problems, constraints and successes and thereby strengthen their initiatives.
- ❖ The focus on the progress from gendered affects of conflict to gendered interventions for peace, which rather than fragmenting reality, creates a better understanding of the interrelated stages and processes of conflict and peace.
- ❖ An integrated approach to the subject that brought together victims and actors of the conflict, with actors and advocates for peace, across a diverse population. This included indigenous women, rural and urban women, Afro-Colombian women, ex-combatant women, women's organizations, and the women's movement for peace. This greatly enriched the discussions and level of analysis as well as providing the opportunity for multiple views and experiences of the same issue, and, following from this, the identification of common ground around which to join forces.

Some of the weaknesses of the conference identified were:

- ❖ Because of constraints of time and numbers, the conference was not able to include all the organizations representing the peace movement in Colombia. Two principal groups not represented at the event were the Ruta Pacífica de Mujeres, and the Asociación de Familiares de Desaparecidos. In addition, there are other human right's organizations that could have made valid contributions to the conference. A lack of men attending the conference was also mentioned as a drawback.
- ❖ There was not sufficient space or facilitation for a concrete discussion around the participation of women in the actual negotiations with the FARC and the ELN⁹, and the various activities being organized by the civil society movement for peace around these negotiations.
- ❖ Despite designing each session to include the participation of the relevant department in the Colombian government responsible for that particular area of intervention, this was not always achieved. Consequently there was not a comprehensive reaction from government on a variety of issues covered. As the Colombian government moves ahead with the great challenges it faces in implementing its policies and projects –despite existing legislation and necessary instruments –exchanges of this type may be of assistance in ensuring success.
- ❖ While the extensive diversity of the conference content and participants was one of its strengths, it was also a weakness. It did not allow sufficient specific discussion, or the elaboration of concrete interventions, either from government or civil society sectors represented. Rather it highlighted the fragmented nature of Colombia's women's movement and peace movement. However, general consensus was reached around the following recommendations that can be explored in more detail on an individual basis.

⁹ Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), National Liberation Army (ELN).

Overall Recommendations

1. Emphasize the importance of a holistic approach

The importance of a holistic approach to violence reduction, conflict resolution and building sustainable peace was emphasized throughout the conference. This must take account of different, interrelated types and levels of violence, the historical, cultural, social, political and economic antecedents to the conflict, and a wider understanding of the concept of human security. Most important of all, a gender perspective must be incorporated into the design and implementation of effective interventions.

2. Acknowledge the multiple roles of women and men as actors and victims

It is important to move from simplistic, generalized understandings of violence and conflict, to identifying the multiple relations between women and men, and violence and peace. Instead of assuming women are victims and men are perpetrators of violence we need to understand the multiple roles that men and women assume during conflict and peace building.

3. Recognize women and men's vulnerability and agency

Women and men's vulnerability and agency requires recognition. Individuals and groups vulnerable to the effects of conflict, especially to severe abuses of human rights, need protection. This includes both physical security as well as vulnerability to social or economic abuse. However, it is also important to recognize people's agency and to build on individual and collective capacities. This is particularly important in policies relating to displaced people. Here the approach needs to move beyond a focus on victims to recognize them as actors in their own development.

4. Provide accurate data on the situation of women during conflict

The insufficiency of adequate data on gender and conflict was reiterated throughout the conference, emphasizing the need for comprehensive, concrete and reliable information on the situation of women during conflict. Unanswered questions relate, for instance, to the numbers who suffer directly from violence and conflict, the consequences of conflict for them and their families, the survival strategies men and women implement during conflict, and how these can be supported. Exact numbers of women in the armed groups are not known, nor how many leave and are not represented in the reintegration programs.

5. Identify the diversity of experiences of conflict

As a country, Colombia has important ethnic, racial and geographical differences. Since the experience of conflict, displacement, reintegration and the transition to peace are not the same for everyone, standardized, blueprint policies must be avoided.

Interventions for conflict-affected populations need to be sensitive to issues of gender, age, ethnicity and geography, as do policies for peace and development.

6. *Ensure that policies for the displaced population go beyond humanitarian assistance to include long-term development*

One of the clearest messages from the conference was the need for programs for displaced populations to go beyond humanitarian assistance to include long-term development. This means programs for agricultural rejuvenation, housing, and income generation. In addition, returnees need accompanying for a period of time in their place of origin or relocation, to ensure protection against human rights violations, and to provide them with necessary psycho-social support. For women refugees this is particularly important. They may have undergone traumatic displacement experiences, and in confronting challenges as refugees may have achieved greater autonomy than before. To ensure this independence is not undermined by a forced return to the *status quo ante bellum* will require essential structures of support.

7. *Develop psycho-emotional and social support interventions for conflict victims and combatants*

To restore destroyed human and social capital, the traumatic effects of conflict have to be acknowledged and addressed. The conference highlighted the fact that psycho-emotional programs and social support interventions have the highest demand, but receive least attention in current policy and practice. Victims of violence and displacement, as much as combatants on all sides, who face difficult reintegration processes, desperately need such programs.

