GENDER PROVISIONS IN PEACE AGREEMENTS AND GENDER EQUALITY IN POST-AGREEMENT SETTINGS: CASES OF THE PHILIPPINES AND COLOMBIA

by
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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Sabancı University
July 2021

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Approved by:

Date of Approval: July 13, 2021

ABSTRACT

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CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION M.A. THESIS, JULY 2021

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This thesis scrutinized the relationship between the gender provisions in peace agreements and post-agreement gender equality. This possible relationship was under-investigated before. In this vein, the current research filled the lacuna in the literature by examining whether including gender-related provisions in peace agreements has any relationship with gender equality in issues of the post-agreement situations in conflict-affected countries. The two cases of post-conflict countries, Colombia and the Philippines, were comparatively analyzed. The Colombian and the Philippines peace agreements were analyzed using the textual analysis method. Gender equality in the post-agreement period of these countries was measured by using several indicators for political, social, and economic issues.

While showing the importance of gender provisions in the peace agreements, the data employed in this study also found out that post-agreement gender equality does not entirely depend on the content of the peace agreement. However, findings revealed other factors such as specificity and applicability of the provisions, implementation related-problems, complexity of achieving gender equality that influence the relationship between the peace agreements and post-agreement gender equality.

ÖZET

BARIŞ ANTLAŞMALARINDAKİ TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET İLE İLGİLİ KANUNİ HÜKÜMLER VE ANTLAŞMA SONRASI TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET EŞİTLİĞİ: FİLİPİNLER VE KOLOMBİYA ÖRNEKLERİ

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UYUŞMAZLIK ANALİZİ VE ÇÖZÜMÜ YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, TEMMUZ 2021

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik

Anahtar Kelimeler: Barış antlaşmaları, antlaşma sonrası toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ile ilgili kanuni hükümler, Kolombiya, Filipinler

Bu tez, barış antlaşmalarındaki toplumsal cinsiyet hükümleri ile antlaşma sonrası toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği arasındaki ilişkiyi irdelemiştir ve daha önce yeterince araştırılmayan bu konu ele alınmıştır. Mevcut araştırma, çatışmadan etkilenen ülkelerdeki antlaşma sonrası durumlarda toplumsal cinsiyetle ilgili hükümlerin barış antlaşmalarına dahil edilmesinin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ile herhangi bir ilişkisi olup olmadığını inceleyerek literatürdeki bu boşluğu doldurmaya çalışmıştır. Çatışma sonrası ülkelerin iki örneği, Kolombiya ve Filipinler karşılaştırmalı olarak analiz edilmiştir. Kolombiya ve Filipinler barış antlaşmaları metinsel analiz yöntemi kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Daha sonra, bu ülkelerin antlaşma sonrası dönemde cinsiyet eşitliği yine bu ülkelerin siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik meselelerini anlamlandırmak için kullanılan çeşitli göstergeler ile ölçülmüştür.

Bu çalışmada kullanılan veriler, barış antlaşmalarında toplumsal cinsiyet hükümlerinin önemini gösterirken, antlaşma sonrası toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin tamamen barış antlaşmasının içeriğine bağlı olmadığını da ortaya koymuştur. Ancak bu çalışmanın bulguları antlaşmalar ile antlaşma sonrası topliumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini etkileyen farklı faktölerin varlığını da göstermiştir.Bunlar; hükümlerin özgüllüğü ve uygulanabilirliği, uygulamayla ilgili sorunlar ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlamanın karmaşıklığı şeklinde sıralanabilir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To all those women who fight for the
equality that they deserve every day

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1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the Study

War, in general, has long been perceived as a masculine struggle, and women's role in it has been reduced to being only the prize or the victim. Their capacity to be active participants of war was almost always ignored, and they were pushed to the sidelines and depicted only as the war spectators. Even when they are attributed to a role, it always links back to their biological capacity of motherhood. Instead of soldiers, women's primary roles during conflicts tend to be described as "wives, girlfriends, and mothers, waiting for their soldiers to return and caring for wounded" (Carter 1998, 38). Therefore, in armed conflicts, one's capacity and role were determined by their gender and thus any activity that did not fit around mainstream gender roles were not entertained. However, the gendered nature of the conflict is mostly denied and thought to be unnecessary when analyzing conflicts (Baksh et al. 2005). Neglecting the gendered nature of conflict and women's agency by perceiving them only as victims led to their exclusion from all phases of peace processes. Therefore, when answering what kind of peace we target, how to achieve and sustain it, women remain excluded from discussions.

Peace agreements with their specific provisions on social, economic, political, and security-related issues are mostly accepted as the tools responsible for laying the groundwork for the post-conflict outcomes in those issue areas. Further, they open the space up for renegotiations of the pre-existing power structures of the societies in the post-agreement period. As Reilly (2007) points out, on the surface, these transitions create opportunities for the structural changes in the societies to transform pre-existing power, and social and economic relations, especially to the benefits of those who have been in previously disadvantaged positions. Therefore, feminists viewed the transition from conflict to peace as a "window of opportunity"

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to achieve gender equality in post-conflict societies (Chinkin 2003). Considered in this way, textual analysis of the peace agreements in terms of their inclusion of gender provisions can contribute to understanding gender equality in the issues of the post-agreement period. Scholars further argue that if the gendered issues are not addressed with specific provisions in the peace agreements, women's concerns and rights will not be prioritized in the reconstruction phase after the conflict and thus "window of opportunity" will be lost (Chinkin 2004). Thus, the question of whether the inclusion of gender provisions into the peace agreements has any impact on gender equality within the post-agreement period will serve as the basis of this study.

Existing studies on the gender provisions in peace agreements focus on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325's effects on the peace agreement and gender mainstreaming in peace processes. Further, studies only analysed the peace agreements for their gender inclusivity quantitatively and sometimes with their impact on the implementation of the peace agreements. Thus, there is a need for more studies to understand better the extent to which gender provisions in the peace agreements are helpful to assess gender equality in the post-agreement period. This study aims to fill this lacuna in the literature by scrutinizing the possible relationship between the inclusion of gender provisions into the peace agreements and gender equality in the social, economic, political, security-related, and relational issues of the post-agreement period. It does so by employing the cases of Colombian and the Filipino conflict and their peace agreements.

1.2 Outline of the Study

This thesis is comprised of 6 chapters. Chapter 2 presents the literature review on the peace agreement and the post-agreement issues with a specific reference to gender inclusion in the agreements and gender equality in the post-agreement issues. The literature review has six main sections. The first section will discuss the women's specific situations in conflicts. The second section will introduce the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and, more broadly, the women, peace and security agenda. In the third section, I will provide a discussion on the concept of peace agreements with reference to their definitions, types, and components. The fourth section will mainly criticize the lack of gender provisions in the peace agreements and explain why it is important to include them in the text of the peace agreements

for achieving gender equality in the post-agreement period. In the fifth section, issues of the post-agreement period, political, economic, social, and security-related issues, will be broadly discussed. Lastly, women's specific situation in the political, social, economic and security related post-agreement issues will be examined with reference to gender equality.

Chapter three will explain the background of the Colombian and the Filipino cases with specific reference to the historical context of both conflicts, the inclusion of women in their peace processes, and the developments in the post-agreement period.

Chapter four will provide the methodology used in the study in three sections. In the first section, I will explain the research questions with an emphasis on its exploratory nature. The second section will explain the study's research design in three subheadings: case selection, the analysis method, and the data sources. The case selection sub-section will provide the rationale behind the case selection process. In the method for analysis subsection, I will discuss the text analysis method as a way to analyze the peace agreements and secondary data analysis as a way to analyze gender equality in the post-agreement issues. The data sources subsection will elaborate on the datasets used in this study. Lastly, limitations of the study will be provided.

Chapter five is the analysis and the discussion section, which is composed of three main sections with several sub-sections. The first part presents the findings from the analysis of the peace agreements of Colombia and the Philippines in six sub-categories which are gender in political, social, economic, security-related, agreement-related, and relational issues. The second part provides the analysis of gender equality indicators of the post-agreement period from several datasets by explaining the changes over time. Lastly, a discussion will be provided to understand the relationship between the peace agreements' gender provisions in the political, social, economic, security, and relational issues and the state of gender equality of the related issues in the post-agreement period.

In chapter six, a summary of the study with an emphasis on its main findings will be provided. This study's importance and areas for further research will be provided, too.

2.   LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Masculine understanding of conflicts has almost always sidelined women as either victims or capture property of the war. Women's specific experiences during and after the conflict have been silenced, and their agency has been ignored. Perception of women only as victims neglect the gendered nature of conflicts, and in return, women are excluded from all phases of peace processes. Therefore, when answering what kind of peace we target and achieving and sustaining it, women remain excluded from the discussions. However, as the study by Krause, Krause and Bränfors (2018) showed that inclusion of women in the peace processes increases the likelihood of achieving durable peace.

There are different studies to classify the transition to durable peace. However, the relationship between the peace process and the outcomes of the post-conflict period remains underexplored. Some scholars argue that these two are consecutive linear paths, while others argue for their intertwined nature. Considering the conflicting ideas around their relationship, it is essential to acknowledge the interrelated nature of peace processes and the post-conflict periods. Thus, analysis of the peace process needs to be undertaken in relation to their outcomes in post-conflict settings.

The term peace agreement or peace accord is used synonymously to refer to the document considered an end to the peace process. However, it cannot merely be reduced to the end of the process. Peace agreements mostly become the tools responsible for laying the groundwork for post-conflict outcomes. They include various economic, political, social, and security-related provisions to regulate these areas to achieve post-conflict stability. However, these provisions mostly turn a blind eye to the women's specific situations and needs during and after the conflict when laying

the ground for the post-conflict environment. A study has shown that only 18 percent of the peace agreement has specific references to women (Bell 2015, 3). Since provisions are carefully crafted considering the nature of the conflict, every single one uniquely impacts the post-conflict environment. When women are excluded from the content of the text, their issues remain unresolved, thus compromising their situation and gender equality in the post-conflict period.

Concordantly, this chapter elaborates on the literature on the women's situations in conflict settings, women, peace, and security agenda, definitions, and characteristics of the peace agreement with a specific reference to the importance of having gender provisions in them. It will be followed by the issues in the post-agreement period and gender equality in the post-agreement period.

2.2 Women's Specific Situations in Conflict

The effects of conflict and violence that it entails are undeniably devastating on everyone. However, compared to men, women's specific experiences during conflicts are more multifaceted and complex, making them even harder to ignore. These differences arguably stem from the sexual violence, their positioning in the household as a primary caretaker, and finally, their low-ranking status in conflict areas (Cahn 2006).

In the literature on the gendered nature of conflicts, sexual violence during wartime and how women are explicitly becoming targets are addressed extensively (Askin 2003; Chinkin 2001; Enloe 2004). While appreciating the much-needed recognition of these negative experiences, wartime sexual violence on its own does not reflect the full range of gender-based violence that women encounter in conflict-ridden societies. There are other types of violence that women experience in conflict settings, which attract relatively less attention in terms of their effect on women (Aoláin, Haynes, and Cahn 2011).

During conflicts, along with sexual violence, women are subjected to "economic violence" as well (Mertus 2003, 548). In almost all societies around the world, discrimination, illiteracy, lack of access to education and employment opportunities are driving factors behind the economic subordination, thus, poverty of women (Stromquist 1990, 95). Conflict-related violence and instability further contribute to women's economic subordination, especially those who lost male relatives (Mer-

tus 2003). When they lose their male relatives, women automatically become the leader in the household, in charge of taking care of everyone without the necessary resources. Thus, women risk their security to supply the food that their family needs.

Among the other effects mentioned above, women's health conditions are also exacerbated by conflicts (Arcel and Kastrup 2004; Jansen 2006). Arcela and Kastrup (2004) point out the different aspects of conflict that have a role in women's health. Compared to the pre-conflict period, societal and institutional changes during the conflict can play a role in under-prioritizing women's lives and health. Conflicts usually consolidate already existing patriarchy in societies and worsen gender inequality (Jansen 2006). For example, the cultural norm that prioritizes boys to eat first when food is scarce contributes to women's malnutrition during conflicts (Jansen 2006). Women are also subjected to discrimination in medical care accession during conflicts. Due to the government's reallocation of its expenditures, mainly to the military, health, and other areas experiences budget cuts. These budget cuts mostly direct to the areas that primarily affect women, such as gynecologists (Arcel and Kastrup 2004). Thus, the maternal mortality rate peaks during the conflict (Jansen 2006). Mental and physical health consequences of sexual violence that women experience are essential, too. Physically, women who have been victims of rape become exposed to Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and other Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), and they need treatment (Cahn 2005). Mentally, the combination of poverty, health concerns, and trauma-related sexual violence results in vicious circles of negativity and exacerbates women's psychological well-being.

Even though women are subject to many gender-specific experiences during conflicts, making them victims and reducing their role merely to victimhood only denies their agency and the roles they play during the conflict. As Naraghi-Anderlini (2007, 33-34) puts it, the victimization of women in conflicts should not overshadow their role in waging wars or building peace. There are also some positive effects of conflicts on women. Meintjes (2001, 64) argues that as the conflict draws both women and men into the same position, the existing relationship changes. Women take up the roles, such as soldiers and survivors, which are previously coded into society as men's roles. This shift in the perception of roles opens up space for new social relations and gender identities to emerge. This is due mainly to the fact that conflicts are crisis situations where women can have space to interplay the strict social rules and undertake roles forbidden to them in pre-conflict phases (Machanda 2001). Most of the conflicts witness women actively engaging at different levels from family to international level in peacebuilding, and humanitarian work, which help them obtain new skills.

Women can also be active participants in the army or take up arms as part of combatant groups in conflicting areas, either voluntarily or forcefully. As Gonzalez-Perez (2006, 314) puts it, women want to join the guerilla groups since that can change their social status when opportunities arise. Women can also take up leadership positions in guerilla groups, as seen in Colombia, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. However, women's agencies in violence should not be ignored as well. As cited in Aoláin, Haynes, and Cahn (2011), Barbara Ehrenreich, drawing from the events in Abu Ghraib, states that "What we have learnt from Abu Ghraib, once and for all, is that a uterus is not a substitute for a conscience." Women can also be violent aggressors. For example, in the Rwandan genocide, women directly involved in violence, and to an extent, they organized and took the lead in the operations where many people lost their lives (Haeri and Puechguirbal 2010, 111). Besides acting as perpetrators, women can also play different roles, such as bombmakers and lookouts, in facilitating violence (Aoláin, Haynes, and Cahn 2011).