8. *Recognize the 'memory' of all experiencing, or involved in, conflict*

To assist reconciliation across the country, the recollection, documentation and public recognition of 'memory' is a critical mechanism. The experiences of the victims of violence and their families, of the displaced, of the combatants on all sides, of the widows, the orphans and the disappeared of the war, need to be given expression. This will assist in processing the pain and anxiety relating to these traumatic events. Recognition of memory relates not only to the violent events themselves but also to the difficult adaptations and transitions that follow.

9. *Provide the opportunity for ex-combatant women to address the stigma attached to their past*

Ex-combatant women in particular require the opportunity to recount and reinterpret their participation in the armed struggle, and in this way deal with the stigma and trauma attached to their past. Once they have developed a support-group they can

initiate dialogue with their families, communities and civil society organizations, to establish their space in civil society and the peace building process.

10. Include a gender perspective in demobilization processes for armed groups

The demobilization and politicization process of the armed groups need to be addressed from a gender perspective. This will ensure an accurate understanding of the numbers of men and women demobilizing and in this way guarantee that women combatants have the same rights and access to reintegration programs as men, as well as fair representation in the future political form of the insurgent group to which they belonged.

11. Ensure women's participation throughout the peace process

To ensure women's participation in the peace process it is critical to include women, and a gender perspective, from the very beginning. Through the protection and promotion of women leaders at the local, regional and national level, and the removal of traditional and cultural barriers to women's political participation, women can make their voice heard and ensure their needs are taken into account. Gender and social exclusion are not to be relegated to second place, to be dealt with once peace has been signed. They must be debated and agreed to achieve successful gender sensitive, inclusive peace and development policies.

12. Women need to find a common agenda

To achieve this, however, the women's movement must unite around a common agenda. This is as important as it is for the government and other institutions to open their doors and remove the inherent gender discrimination in their organizations. To build a coherent project for peace for the public arena, Colombia's very diverse women's movement needs to find common ground— while respecting diversities of age, geography and race. The peace process provides a window of opportunity to challenge and renegotiate the current codes and societal rules that govern the relations between men and women, as well as between government organizations and the women's movement. Now is the time to seize it.

13. Develop a new culture of peace

In the final session of the conference participants affirmed the need to develop a new social order to overcome the culture of violence in Colombia today. The high levels of impunity and tolerance to violence have to be addressed if the country is to live in sustainable peace. A new ethic, a new social code needs to be established that replaces violence, retribution and punishment with values of dialogue and non-violence in the peaceful resolution of conflicts at family, community and national level.

14. The need for a comprehensive peace and development process

All of the above have to be placed in the wider context of a solid, inclusive and transparent national pacification and reconciliation process if they are to be sustainable. Countries such as Perú and Nicaragua, which did not have a clear peace process, have not cleared up many of the doubts, pains and uncertainties that remained after their conflicts. Furthermore, such a process needs to have the full commitment of the government, all insurgent groups and all parts of civil society to be truly effective. Peace is the responsibility of everyone not just those that sign it and as such needs to be addressed at all levels from the household, to the community, to society at large.

After the Conference: Initiatives to follow up

So often a workshop or conference ends with participants saying 'So what?, What do we do now?'. On completion of this meeting, therefore, our first priority was to ensure that the rich exchange of information and discussion generated by the Conference –especially the comparative material from other countries– was not lost.

We therefore started by commissioning five conference participants to write short commentaries of their impressions of the conference. These were prepared by Sara Gómez Acevedo (Diálogo Mujer), Donny Meertens (Universidad Nacional de Colombia), Gloria Tobón Olarte (Red Nacional de la Mujer), María Eugenia Vásquez (Colectivo María Va) and Sally Yudelman (International Center for Research on Women), and provide the basis for this report. This report will be published in Spanish and in English and distributed widely among civil society organizations, government departments, academic institutions and international organizations in Colombia and to others interested internationally.

As a second priority we considered it essential to follow up the conference with a more practical and concrete intervention. Of the extensive number of important issues, in our analysis of the contents of the conference we considered that three issues, in particular, were of critical importance:

- ❖ The lack of voice in the peace process of Afro-Colombian and indigenous women.
- ❖ The important role that ex combatant women can play in the peace process, particularly in providing a support-structure for other ex combatants as they experience reinsertion back into civil society –and the consequent need for ex combatant women to strengthen their organizations.
- ❖ The need for greater common voice –and unity– among women's organizations in particular, and in the women's movement as a whole, in Colombia.

In response to priorities such as these, and to the widespread interest in issues raised at the Conference, our donor counterparts in Sweden agreed with our suggestion to reallocate funds from within the Swedish Trust Fund previously allocated for other issues, to support the establishment a Seed Corn Fund. The objective of this small fund was very specific, namely, to strengthen the capacity of women to participate in the peace process in Colombia (*see* box 8.1).

BOX 8.1

FUND FOR STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PEACE PROCESS IN COLOMBIA THE WORLD BANK AND SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (SIDA)

The purpose of the fund is to strengthen the coordination among women's organizations to promote their participation in the peace processes in Colombia.

Groups eligible to access Fund resources are non-governmental (formal or informal) women's organizations involved with populations of women in a situation of exclusion and economic and social vulnerability, and networks or groups of women whose objective is to be political actors in the citizen building processes and to contribute to building peace in Colombia from a gender perspective.