2.3 Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325, which is about Women, Peace, and Security that calls for women's inclusion in conflict prevention and peacebuilding along with women's protection during and after conflicts (Pratt and Ritcher-Devroe 2011). UNSC Resolution 1325 was the first example in the UN's history where the Security Council accepted the importance of gender for peace and security and acknowledged the women's agency as an actor rather than just a victim and passed a resolution that wholly addressed them (Hill, Cohn, and Enloe 2004). This pioneer Resolution obliged all the parties in an armed conflict to protect women and enhance their participation in the peace table as well as post-conflict rebuilding. It acknowledges the particular vulnerabilities of women and girls in conflict situations. It also recognizes that sustainable peace could only be achieved by their participation in all layers of prevention, resolution, reconstruction, and peacekeeping (Miller, Pournik, and Swaine 2014). Thus, Resolution 1325 was praised by working women's groups as a milestone for the institutional level accomplishment that has the potential to change the preexisting patriarchal means of peacebuilding (Cockburn 2007; Naraghi-Anderlini 2007).

Since its establishment, the Security Council excluded women and their issues. As Cockburn (2007) stated, even though the concept of gender mainstreaming was

officially in use in the United Nations since 1997, the Security Council continued to be masculine as a character and behavior. The UNSC Resolution set the framework and became a tool for women empowerment at the national and international levels. 1325 also has an evolving nature since it started as a Resolution and transform into an entire agenda known as Women Peace and Security. Over the 20 years since its adoption, 1325 has become more demanding in its requirements by inviting states to have national action plans for the Resolution's implementation. Resolution 1325 has also become the leading resolution for seven more UNSC resolutions: Resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, and 2242. Resolutions 1820 (adopted in 2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), and 2106 (2013) addressed the issue of sexual violence as a war weapon and created institutions to specifically address it. Resolutions 1889 (2009) and 2242 (2015) addressed the broad agenda on gender equality and specialized on inclusion and empowerment of women in peacebuilding. Resolution 2122 was adopted in 2013 and identified UN Women as a key UN institution in the Women Peace and Security Agenda, along with emphasizing the importance of civil society inclusion (Kirby and Shepherd 2016).

UNSC Resolution 1325 comprises 18 paragraphs and focuses on different issues that women face during and after the conflict. Notwithstanding the Resolution's broad nature, it is acknowledged as concentrating on four central issues. Firstly, it focuses on women's participation. The resolution aims to increase women's participation by recognizing their contribution to peace and calls for the inclusion of women in peace processes at all levels, emphasizing the decision-making levels. Secondly, it focuses on women's protection, especially gender-based violence (United States Institute of Peace 2021). In the text, Resolution 1325 shows explicit concerns that women and children are specifically vulnerable during armed conflicts, states the intentional targeting of women by belligerents, and acknowledges its possible impacts on peacebuilding. Thirdly, the Resolution calls for prevention. It aims to enhance strategies for intervention to prevent gender-based violence, and it does so by improving women's rights, prosecution of the offenders, and advocates local women's peace initiatives for conflict resolution (United States Institute of Peace 2021). Lastly, the resolution points out the relief and recovery process and calls upon the international community to reconsider the measures taken in international crisis through the gender lens. The resolution also includes both more humanitarian and more gender responsive design of refugee camps (United States Institute of Peace 2021).

The implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 largely focuses on gender mainstreaming. This strategy has been the focal point in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. Nowadays, gender mainstreaming became the central strategy when dealing

with gender inequality at all levels. In 1997 ECOSOC defined gender mainstreaming as follow:

> "The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic, and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality."

2.4 Peace Agreements

Numerous studies focused on peace processes, their stages, and how they correlate with one another. However, the common argumentation among scholars and practitioners is that the peace processes do not progress linearly and are composed of different stages. Darby and Mac Ginty (2003) metaphorically states that the peace processes are like mountain ranges. Bell (2006) divides peace processes into three phases: pre-negotiation, framework/substantive, and implementation. In a more detailed analysis of peace processes, Darby and Mac Ginty (2003) propose five-time phases: preparing for peace, negotiations, managing violence, peace agreements, and peacebuilding. As a phrase that comes right before peacebuilding, peace agreements play a critical role in post-conflict reconstruction. They are also important for their connotations as a "formal commitment between hostile parties to end a war," as stated by Anderlini (2004, 16).

Despite their importance, peace agreements lack a formal definition and remain mostly unexplored. However, the term frequently refers to the "documents produced after the discussion with some or all of the conflict's protagonists that address military violence involving more than twenty-five battle-related deaths with a view of ending it" (Bell and O'Rourke 2010, 950). Classifying all agreements are complex, but in order to understand what constitutes a peace agreement, the literature suggests three main types which correlate with stages of conflict (Bell 2006;

Yawanarajah and Ouellet 2003):

- Pre-negotiation Agreements: often referred to as the "talks before talks," and specify how the negotiations take place by deciding on the parties to negotiate and their status in the negotiations along with identifying the issues, procedures, and agenda for the rest of the peace process.

- Framework/Substantive/Comprehensive Agreements: frame the substantive rooted issues of the conflict. It is mostly characterized by a "handshake moment" that signifies the "historical compromise" between the sides of the conflict. In addition, these agreements frequently emphasize the conflicting parties' commitments to resolving the dispute by peaceful means and setting a framework to resolve the substantive issues such as demobilization, demilitarization, new constitutional structures, etc.

- Implementation/Renegotiation Agreements: advance the aspects of the framework agreements and enlarge the comprehensive agreements. Naturally, these agreements almost always include new rounds of negotiations as parties try to take back some of the concessions that they might make at the early stages of the process. They might not always be documented or can take some other forms like a constitution.

The literature on the peace agreements mainly focused on the implementations of peace agreements (Darby and Ginty 2000; Ghani and Lockhart 2007; Joshi and Quinn 2015), and what makes the peace agreement succeed or fail by ignoring the uniqueness of each peace agreement for empirical testing (Steadman, Rotchild, and Counsens 2002). What implementation means (Joshi and Quinn 2015), specific reasons for successful implementation (Bekoe 2008; Hoddie and Hartzell 2003) along with failure (Borer, Darby, and McEvoy-Levy 2006) have also been analyzed. These studies found different reasons for the possibility of the re-emergence of the conflict after peace agreements are signed. These possibilities were mostly arising from the malfunctioning of the implementation process and, to a certain extent, due to the lack of commitment by the conflicting parties (Hartzell 1999; Walter 2002).

Undeniably, the implementation does play a crucial role in peace agreements literature. However, as Bell (2006) also criticizes, these studies mostly take peace agreements together as a group ignoring their differences, and "...tend to accord a limited role to the related question of how an agreement is worded". Moreover, to relate to the implementation, peace agreement contents require a close examination since they are the ones that include a framework of that period. The content of the peace agreements are said to have three components: procedural, substantive, and

organizational/institutional components (Yawanarajah and Ouellet 2003):

- Procedural Components: focus mainly on the "how" aspect of building peace. They are responsible for determining the process which will help build and sustain the peace by including the setting up of institutions and schedules.

- Substantive Components: answer the "what" question to define what changes will need to take place after the peace agreement is concluded. Therefore, these components contain political, economic, and social structural changes that address past grievances and deep-rooted sources of conflict in order to reach positive peace.