The main criteria for the proposals was that they had to show:

- ❖ **Partnership:** The project shows the collaboration between two or more women's organizations or networks in a dynamic process for transforming and improving the relations between the organizations and their members and the definition of common goals.
- ❖ **Participation:** The project shows a high degree of participation by the members of the organization and/or the community in designing and developing its proposal.
- ❖ **Social Lessons Learned:** The project once ended will generate useful lessons learned for others.
- ❖ **Consistency:** The project is coherent and adjusts to Fund requirements.
- ❖ **Gender Perspective:** The project manages its activities by implementing a gender perspective in its design, development, and performance.

Fund Regulations, World Bank, Bogotá, September 2000

The Fund, totaling US\$ 90,000, was launched through an extensive *convocatoria* exercise conducted across the country in September 2000. On November 1st, 2000 the fund had received a total 85 proposal from regions throughout the country from an extensive number of organizations. These ranged from indigenous and Afro-Colombian women's organizations to national women's networks for peace, trade unions, and partnerships between academic institutions and women's organizations. A committee that included representatives of government and civil society, and World Bank Staff,¹⁰ reviewed these proposals. At a meeting, held in Bogotá on 10 November 2000, the committee selected eleven projects to be funded under the Seed Corn Fund (*see* Annex 3 for a list of chosen proposals).

The proposals chosen for funding reflect a diversity of women's organizations and groups that include indigenous and Afro-Colombian women, a female youth group, a network of ex-combatant women. The interventions relating to strengthening the capacity of women in participate in the peace process include establishing networks between marginalized groups, research on the situation of women in conflict, developing a communications strategy between women in civil society and women in the armed groups, and reaching agreement on a code of conduct between an indigenous community and the armed groups present in their region.

¹⁰ Ana Isabel Arenas (National Advisory for Social Policy), Sara Gómez (Diálogo Mujer), Pilar Montagut (Gender Focal Point Departamento Nacional de Planeación DNP), María Eugenia Vásquez (Colectivo María Va) Caroline Moser (World Bank Consultant), Jairo Arboleda (Civil Society Specialist, World Bank, Bogotá).

Although a considerable number of projects, over and above those funded, also merited support, we were constrained by the limited resources available, and the time necessary for implementation. Each project received between 15 and 20 million pesos (US\$ 7,000-10,000). Each of the chosen projects addresses one, if not more, of the recommendations surfacing from the conference. We hope therefore that these projects once completed and evaluated will be able to provide best practice examples, and pilot projects, for wider initiatives supporting women's participation in the peace processes in Colombia. If further resources become available we will endeavor to support additional proposals in this critical area –that merits so much more recognition and support in Colombia than it is currently receiving.

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ANNEX 1

ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES

Organization	Representatives
Camine Aver, Ibagué	Carmen Lilibiana Piñeros
CARE, El Salvador	Yolanda Herrera
Cauca	Luz Estela Navas
CEDAVIDA	Constanza Ardila
CEMILLA	Santiago Parra Román, Aurafiorisa Herrera – El Porvenir neighborhood woman leader
Centre for Popular Research and Education Foundation (CINEP)	Leonor Araújo, Prudencio Piña
Centre for the Study and Research of Employment (CESTRA)	Aura Marlene Márquez
Citizens' Mandate for Peace	Camilo González Posso, Director
Colectivo Maria Va	María Eugenia Vásquez, Pilar Rueda
Colombian Agency for International Cooperation	Emilia Ruiz de Ramírez
Colombian Institute of Family Welfare (ICBF)	Lina Gutiérrez, Ximena Garrido, Sandra Burgos
Colombian Lawyers Commission	Ana María Díaz
Colombian National Association of Rural and Indigenous Women (ANMUCIC)	Leonora Castaño, President
Commission for Human Economic and Social Rights – Latin America (CODHES)	María Elena Zapata
Companies for Peace (COMPAZ), Colombia	Claudia Camacho, Director
Corporación AVRE, Montería	Marcela Salazar Posada
Corporación María Cano, Montería	Lina Arrieta, Gloria Tobón
Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris	
Diálogo Mujer	Sara Gómez Acevedo, Directora
Directorate for Reinsertion	Gloria Quiceno (directora), Ledys Ospina
Fundación Progresar	Sandra Narváez
Fundación Social	Catalina Díaz
Inter-American Development Bank	Ana Lucía Muñoz
Interdisciplinary Work Association	Rosa Emilia Salamanca, Alexandra Torres, Escuela de Género
International Organization for Migrations	Lilibiana Arias
Las Dignas, El Salvador	Morena Herrera
Latin America and the Caribbean Commission for Women's Rights, Perú	Giulia Tamayo
Ministry of Agriculture	Margarita Rosa Ruiz
National Association of Rural Users (ANUC)	Gilma Benítez, National Coordinator for Women and Family
National Advisory for Social Policy	Ana Isabel Arenas
National Advisory for Women's Equity	Nazly Lozano Eljure
National Peace Council	Magdala Velásquez Torro, Sector Mujer (Corporación Humaniza)
National Planning Department (DNP)	Pilar Montagut, Social Development Unit Consultant
National Women's Network	Gloria Tobón

(Continued Annex 1)

Organization	Representatives
Network of Women Living with HIV	María Yaneth Pinilla, Consultant
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	Anders Kompass, Director
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Peace	María Teresa Garcés, Alba de Cárdenas
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	Leifa Lima, Director
Organization of Afro-Colombian Women (ORMUAFRO)	Nayibe Mina
OXFAM, Colombia	Blanca Cecilia Gómez, Martha Inés Romero
Plataforma Juvenil, Terre des Hommes	Lina María Rodas
Pontificia Javeriana University	Zoraida Castillo, Professor, Department of Economics, Flor Edilma Osorio, M.A. in Rural Development
Presidential Advisory for Citizen Security	Gonzalo de Francisco
Profamilia	María Cristina Calderón, Patricia Ospina
Program of Assistance to the Repopulation and Development of Emergency Zones, Perú (PAR)	Paca Villanueva Rojas
Project Counselling Service, Colombia	Rikard Nordgren
Project Counselling Service, Guatemala	Dorotea Gómez
Project Counselling Service, Perú	Dina Avila
Save the Children	Mariela River
Social Solidarity Network	Ellen Beattie, International Corporation Area, Management Consultant, Marcela Rodríguez, Gender and Development Consultant
Swedish Embassy	Ambassador Björn Sternby, Joakim Nyberg (SIDA)
Taller de VIDA	Estela Duque
Terre Des Hommes	Diana Castillo, Woman – Gender Andean Regional Coordinator, Erika Páez
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	Gladys Acosta, Regional Consultant on Women and Gender Equity, Esther Jürgens, Assistant Program Officer, Soraya Hoyos, Consultant, Gender Unit
Universidad Nacional de Colombia	Donny Meertens, Magdalena León, Martha Zambrano, María Emma Wills
USAID, Colombia	Cristina Schultz, Human Rights
Vice-Ministry for Youth	Iván Mustafa, National Coordinator of Integrated Services for Youth, Clara Lía Solórzano
Woman's Home Directorate	María Eugenia Sánchez, Olga Amparo Sánchez

ANNEX 2
PROFILES OF SPEAKERS
(In order of appearance)

Guilia Tamayo León

Guilia is an attorney and investigator of women's human rights for the Latin America and Caribbean Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights. In 1992, she accompanied the Technical Commission on Displaced Population (Perú) and she was responsible for writing up a diagnosis on the situation of displaced women. Guilia is the former Director of the Flora Tristán Peruvian Women's Center (Perú) and she was in charge of writing up alternative reports to the Treaty Oversight Committees. She is also the author of the reports "Silence and Complicity. Violence against Public Health Services Women in Perú" and "Nothing Personal: Application of Surgical Birth Control in Perú". She is the Coordinator of the Project "Regional Balance of Social and Institutional Responses to Gender Violence regarding the Situation of Women in Armed Conflict, Post-conflict, and in Militarized Zones" and of the report "A Question of Life. Regional Balance of Women's Right to a Life Free of Violence". In March 2000, she received the Jineta Sagan International Award granted by Amnesty International/USA to the defenders of women's human rights.

Rosa Emilia Salamanca

Rosa Emilia is the General Director of the Interdisciplinary Work Association. Among others, she is part of the national coordinator team for Platform for Human Rights, Democracy and Development, a delegate of National Women's Network - Bogotá Node and of Habitat Women's Network, and a delegate to the Santa Fe de Bogotá Territorial Planning Council. She is also a member of the founding group of the International Coalition of Women Waging Peace and, at the end of last year, she was elected one of the ten Colombian women to attend the event in the United States for this coalition. She is Regional Coordinator for Latin America of the project "Organizational Self Audit for NGOs" and consultant and advisor on gender projects to indigenous organizations.

Caroline Moser

From 1997 to 2000 a World Bank specialist in Social Development for the region of Latin America and the Caribbean since the year 1997, Caroline worked for the World Bank for ten years. During the last three years, she established the Urban Peace Program. As part of this program, she carried out various activities, the most outstanding of which are a conceptual framework for reducing violence, a participative study on the perceptions of violence by 18 poor urban communities in Colombia and in Guatemala, and a global conference on gender, armed conflict, and political violence, organized by herself and Fiona Clark at the World Bank in Washington in June, 1999. Before working with the World Bank, Caroline worked at the London School of Economics in London, and at the Institute of Development Studies in Sussex, United Kingdom, where she devoted herself to designing, writing up, and teaching a

conceptual and operational framework for gender analysis, which was published in 1992. Caroline has her own Colombian history also, as she was first in this country in the 1970s to do research for her Doctorate. Currently, Caroline works as a senior research fellow for the Overseas Development Institute in London, UK.

Dorotea Gómez

With a degree in Social Work (1999), Dorotea now works with the Advisory for Projects (PCS) at its headquarters in Guatemala on the project "Women Returned Refugees in Guatemala: Challenges and Lessons Learned about Refugees and their Re-entry". Also, she has worked at giving advisory and technical assistance in the management and execution of production and handicraft projects for groups of men and women; she has taught courses and workshops on organizational strengthening, violence toward children and youths from the marginal zones of Guatemala City for the Human Rights Prosecutor's Office, lectures on nutrition, and courses on how to prepare alternative, nutritional dishes, to women in the communities of Chichicastenango and Quiché.