- Institutional/Organizational Components: deal with the "who" part of the agreement to set out mechanisms for peace promotion after the agreement. Institutional components can be broken into two types: implementation mechanisms (which operate as neutral monitoring function and political fora where implementation problems can be discussed) and peacebuilding mechanisms (which prevent societies from relapsing into conflict).

Peace agreements include various provisions depending on the context of the conflict. The scope of the peace agreement is essential for the inclusion of the legal, territorial, and security issues that are most of the time an explosion point of the conflict (Darby and Ginty 2003). In their text, Joshi and Quinn (2015, 3) provided the list of the most prominent types of provisions that the scholars' research: "third party security guarantees, power-sharing arrangements, verification and monitoring, security sector reform, transforming the rebel group into a legitimate political party, truth commissions and justice/human rights provisions, and decentralization and autonomy arrangements." Another study that analyzed 200 peace agreements since the Second World War, De Varennes (2003, 153), found that fair distribution of resources, human rights guarantees, and independence/autonomy/power-sharing provisions are common patterns. Ghani and Lockhart (2007, 289) suggested adding the following to these provisions: "the political process, the legal framework, the international reorganization of the state, provision of security, inclusive economic and social development, a partnership with the international community, implementation." Put differently, with more economic, social, and power-sharing related provisions, peace agreements become more inclusive and comprehensive. However, peace agreements diverge according to their comprehensiveness and inclusivity. While some agreements cover a wide range of post-conflict issues to form a lasting peace, some agreements may not do the same due to the complexities of peace negotiations (Ouellet 2004).

2.5 (Lack Of) Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements

Feminists discussed the silencing of women's experiences during and after conflicts extensively. They also refer to women's denied potential for peacebuilding, which further contributed to their marginalization (Rooney 2006). When the gendered nature of conflicts is ignored by analyzing them through a non-gendered perspective, attempts to resolve the conflicts only contribute to the masculine understanding of conflicts. Feminist interventions to the peace agreement literature point out the marginalization of gender-related issues by exposing the lack of gender provisions in peace agreements. Scholars found out how gender-neutral language used in the peace agreements fails to address women's concerns and perspectives (Chinkin 2003; Naraghi-Anderlini 2004). The study by Forster and Bell (2019) shows that ceasefire agreements that are signed in the earlier stages of a conflict for cessation of hostilities typically focus on the armed actors and contain military, humanitarian, and implementation provisions that do not have specific mention of gender issues. Feminist scholars usually pointed out the lack of women's inclusion in the formal peace process as a reason for the marginalization of gender-related issues in peace agreements. As discussed by Anderlini (2007) presumption that peacebuilding processes are not gendered in nature further pushes women into the margins. Scholars also reject the idea that shortness of time, or "tyranny of emergency," justifies the marginalization of women's rights and concerns from the peace process, especially when peace agreements have the potential for transforming existing institutional structures and gender relations in societies (Hunt and Posa 2004). Bell (2005) claims that the term peace process itself is not gender-neutral because it mostly revolves around military leaders and further excludes women and, to some extent, civil society. Moreover, some feminist scholars focused on the precarious security situations and fear of raising tension among conservative communities as responsible for the marginalization of women and exclusion of gender issues from the peace agreements (Hunt and Posa 2004).

Literature on women, peace, and security emphasizes the importance of including gender provisions in peace agreements. Feminists depict the transition from conflict to peace as a "window of opportunity" to improve women's situations in post-conflict societies (Cahn 2005; Chinkin 2003; Reilly 2007). Peace agreements provide documents that allow renegotiations of the pre-existing power structures within societies. As Reilly (2007) points out, on the surface, these transitions create opportunities for the structural changes in the societies to transform pre-existing power, and social and economic relations, especially to the benefits of those who have been in

previously disadvantaged positions.

However, this depiction of the transition to the post-conflict period as a "window of opportunity" for women to improve their situation can come across as a top-down approach that is imposed upon in post-conflict societies. This approach may seem to overshadow the recognition of women's gains from their struggle in the war (Yadav 2020). It is also essential to recognize the gains that women achieved through their struggles, so achieving gender equality is not only at the hands of international organizations or political leaders, and it can also be a bottom-up, self-evolving and organic process (Parker and Dales 2014). To put it differently, women's struggle and gains during the war should be acknowledged and preserved by using the provisions of peace agreements to achieve gender equality in the post-agreement period.

Viewed in this regard, analyzing the content of peace agreements according to their inclusion of gender provisions can be essential when making sense of post-agreement gender equality. Scholars further the discussion by arguing that when gendered issues are not addressed in peace agreements, renegotiations of pre-existing power relations and women's rights are less likely to be prioritized in the reconstruction phase, thus "window for opportunity is most likely to be lost" (Bell 2005; Chinkin 2004). To put it differently, the inclusion of gender provisions into the peace agreements may do little when contributing to women's equality in the long term, but their absence makes the struggle for equality even harder (Bell and O'Rourke 2010). Thus, the question of whether the inclusion of gender provisions into the peace agreements has any effect on gender equality in post-agreement periods served as the basis of this study.

2.6 Issues in The Post-Agreement Period

A period in which the goal is recovering the torn-apart societies socially, economically, politically, and psychologically after signing the peace agreements is usually referred to as the post-agreement or post-conflict period. However, this linear usage of transition from conflict to post-conflict period has been subject to criticism from different scholars. For example, Darby and Mac Ginty (2000) argue that linear approaches to the peace and conflict processes only undermine the complexities of these processes. Nonetheless, for conceptualization purposes, the term "post-agreement period" is used in this thesis to refer to the period after cessation of

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violence between parties and signing a peace agreement.

Even though there is no agreed definition of the term "post-agreement period," it is usually used for countries that have gone through violent conflict and are currently in recovery. This setting is composed of varied and complex activities ranging from reforming security and judiciary institutions to transitional justice and development like rebuilding the infrastructure that has been torn apart during the conflict, political reforms, reconciliation in the society, and building truth-telling commissions (Darby and Ginty 2003). All of these activities, which intend to recover countries after the conflict in all aspects, have been closely examined in the "post-conflict peacebuilding" literature. The term peacebuilding refers to a wide range of long-term activities designed to end violence, promote more durable positive peace, and prevent societies from relapsing into violence cycles (Manson and Meernik 2006). After the Cold War, the post-agreement period is usually examined with its relation to the peacebuilding endeavors, involving various actors ranging from local and international institutions to non-governmental organizations and agencies.

The literature on peacebuilding mostly focuses on the activities and strategies in rebuilding a country. However, this thesis focuses on the post-agreement outcomes, the impact of gender provisions on gender equality in countries that emerge from decades of armed conflict. Before the Cold War, wars were fought between countries and were usually ideological, but new wars mostly resulted from identity clashes and competition to access political power and resources (Chinkin and Kaldor 2013). Further, peace agreements designed to end interstate wars mostly focus on territory and security-related issues. On the other hand, peace agreements that are designed to address internal conflicts focus on societal grievances, damaged intergroup relations, and power accession (Wallensteen 2002).

Considering that conflicts are not one-dimensional and affect almost every sphere of life, countries experiencing internal conflict for decades are socially, politically, and economically devastated. Therefore, issues in the post-agreement period are as intertwined and complex as the conflict itself, making it harder to put them under static categories. However, it is possible to divide post-agreement issue areas into social, economic, political, and security-related issues.