Leonora Castaño

Director of the National Association of Peasant and Indigenous Women of Colombia (ANMUCIC), Leonora works with women in rural areas, supporting income generating production projects, improving rural the life quality for women who have suffered sociopolitical violence, displaced women, and those affected by the conflict.

Aura Marlene Márquez Herrera

Aura Marlene is a social worker with the Labor Center of Studies and Research (CESTRA) in the Pro-Old Age Committee (a member of the Latin American and Caribbean Network for Senior Citizens). She works on the project "Senior Citizens for Change" funded by Help Age International (United Kingdom). Aura Marlene did her postgraduate studies in Social Policy, with a specialization in health and gerontology community participation and social policy project areas. Then, she devoted herself to analyzing, evaluating, and designing policies, programs, and actions for the senior population. She is a founding member and the President of the Interdisciplinary Gerontology Association - AIG Colombia. Among her publications figure "Aging and Old Age in Latin America and in Colombia", and "Aging: Experiences and Perspectives" (1996), "Old Age Policies in Colombia", ILSA (1995) and "The Senior Citizen - a New Social Actor", lecture given at the Latin American and Caribbean Encounter on Senior Citizens, ECLAC, Santiago de Chile (1999).

Lina María Rodas

A 21-year old woman from Medellín, she has participated for the past nine years in various social groups and organizations in this city. She is a Promoter at the Total Women's Participation Promotion Center in the northeast zone of Medellín. She is a participant in the youth actions for the Youth Platform of Terre des Hommes, Colombia. She was a speaker at the forum Sexual Violence against Young Women held in Medellín in December 1999 and she spoke at the seminar Girls' and Young Women's Situation in the Andean Region held in Bogotá in November 1999.

Paca Villanueva Rojas

Born in the Department of Amazonas, in the Province of Chachapoyas, Perú, Paca is a Social Worker with a postgraduate degree in Gender from Universidad Católica del Perú. She is now studying for her Master's in Social Anthropology at Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanga in Ayacucho. She has been working since the year 1985 in various NGOs devoted to working with women's organizations, and since 1995 she has been working in the public administration of the Presidential Ministry Emergency Zone Development Program and now she is also involved in the Support to Re-population and Emergency Zone Development Program (PAR) led by the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and of Human Development of Perú. She has mainly performed as the person responsible for job training and generation projects, specifically regarding the founding and consolidation of micro-companies with displaced women. She presently works for the Department of Ayacucho as Coordinator of the National Program for Attention to Orphans produced by Terrorist Violence throughout that department.

Gloria Tobón Olarte

Gloria has broad experience in directing and executing projects with a gender perspective and she has the ability to give advisory for and accompany community processes. She has a degree in Business Administration from Universidad Santo Tomás in Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia. She has been a consultant for planning with a gender perspective for governmental agencies and for NGOs. She is a founding member of Corporación Humanizar that conducts research on and teaches human rights, development planning, conflict settlement, and gender management. Gloria participates in the National Women's Network whose objective is to promote women's participation as citizens in politics and the search for equal opportunity and peace building. Some of her publications include "Women and Displacement in Montería", Presidential Advisory for Human Rights (1994); "Women and Armed Conflict", *Nova & Vetera Review* (1999) and she has given lectures on displacement and gender at several events. Recently, she participated in research on how exile and pain affect building the identity of displaced women in Bogotá (1995) and on socio-cultural changes in displaced women in Montería (1994).

Lina del Carmen Arrieta

An Agronomy Engineer from Universidad de Córdoba, with a specialization in Community Management and Development from Universidad Incca (1997),

since 1994 Lina has been the Legal Representative of Corporación María Cano, a women's NGO that works with urban and rural displaced and marginal women focusing on gender, rights, and environmental sustainability. She is also the Training-Education Coordinator and since she became involved with the entity in 1991, she has done everything from secretarial work to general coordination of projects. She has participated as a speaker and lecturer at different local, regional and national events with the topics of gender and women's rights. From 1993 to 1994, she carried out the DRI Fund Women Peasants Program in 12 municipalities in the Department of Córdoba. She now is also acting as Advisor for Community Development with an emphasis on worker's rights to stock in their companies in the Business Administration program at Fundación Universitaria Luis Amigó. She is a member of the Department's Planning Council and a delegate for Córdoba at the National Council. Since October 1999 she has been a member of the Department's Peace Commission.

Morena Herrera

Morena is the Director of the El Salvador women's organization "The Association of Women for Dignity and for Life, The Worthy Ones, El Salvador". This is a feminist non-governmental organization that seeks to eradicate the subordination of gender as an unpostponable condition for democracy and social justice. Morena has worked for many years with this association, managing reinsertion projects for women ex-combatants, for the recovery of historical memory and strengthening and training women on post-conflict and against gender violence.

María Eugenia Vásquez Perdomo

An Anthropologist from Universidad Nacional de Colombia, María Eugenia started her studies in the 1970s. At that time, she became involved in the newly-born insurgent movements and she was a guerrilla fighter for more than eighteen years. She surrendered arms along with her movement Movimiento 19 de Abril, M-19 and then returned to her studies and graduated. Her Anthropology paper was based on her life and it earned her honors along with her professional degree. The experience that she gained working with the populace and through her own life allowed her to direct and give continuity to her vocation, working at social intervention and participatory research tasks with urban communities, on the topics of violence, peace, and co-existence. She also gives advisory services on projects for the promotion of and attention to women victims of violence. At present, she is part of a research team that analyzes the effects of violence on the lives of women who lost their husbands as a result of the internal armed conflict. She has published articles in academic reviews and in current events magazines on autobiographical memory building processes, how to use them as an opportunity for social recovery, the perspectives of a negotiated peace, and active neutrality. The Ministry of Culture granted her the 1998 National Testimony Award for her text "Written to survive" in which she narrates her life as a guerrilla fighter and how difficult it was for her to return to a civilian lifestyle.

Luz Estela Navas Murminacho

Luz Estela is from Ecuador where she went to school and then to college to study Telecommunications at Escuela Politécnica Nacional in Quito in

1981-1985. She was part of the university student movement and active in the armed combat outbreaks in Ecuador. At the end of 1985, she joined the M-19 America Battalion, made up of combatants from various countries. After the demobilization of M-19, she worked closely with its political movement. She has also worked with community organizations in the South of Bogotá; in the Congress of the Republic; in the administration area and in the Rural Women area of the National Company for Peace, COMPAZ. Presently she is directing an agro-ecological project whose fundamental axes are Peace, equity for women, and sustainable development with rural women in the Municipality of Timbío, Department of Cauca. Through a credit from the Program for reinsertion, she studied Hydric Resources and Environmental Management Engineering and she is now doing a specialization in Conflict Settlement at Universidad del Valle.

Pilar Rueda Jiménez

An Anthropologist from Universidad Nacional, with a Master's degree in International Political Violence and Conflict Settlement from the University of Notre Dame, USA, Pilar has developed her academic and professional work in the following topics: conflict settlement, participation, gender, and human rights. She has been a consultant for international cooperation organizations, such as UNDP and the Organization of Ibero-American States (OIAS). She has been a consultant for designing and executing government policies in Colombia: Advisor to the Presidential Council for Women's Equity in designing the Women's Equal Opportunity Plan, specifically the chapter on Women and Armed Conflict. At present, she is Advisor for the National Association for Women and Peasants and Indigenous Women in Colombia (ANMUCIC) and is Executive Director of Colectivo María Va, a non-governmental organization that, through research and social development programs, seeks to contribute to the peaceful solution of the armed conflict, incorporating the gender perspective, and also to the defense of human rights and of international humanitarian law for the population affected by the armed conflict, especially women and boys and girls.

Guadalupe Salinas Valle

A lawyer and former notary public with a Master's degree in Fiscal Law, she became an activist because of the social and political transformations that her country has suffered for more than 30 years now. Guadalupe has been involved in the defense of human rights and in cooperation for development from the stance of the Student Movement in the 1970s, from international agencies and public financial entities and cooperation institutions from 1980 to 1990, as well as from the Women's Movement. With her experience in research, training and coordination processes in the field of Social Sciences, she is presently seeking new paths to make old dreams come true. She was Director of Internal Taxes in the General Revenue Division of the Ministry of Finance; Oxfam, Great Britain, of Action Aid and of Ministry of Health External Cooperation in Nicaragua. A member of the Democratic Lawyers Association of Nicaragua, of the Professional Women's Association for Democracy in Development and of the

National Feminist Committee, spaces from which she is presently involved in the Civil Coordinating Body for Emergencies and Reconstruction, in the follow-ups in Stockholm and in Beijing and in reforms to the Justice Administration System, among others, along with her efforts to strengthen the Women's Autonomous Movement.

Sara Gómez Acevedo

For the past 28 years, she has been working with popular communities and for 25 with women. In 1983 she founded Diálogo Mujer with a team of men and women. Diálogo Mujer is a feminist NGO of which she is the Director and where she also works in research, education, and communications promoting, as the focal point of the NGOs, the Beijing and post-Beijing processes, in addition to her driving force in the Movement of Women Authors and Actors for Peace. Sara is the Coordinator in Colombia of the campaign Multilateral Banks Seen from Women's Point of View and has recently done research on the gender perspective in a youth project for Colombia funded by the World Bank. Every day and from every possible angle, she is a leader for positioning feminist ideas, especially those of the most socially excluded women.

Nayibe Mina

She was born, lives, and works in Puerto Tejada, Department of Cauca, and is an attorney for the Family Commissariat in Puerto Tejada where she works with families and gives support to forming women's groups. At one point in time, she worked as a gardener in EMCODES, as a development promoter with DANE, as a promoter with FUNCOP, and later as representative for the Municipality of Puerto Tejada. She is now a member of the Afro-Colombian Women's Organization (ORMUAFRO) and also of Women Authors and Actors for Peace, as regional leader who contributes everyday to improving gender relations. She legitimizes women's contributions to peace in Colombia.