The economic dimension of the post-agreement period mainly stems from the weakened economies of countries during the long-standing conflicts. Destruction of all sorts of infrastructures, significant budget deficits, and high military expenditures caused by the conflict exacerbate the economy and disturb people's livelihoods (Collier 1999). Therefore, the reconstruction of the economy that will result in enriched resources for the people and improve their livelihoods should be a concern for all

parties (Naraghi-Anderlini, Garcia, and Rupsinghe 2001). Moreover, rebuilding the economy of war-torn countries is fundamental to the post-agreement period's stability. Since the nature of post-agreement peace is fragile, economic development can considerably lower the risk of relapsing into the violence phase in post-conflict countries (Collier, Hoeffler, and Söderbom 2008). Among the indicators of economic issues, poverty often has a recurring pattern in almost all phases of the conflict, and it is mainly studied as a conflict driver (Bekoe 2008). In several studies, poverty finds itself a place under the broad development headline, but its specific association to the post-agreement period and its outcomes largely remain underexplored. In its simple sense, poverty broadly refers to whether people possess enough resources to meet their basic needs. The income measure relates to having a job to support subsistence and the income that meets one's basic needs (World Bank 2021a). Therefore, government policies that will increase employment and create alternatives to earn an income are essential for stability and long-term development in the post-agreement period.

Among the social dimension of the post-agreement period, issues, such as educational attainment, healthcare, and food and shelter, could be considered essential (Kreimer et al. 1998). The emphasis should be on people's access to those services early in the post-agreement phase since the government's capacity to provide basic services is destroyed after the conflict (Steadman, Rotchild, and Counsens 2002).

Another important dimension of the post-conflict period is considered as the political dimension, and it includes issues like political participation, power distribution, and free and fair elections. In order to capture the post-conflict political outcomes in a country, political participation can be considered as one of the most important indicators.

Lastly, the security dimension of the post-agreement issues could not be ignored. Even though the signing of a peace agreement signals a period free from the violent confrontations of the conflicting parties, there remain issues, such as ensuring individual and public security and preventing violence. Scholars also point out the need for first a basic sense of security for further political, social, and economic development in the post-agreement environment (Krause and Jütersonke 2005). Thus, to comprehensively understand the post-agreement environment, economic, social, political, and security dimensions should be considered together.

2.7 Gender Equality in the Post-Agreement

In order to achieve sustainable peace, war-torn countries have to rebuild their devastated economic, social, and political institutions. Thus, the post-agreement period constitutes significant steps towards positive peace. It begins with the cessation of hostilities, usually with a peace agreement. It then continues through demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration, rebuilding the state through democratic institutions, recovering the economy, and reconciliation among the society (Brown, Langer, and Steward 2008).

Further, the post-agreement period is perceived as a "window of opportunity to build back better—to accelerate gender equality, advance women's empowerment, and promote meaningful participation in all aspects of reconstruction." (Christien and Klugman 2020, 7). However, women are excluded in this period, and post-conflict reconstruction does not constitute a gender perspective or address gender-related issues. Therefore, outcomes of the post-agreement period mainly contribute to pre-existing gender inequalities and fail to promote gender equality in the country. Literature that assesses women's role after the conflict ends tries to reestablish the post-conflict reconstruction narrative. This literature focuses on deconstructing the centuries-old patriarchal narrative and reconstructing it with a gender sensitivity that allows space for gender-related issues at the front and center (Handrahan 2004). These attempts often take their base from the UNSC Resolution 1325 and 1820 that underscore the need for women in peacebuilding due to their different conflict experiences and perspectives. Women should be involved in newly established post-conflict institutions to achieve stability, development, and gender equality. In order to achieve gender equality, women should be protected from gender-based violence and have access to quality education and health services, economic resources, and political participation. Further, equal opportunity in accessing employment and leadership positions is essential for gender equality (United Nations 2021).

Post-agreement issues are complex and interrelated. However, previously mentioned political, economic, social, and security-related categorizations are possible in the scope of this thesis to use when considering gender equality in the issues of the post-agreement period. Therefore, this study will look at these political, economic, social, and security-related categories with a gendered lens to understand gender equality in those areas by looking at the women's specific situation.

As previously mentioned under the women's specific situation in war headline, women take on multiple roles during the war, and their experiences differ from

those of men. They are often exposed to sexual and gender-based violence during and after the conflict (Askin 2003). Therefore, when examining the security-related issues from a gender perspective in the post-conflict period, violence against women could not be ignored.

In the post-conflict environment, governance became one of the main issues as a political issue for war-torn societies. Governance programs mainly focus on the three dimensions of governance: "free and fair elections, strong central and local legislative and executive institutions, and the creation of a healthy civil society" (Aoláin, Haynes, and Cahn 2011). Even though women should be incorporated into all three dimensions according to the UNSC Resolution 1325, women's experiences in the post-agreement period show that it is not entirely the case. When women's issues are taken into consideration, they are only addressed by the programs that advocate for their right to vote or try to include women by requiring separate quotas for their inclusion into the parliaments (Aoláin, Haynes, and Cahn 2011). Yet, these programs do not account for all three dimensions of governance. However, these arising opportunities are still important for women's participation in the political sphere since their placement into the elected offices helps them to bring their perspectives and advances their equality in the political sphere (Greenberg and Zuckerman 2009).

Since the war-torn societies were destroyed economically, the economic dimension of the post-conflict period was mainly composed of poverty, economic instability, and inequality. As explained previously, when food is scarce in conflict or post-conflict periods, women and girls are first to starve due to the patriarchal norms that prioritize men and boys to eat first. Further, due to the scarcity of job opportunities in the post-conflict period, women often lose their jobs first, contributing to their unequal situation by leaving them without access to income. Therefore, equality for women in the post-conflict period, at the minimum, should pave the way for women's chance to earn an income to be able to have their agency (Aoláin, Haynes, and Cahn 2011).

Society and the infrastructure are mostly in disorder in the post-conflict environment. Along with people who have been displaced from their homes, health institutions, schools, and roads are also significantly destroyed. This environment could also serve as a tool that exacerbates gender equality if the reconstruction phase does not consider the gendered needs (Aoláin, Haynes, and Cahn 2011). For example, in terms of the education component of the post-agreement social issues, the literacy rate for women in the post-conflict period is alarmingly low, which significantly contributes to their inequality. The low literacy rate of women can be attributed to the damage the educational system receives during wars because it makes it difficult for

girls to have access to schools in the post-conflict periods (Percival et al. 2014).

Additionally, since conflicts also put pressure on health care systems, they disproportionately impact women in the post-conflict period. With programs that are not gender-sensitive, women's access to their specific health needs is undermined. For example, the increase in the maternal mortality rate during conflicts can be considered as the gendered health outcome. However, it is still possible to decrease the maternal mortality rate in the post-conflict environment with gender-sensitive programming, which decreases disadvantage of women (Percival et al. 2014).

2.8 Conclusion

Notwithstanding these arguments in the literature, accepting the existence of a relationship between the inclusion of gender provisions to the peace agreements and post-agreement phase of gender-related issues is vital to point out that there is a considerable gap in the literature about the inclusiveness of peace agreements and the potential effect of this inclusiveness on the post-agreement period. Research on the inclusion of the gender provisions to the peace agreement mostly piled on the subject of the UNSC Resolution 1325's effects on the peace agreement and gender mainstreaming in peace processes. Further, studies also only analyzed the peace agreements for their gender inclusivity quantitatively and sometimes with their effect on the implementation of the peace agreements. Thus, more studies need to be undertaken to understand better the extent to which gender provisions in peace agreements are helpful to assess gender equality in issues of the post-agreement period. For these purposes, this thesis seeks to dwell upon this issue by addressing the puzzle of whether including gender-related provisions in peace agreements has any relationship with gender equality in issues of the post-agreement situations in conflict-affected countries.

3. CASE BACKGROUNDS

Without knowing the context in which the conflict occurs, one cannot get a sense of the peace agreements or the post-conflict environment that follows the conflict. Thus, to give perspective, this section of the study will briefly introduce the historical backgrounds, peace processes, and post-conflict environments of both Colombian and the Filipino conflict.

3.1 Conflict in the Philippines

3.1.1 Historical Roots

The conflict in the Mindanao region of the Philippines originates back in the 16th century colonial era, considered to be one of the longest-running conflicts in the world. From the 16th century onwards, Spanish colonial forces were able to subdue the island of Luzon and most of the other Filipino islands, which enables them to Christianize the inhabitants (Schiavo-Campo and Judd 2005). However, Spanish forces were not successful in controlling the Mindanao region because of the constant rebellion by the native Muslim population. These conflicts between the Spanish-controlled capital Manila and Mindanao continued over a period of 350 years, and Spanish forces began to call the Muslim population "Moros" due to previously fought centuries-long crusade against the "Moors" occupation (International Crisis Group 2004).

The inability of Spanish forces to conquer the Mindanao Island enabled the inhabitants of Mindanao to sustain their cultural and political differences, but it also

planted seeds of mutual mistrust between the Muslim and Catholic communities (Dwyer and Cagoco-Guiam 2010). Spaniards essentially viewed the Muslim community as the enemy that needed to be Christianized, thus, the Catholic Church became allies in the war against the Muslims. This deep alienation between the Catholics and Muslims led to both sides having a negative perception of the other, and the tensions between the communities began to rise, due mainly to economic dislocation (Islam 2003).

Throughout the 19th century, Spain was growing weak in the international arena, and finally, in December 1898, as a result of the United States emerging victorious in the Spanish-American war, the Philippines came under the U.S.A control (Malan and Solomon 2012). Despite the fact that the island of Mindanao was never fully occupied by the Spaniards, the island was subsumed when the Spanish forces relinquish control of the Philippines to the United States (Islam 2003). However, the United States also struggled to gain control over Mindanao since the Muslim inhabitants continued to fight against the U.S.A occupation.

In order to be able to integrate the Muslims into the rest of the Philippines, under the direct rule of the Philippine government, the United States adopted the "policy of attraction" in order to "develop, and to educate" the people (Angeles 2001). The colonial government embarked on several programmes, such as the construction of public buildings like schools and hospitals, as well as introducing a secular syllabus in educational institutions, aimed to "civilize" the Muslim population. However, this was perceived by the Muslim population as an attack on their traditions, and therefore, they refused to send their kids to such schools, leading to a notable increase in the illiteracy rate amongst the community (Islam 2003). This rise in illiteracy meant that the Muslim population would be unable to register their land in 1902, when the colonial government introduced the Land Registration act and, subsequently, with the introduction of the Public Land Act in 1905, those unclaimed lands would become state properties (Huang, Musembi, and Petronic 2012).

Starting from the early 1900s (especially after the independence in 1946), the Filipino government and the United States began to force the poor Filipino Christian population to relocate from the large, fertile, and not densely populated southern islands to work on the farms (Malan and Solomon 2012). As a result of an inflow of Christian Filipino settlers from the northern and central regions, Moros became the minority in the Mindanao by the 1960s (Islam 2003). Especially as of 1946, the national administration provided more opportunities and services to the Christian settlers in comparison to the Muslim community in the region. In the late 1960s, with the administration of Marcos passing multiple laws to expropriate lands that

belong to the Muslims to meet the settlers' needs, more Muslims lost their traditional lands (Islam 2003). Moro people always considered their lands to be part of their identity, and thus, when "unwelcomed guests" - an influx of Christian settlers-moved into their lands, it became equal to their impoverishment, marginalization, and discrimination, their hatred towards the Christian settlers further grew (Malan and Solomon 2012). Thus, violent clashes between the Muslims and Christian settlers became a common occurrence in the region.

3.1.2 Formation of Separatists Insurgencies

In the late 1960s, the Armed Forces of the Philippines were training the Muslim groups in order to use them to reclaim the parts of Sabah and North Borneo from Malaysia, and when they refused training and missions, the Armed Forces of the Philippines massacred all the Moro commandos (Quimpo 2001). This incident came to be known as the "Jabidah massacre" and was perceived as further oppression by Christian governments of the minority Muslim inhabitants (Abubakar 2004). After this event, Muslim groups began mobilizing to protest the massacre, and this event catalyzed them and invigorated their aspirations for independence. In 1969, the Bangsamoro Liberation Organization (BMLO) emerged with secessionist intentions, with members such as Nur Misuari and Hashim Salamat, both of whom eventually split to form another organization known as the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in 1971 (Chang et al. 2015). MNLF rose to prominence amongst the Moro population in the Mindanao as their main representation and advocate for creating a separate Moro nation consisting of the islands of Mindanao, Palawan, and Sulu. In response to the counterinsurgency, the Marcos government declared martial law, causing the outbreak of war in Mindanao between 1972 and 1976 (Chang et al. 2015). By 1984, the rift between Salamat and Misuari worsened, and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) emerged as a separatist rebel organization that had a greater emphasis on Islamic orientation in comparison to MNLF. While MILF mainly pursued an independent Islamic state for the Muslim groups, by 2010, they drifted more towards regional autonomy rather than full independence.

3.1.3 Negotiations and Peace Process

In order to resolve the conflict rooted in 'primordial notions of homeland, social marginalization, and historical displacement', the Moro people and the successive Filipino governments engaged in multiple rounds of negotiations which then resulted in several agreements. However, while recognizing the multiple parallel peace negotiations that took place in the Philippines, only the peace negotiations between the Filipino government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) will be examined within the scope of this thesis.

Negotiations with the MILF and the peace processes under the 4 different presidencies, including several setbacks to the talks and breaking down of negotiations with the outbursts of violence, went on for a period of 17 years (1997-2014). Negotiations between the MILF and the government of the Philippines under the Ramos Administration in 1997 resulted in a general cessation of hostilities (International Crisis Group 2004). However, when negotiations collapsed in 1999, conflict resumed in the region, causing an increase in local support for the MILF (Brown 2011). Negotiations suspended after three incidents further fueled new armed confrontations in 2000, 2003, and 2008 (Herbolzheimer 2015).