Edelberto Torres Rivas

Edelberto is a Sociologist who has studied at USAC in Guatemala, at FLACSO in Chile, and at Essex in England. He has work experience as researcher in ILPES-CEPAL (Chile) and at the UNAM Social Research Institute (México) of develop problems, politics, the State, and the crisis, especially for Central America. Edelberto was Founder and Director of the CC.SS. Central American Development Program, Secretary General of FLACSO (1985-1993), Founder and Director of the CA Social Studies Reviews, and then of POLEMICA, and President of the Latin American Sociology Association. He has been a Professor at Instituto Ortega y Gasset in Madrid and at Universidad Salamanca in Spain. He has participated in several events, conferences and seminars over the past 25 years and has published articles and essays in books and reviews. His most recent books include: "Peace in a Violent Society" (1998) and "From Authoritarianism to Peace" (1999), Guatemala, FLACSO. He is presently Director of the Postgraduate International Relations Program at Universidad

Rafael Landivas, Associate Researcher for FLACSO and consultant for UNDP in the area of Human Development. Nowadays, he is visiting fellow at DRCLAS, University of Harvard, USA.

Ana Daza

Ana is from Ibagué a Consultant and has worked with Houses of Justice for many years. In 1999 she participated in a World Bank participatory study on poor urban

communities' perception of violence and exclusion, in which she was part of the Cali / Medellín research team.

Liliana Piñeros

Liliana is from Ibagué, Colombia, and has been managing a program in her community with other neighbors on local conflict settlement among neighbors, youth, and families.

ANNEX 3

LIST OF PROJECTS FINANCED BY THE FUND FOR STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S
PARTICIPATION IN THE PEACE PROCESS IN COLOMBIA

Project Name	Name of Organization (s)	Location	Contact details
1. Creation of a network of women for peace and capacity building from a gender perspective by the women of Tolima.	Corporación para la Autodeterminación y Gestión de la Mujer "Oye Mujer"	Ibagué	Cra. 9a No. 71-63 Rincón de la Campiña Ibagué Tel. 674 680
2. Creation of a multi-disciplinary support group for the impact of socio-political violence on women in Santander.	Fundación Mujer y Futuro	Bucaramanga	Apartado Aéreo 2705 Calle 33, No. 28-07 Bucaramanga Telefax: 645 4376 Funmujer@col1.telecom.com.co
3. Development of a strategic dialogue between feminist women in Cali and women members of armed groups in the Caguán.	Fundación Servicios Integrales para la Mujer "Sí Mujer"	Cali	Calle 19 Norte, No. 83A-48 Cali, Valle Tels. 668-3000/667 9840 Fax: 667 2213
4. Development of tools and dissemination of methodology for the construction of a peace agenda from a human rights and gender perspective.	Corporación para el Desarrollo Humano "Humanizar"	Bogotá	Cra. 21 No. 40-91 (202) Bogotá Telefax 245 2110/ 288 5777 Humaniza@colnodo.pac.org
5. IKU women for the construction of a code of conduct with the armed groups.	Organización de Mujeres Comunurwa, Resguardo Arhuacom, Cesar.	Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta	Parcialidad de Simunarwa Resguardo Arhuaco y/o Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Cesar Calle 16 No. 4-63, Valledupar Tel. (095) 574 7878 Dusukawi@col3.telecom.com.co
6. The generation of social capital among young women through the formation of strategic alliances with the Movimiento Ciudadano por la Paz and promote young women as actors.	Asociación Colectivo de Titiriteras de Ciudad de Bolívar Huitaca y Mujeres Artistas por la Vida y la Paz (Mavip)	Bogotá	Calle 78 No. 44A-26, Sur Postal, Bogotá Tels. 717 2447 /680 0489 Cel. (033) 210 8175
7. Strengthening the spaces and capacity for indigenous women of the North Cauca to position themselves in the local peace process.	Resguardo de Piendamó, Cauca, Programa Mujer - Acin	Santander de Quilichao, Cauca	Cra. 12 No. 8-44 Santander de Quilichao, Cauca Telefax: (0928) 290 958 Mujeracin@latinamail.com

(Continued Annex 3)

Project Name	Name of Organization (s)	Location	Contact details
8. Strengthening women's network for peace ad and against impunity, formation of women advocates for peace.	Asamblea de Mujeres por la Paz, contra la Impunidad y por la Vida.	Bogotá y otras ciudades	Cra. 14 No. 77-78 (1401) Paseo del lago, Torre Central Bogotá Tel. 636 2281 - Fax: 236 7297
9. Strengthening of women artists working in collaboration with Corporación Colombiana de Teatro in a multi-group event.	Corporación Colombiana de Teatro CCT	Bogotá	Mgutierrez_renigifo@hotmail.com La Candelaria, Bogotá
10. Creation of national network of ex-combatant women building peace.	Colectivo de mujeres ex combatientes	Bogotá, Trabajo en el orden nacional	Transv. 27 No. 39A-55 Bogotá Tel. 369 0010 Meryjean@tutopia.com
11. Research into the relation between gender and ethnicity and the elaboration of an agenda for peace from the Afro-Colombian women's organizations.	Red de organizaciones femeninas del Pacífico, Cauca, Matamba, Guazá	Guapi, Cauca	Cra. 6 con calle 2a Barrio las Flores Guapi, Cauca Tel. (0928) 400 938 - Fax: 400173