Starting from 2001, the parties involved began agreeing to different methods to strengthen negotiations, with the Malaysian government agreeing to facilitate and host the talks on the invitation of the Filipino government. The government of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo shifted the peacemaking approach to "all-out-peace" (Schiavo-Campo and Judd 2005), and even though there was a brief change in approach due to the violent encounter in 2003, the Arroya government initiated the peace talks with the MILF again in 2005 (Chang et al. 2015). This time the parties also agreed to create an International Monitoring Team (IMT) to substantiate the ceasefire led by Malaysia and included Libya and Brunei (Herbolzheimer 2015). By 2008, President Arroyo was able to reach an agreement on land issues. However, the Supreme Court of the Philippines interfered to implement the 2009 agreement, thus, the government was unable to sign the accord, and the MILF continued its attacks and violence (Brown 2011). The conflict persisted, and the situation in Mindanao deteriorated with thousands of people being internally displaced due to the violence. With hopes to stabilize the situation, another round of negotiations was initiated between President Benigno Aquino III's government and the MILF (Chang et al. 2015). In 2009, parties to the negotiations agreed to set up an International Contact Group (ICG) in an observatory and advisory role to the parties. The ICG was formed by Turkey, UK, Japan, and Saudi Arabia along with the Con-

ciliation Resources, the Community of Sant'Egidio, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, and Muhammadiyah (Herbolzheimer 2015). Even though negotiations did not result in an independent Mindanao, it provided Mindanao with more autonomy and allowed the Bangsamoro region to be an autonomous political entity within Mindanao (Chang et al. 2015). The MILF and the Government of the Philippines (GPH) agreed upon a transitional process for the creation of this autonomous region and power-sharing infrastructure between the Filipino and the Bangsamoro governments. Finally, the 2012 Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro was signed, followed by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2014 (Herbolzheimer 2015).

Involvement of international actors was a significant characteristic of the peace process, however, what makes the MILF-GPH peace process an outstanding example was the struggle of the women within civil society to be included in the formal negotiations, alongside their hard-won access and recognition as the key actors in the overall process. The Filipino case became one of the rare examples of peace negotiations where women had the chance to meaningfully participate in formal peace negotiations as leaders and integrated a gendered perspective in the process.

When the negotiations between the GPH and the MILF began in 1997, delegations from both sides, including support staff, were all male, and there was no mechanism built in to secure access for women. Nonetheless, women started to claim their right to access to the formal peace talks more vocally as the political space began to open up gradually from the early 2000s onwards with the help of UNSC Resolution 1325 and the International Women Peace and Security Agenda. As a result, women played important roles in almost all three tracks of the peace process. In track I, the office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) was directed by Secretary Teresita Quintos-Deles, who has overseen five peace tables during her time in office (Busran-Lao 2014). In 2010, Professor Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, a well-known academic and human rights activist, was appointed to the government's peace panel to chair the MILF table, and Yasmin Busran-Lao was appointed as Undersecretary (Chang et al. 2015). Moreover, in 2010, the Philippines became the first country in South East Asia to draft its National Action plan in line with the UNSC Resolution 1325. This was made possible by the joint effort of the OPPAP and Women Engaged in Action on 1325 (WEACT 1325), an umbrella organization for women and peace advocates (Busran-Lao 2014). The year 2012 witnessed two groundbreaking events in terms of women participating in formal peace processes. These were the appointment of Raissa Jajurie, a human rights lawyer and legal advisor, by the MILF to serve on the "MILF Board of Consultants" and the appointment of Miriam Coronel-Ferrer as the first female chief negotiator on the government panel (Santiago 2015). History was made in 2012 when Miriam Coronel-Ferrer became the first

woman signatory to a major peace agreement (Chang et al. 2015).

This peace agreement is considered as a major success for its specific gender provisions on women's political, social, and economic participation (Santiago 2015). With regards to the integration of a gender perspective, the peace agreement was unique for multiple reasons;

- It integrated a development plan which was specifically gender-focused and established an independent revenue stream to fund it

- Built consultation mechanisms that focused solely on women's grievances

- Solidified women's roles in key decision-making bodies, especially Coronel-Ferrer, as the only women chief negotiator to be a signatory to a peace agreement (Cóbar, Bjertén-günther, and Jung 2018).

3.1.4 Post Conflict Environment

With the signing of a comprehensive peace agreement between the MILF and the GPH after 17 years of peace talks with the involvement of several actors, the Philippines entered into a phase of reconstruction in order to recover society from the violence that tore through the past 40 years. Even though settling the conflict through a comprehensive peace agreement with ground-breaking innovations and the inclusion of women was a significant development in the history of the Philippines, the peacebuilding process faced its own challenges, such as complying with the agreed timetable and Congress' reluctance to codify the peace agreement into law. When coupled with the judiciary's reluctance to assess the agreement in terms of its adherence to the constitution, these two institutions ran a risk of blocking the application of the provisions (Herbolzheimer 2015).

Security-related problems in the post-conflict period included the proliferation of arms and the increase of armed groups due to the failure of consequent governments to disband the paramilitary forces. Moreover, the Philippines also witnessed the inclusion of additional violent groups for three different goals: a group that split from the MILF due to their scepticism of the government's commitment, extremists who have relations with the international extremist groups, and lastly, traditional criminal organizations (Herbolzheimer 2015).

Due to their alienation as the perceived "other" over a span of centuries, bias against Muslims remains a deeply rooted problem in the Philippines until today. Attempts

from the peace negotiators for dialogues aimed to deconstruct these flowed beliefs about the other, however, both Christian and Muslim communities still remain suspicious about each other (Herbolzheimer 2015). Furthermore, structural violence, which refers to country's high rates of inequality, poverty, and historical injustices of land, continues to exist in the post-agreement period and makes it harder to overcome grievances (Council on Foreign Relations 2021*b*).

In terms of providing resources for the transition period, the ARMM and the Bangsamoro Development Agency (BDA) initiated several socio-economic development projects such as "Gender and Development Programs" and livelihood support projects. While implementing these projects, donors and agencies aimed to increase women's participation in them (Kubota and Takashi 2016).

3.2 Conflict in Colombia

3.2.1 Historical Roots

The conflict in Colombia went on for over 50 years and was the most-prolonged intrastate conflict in the Americas. Since 1964, civilians have suffered from triangulated violence between the government, paramilitaries, and guerilla forces. This long history of violence led Colombian society to be accustomed to living with it. Here, the evolution of violence is not just around one single structured economic or ethnic issue that created conflict between two opposing sides, but instead contains a myriad of dynamics and is thoroughly intertwined with the nation's history (Gonzalez 2004).

Origins of the conflict in Colombia can be traced back to the country's colonial heritage. Before the 18th century, Colombia was an impoverished colony with weak internal and external trade ties due to limited Spanish economic activity. Furthermore, considering the mountainous geography of Colombia, areas in the middle and lower altitudes were established as public lands and were kept open for homesteading (LeGrand 2014). After gaining independence in 1810, Colombia was desperately searching for a product that could be profitably exportable. The introduction of coffee export, expansion of cattle ranches, and the introduction of banana planta-

tions by the United Fruit company partly resolved the problem, but this was still limited and concentrated the population in certain areas. Consequently, Colombian peasants left their lands to claim previously unsettled public lands (LeGrand 2014). This movement came to known as "campesina colonization" of the peripheral areas, and over time, Colombian history witnessed the "campesina colonization" as a way to find new lands (Gonzalez 2004). This migration of the Colombian peasantry and financial growth was followed by mass privatization. This process of privatization, in which homesteader Colombian peasants were foreclosed, lead to conflict over ownership rights of the previously unsettled public land between the poor peasantry and land speculators. With the government failing to implement much-needed agrarian reform, clashes over land rights and ownership became one of the driving factors of rural conflict in Colombian history and can still be seen today in contemporary Colombian politics (Gonzalez 2004).