ANNEX 4
CONFERENCE AGENDA
LATIN AMERICAN EXPERIENCES OF GENDER, CONFLICT, AND BUILDING SUSTAINABLE PEACE:
MAY 8-9, 2000, HOTEL SUITES JONES, BOGOTA, COLOMBIA

<i>Monday, May 8, 2000</i>		
08.30-09.00	Registration and Coffee Break	
	Introduction	Participants (* confirmed)
09.00-09.30	Welcome	Alberto Chueca Mora, World Bank*
	Introduction to the Workshop	SIDA Representative, Sweden Caroline Moser, World Bank*
Topic 1: Analysis of Gender, Conflict, and Building Sustainable Peace in Latin America		
	Moderator	Pilar Montagut DNP*
09.30-10.00	Latin American Experiences	Giulia Tamayo, Perú *
10.00-10.30	The Colombian Reality	Rosa Emilia Salamanca, ATI, Colombia*
10.30-11.00	Discussion	
11.00-11.30	Coffee Break	
11.30-12.00	Conceptual Framework for a Gender Analysis for Reducing Violence	Caroline Moser, World Bank*
12.00-12.30	Discussion	
	Comments	Donny Meertens*
12.30-14.00	Lunch	
Topic 2: Diverse Voices of Conflict and Peace		
	Moderator	Anders Kompass*
14.00-14.15	Indigenous Women in a Post-Conflict Country	Dorotea Gómez, Project Counseling Service, Guatemala*
14.15-14.30	Conflict and Peace for Peasant and Indigenous Women in Colombia	Leonora Castaño, Anmucic, Colombia*
14.30-14.45	Conflict and Peace for Senior Citizens in Colombia	Aura Marlène Márquez, Cestra, Colombia*
14.45-15.00	Conflict and Peace for the Youth of Colombia	Lina Rodas, Plataforma Juvenil, Terre des Hommes, Colombia
15.00-15.45	Discussion	
	Comments	Ana Teresa Bernal, Redepaz
15.45-16.15	Coffee Break	
Topic 3: Displacement: Gendered Needs and Practical Interventions		
	Moderator	Fernando Medellín, Social Solidarity Network, Colombia
16.15-16.45	Perú: Displacement and Return, a Gender Perspective	Paca Villanueva, PAR*
16.45-17.30	Colombia: Displaced Women	Gloria Tobón, National Women's Network* Lina Arrieta, Corporación María Cano, Montería*
17.30-18.00	Discussion	
	Comments	Ellen Beattie, Social Solidarity Network, Colombia*
18.30-20.30	Cocktail Party	

(Continued Annex 4)

<i>Tuesday, May 9, 2000</i>		
08.30-09.00	Coffee Break	
Topic 4: The Gendered Effects of Conflict: Women Ex-combatants and Women's Organizations		
09.00-09.30	Moderator El Salvador: Women Ex-combatants in Rebuilding	Gloria Quiceno, Director Reinsertion Office Morena Herrera, Las Dignas, El Salvador*
09.30-10.30	Colombia: Women Ex-combatants' Experience	María Eugenia Vásquez, Colombia* Luz Estela Navas, Cauca, Colombia*
10.30-11.00	Colombia: The Impact of Conflict on Women's Organizations Discussion Comments	Pilar Rueda, María Va, Colombia* Gonzalo De Francisco, Presidential Advisory for Coexistence and Citizen Security
11.00-11.30	Coffee Break	
Topic 5: Women's Participation in Peace Processes		
11.30-12.00	Moderator Nicaragua: Women for Democratization	Cathy McIlwaine, QMW, London, UK* Guadalupe Salinas, Nicaragua*
12.00-12.45	Colombia: Women for Peace: "Actors Authors of Peace"	Sara Gómez, Diálogo Mujer, Colombia* Nayibe Mina, Ormuafro, Colombia*
12.15-13.15	Discussion Comments	Camilo González Posso, Mandate for Peace, Colombia*
13.15-14.30	Lunch	
Topic 6: Gender Perspectives on Interventions for Justice and Reconciliation		
14.30-15.00	Moderator Guatemala: The Experience of the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation (Rhemí)	Edelberto Torres Rivas, Pnud, Guatemala
15.00-15.45	Colombia: Gender and the Houses of Justice	Annette Pierson
15.45-16.15	Discussion Comments	Cristina Schultz, Usaid*
16.15-16.30	Coffee Break	
Round Table: Implications for the Future of Colombia		
16.30-17.30	Moderator Round Table	Caroline Moser, World Bank Yolanda Herrera, Care, El Salvador* Leila Lima, Acnur*
17.30-17.45	Final Comments and Acknowledgments	Mauricio Perfetti, National Counselor'Office for Social Policy Magdala Velásquez, National Council for Peace* Caroline Moser*
18.00	CLOSING	

This provisional program for the workshop has been created through a series of queries with Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations in Bogotá, as well as in Washington DC. The conference receives World Bank and Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) financial support.

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