However, the current conflict in Colombia correlates with a period that is known as La violencia in Colombian history. Since its independence in 1810, political leaders in the forms of liberals and conservatives controlled Colombian politics and became very rigid over time (LeGrand 2014). From 1930 onwards, historically unequal land distributions dominated the political sphere leading to liberals focusing on social and economic reforms in their agendas. This focus on social and economic reforms paved the way for their leader, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, to be seen as a progressive man committed to putting an end to the injustice that has been going on for centuries. However, the rise of his popularity created a backlash from the conservatives, and his subsequent assassination became an explosion catalyst that drove the country into an unprecedented violent period that lasted for over ten years. In order to stabilize the county, both parties recommended that a power-sharing agreement be drafted. This agreement came to known as the National Front and provided a provision for an alternating presidency between the liberals and conservatives. However, this agreement also paved the way for the exclusion of non-traditional parties from the political system (McDougall 2009).

3.2.2 Formation of Guerilla Groups

Guerilla groups first emerged as self-defence groups in order to protect civilians from attacks carried out by the anti-communist forces during the La Violencia (The Violence) period (Crandall 1999). The Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces) (FARC) was the first guerilla group that emerged.

It was officially founded in 1966 as a peasant-based Marxist guerilla movement. By self-identifying as anti-imperialists, it demanded equal land distribution and political representation but believed overthrowing the government was the only way to achieve this objective (McDougall 2009).

It is essential to understand the devasting effect of the fifty year-long armed conflict on the Colombians before explaining the successive negotiation process to end the conflict. Over the span of the conflict, more than 5.7 million people have been displaced (Felter and Renwick 2017). As of 2017, the known number of dead people surpasses 220,000, and the war resulted in as many as 25,000 disappeared (Felter and Renwick 2017). More than 100,000 people have reported the loss of property, and 22,493 crimes against sexual liberty and integrity have been registered along with some other illegal conducts (Céspedes-Báez and Ruiz 2018).

3.2.3 Negotiations and Peace Process

In order to put an end to Colombia's long suffered, complicated conflict, rooted in unequal land distribution, political exclusion of leftist groups, and uneven state presence, FARC and the successive Colombian governments have engaged in multiple rounds of talks since the 1980s. However, while this author acknowledges the multiple parallel peace negotiations that took place within Colombia, only the peace negotiations between the successive Colombian governments and the FARC leaders will be examined within the scope of this thesis.

Negotiations with the FARC and the peace process under 7 different presidencies, including several setbacks and breaking down of negotiations with all-out war tactics and unprecedented violence, took place over a period of 34 years (1982-2016). Negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC were initiated first in 1982 under the Betancur administration in order to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The talks resulted in the Uribe Accords in 1984, which established a ceasefire between the parties and paved the way for FARC to launch their own political party (Posso 2004). However, the Uribe Accord was not supported by all and did not show a national consensus on the political resettlement. During the Barco administration, despite the lack of a formal denouncement of the ceasefire, dialogue between parties deteriorated and came to a breakaway point when unarmed militants of the Patriotic Union (UP) became the victims of an attack. Thus, the event further led to skepticism among FARC members about the validity and usefulness of political negotiations as a way to achieve their ambitions (Posso 2004).

Between the late 1980s and early 1990s, under Barco's and Gaviria's presidency, a number of guerilla groups were demobilized, and a new reformed Colombian constitution was accepted (1991), as it allowed for more democratic participation within the state. Nonetheless, conflict with the FARC and pro-state groups reciprocally escalated (Bell, O'Rourke, and Matzner 2015). Under the Pastrana administration, a different model of negotiations was initiated in comparison to the previous attempts. The new model focused on the much-needed reforms for a new state and was held in the middle of the military confrontation within a neutral meeting zone. The initial agenda was drafted in 1999, but the growing tensions between the traditional power holders and from within the civil society amidst a violent period and without any apparent results lessened support for the Pastrana administration. Talks eventually broke down in April 2002 when the FARC hijacked a plane with a senator on board, and the government began the occupation of demilitarized zones (Posso 2004). Since 2002 up until 2010, the Uribe administration shifted goals from finding a peaceful solution through negotiations to a military operation and declared all-out war against the guerilla groups with an aim to wipe them out escalated (Bell, O'Rourke, and Matzner 2015). By 2010, while the Colombian government was unable to completely eradicate the rebel forces, they succeeded in critically reducing their capabilities. Even though the FARC was left still standing, they realized that achieving their goal through military victory was not a realistic option (Herbolzheimer 2016).

After assuming office with the promise of peace, President Santos and the FARC Leader Londono announced, more than a decade after the last negotiations, that the first attempt to the peace talks would begin in 2012. Negotiations were planned for two locations: first Norway, then Cuba. The negotiations in Havana were designed to address five key issues, namely: "rural development, political participation, illicit crops, victims and conflict termination" (Herbolzheimer 2016, 2), and sought to draft a framework for implementing the forthcoming peace agreement. In September 2016, a long-awaited peace accord was brokered in Colombia with the official signing ceremony taking place in Cartagena (Beittel 2016).

Several crucial innovations were included in Colombia's new peace process in light of the lessons learned from past failures. However, what made this Colombian peace process unique was the inclusion of women throughout the whole process and gender mainstreaming in the entirety of its peace agreement. Additionally, it created the first-ever functioning gender sub-commission to review all documents in 2014, produced as a result of the peace process in terms of their gender-sensitive wording, all of which is largely considered to be groundbreaking progress (Counciliation Resources 2016).

When formal negotiations began in 2012, out of 20 negotiators only one female, Victoria Sandino, an ex-combatant from the FARC, was present at the table (Ruiz-Navarro 2019). However, Colombian civil society, especially its women movements, strongly advocated for women's inclusion in the peace talks. Throughout the process, they made use of every opportunity to take part in civil society conferences and working groups on related agendas of the Havana's peace table (Bouvier 2016). In 2013, women's organization's leaders from different ethnic, regional, political backgrounds coordinated a National Summit of Women and Peace to push for more inclusive peace processes (Council on Foreign Relations 2021a). They initially demanded three key points: 1) that the parties should not leave the table until an agreement reached 2) that women should be integrated into the whole process and at every level, and 3) that how women experienced the conflict, and their specific needs and interest should be discussed at the peace talks (Bouvier 2016).

With their efforts coupled with the international community's, especially armed with the UNSC Resolution 1325, both the FARC and the government had to give in. The first success was the inclusion of three more women to the negotiation table as direct representation (Ruiz-Navarro 2019). Nigeria Renteria Lozano and Maria Paulina Riveros joined to the government side while Tanja Nijmeijer joined on the FARC side, which still only meant that women compromised of 15 percent of the negotiating parties (Cóbar, Bjertén-günther, and Jung 2018). A groundbreaking development, however, came in 2014 as the first-ever gender commission was established in Colombia (Ruiz-Navarro 2019). It was important both in terms of the symbolic recognition of women's participation and as an instrument to open up space for gender-based issues such as gender-based violence and women's political participation (Bouvier 2016). At the end, by 2015, women composed 20 percent of the government side and 43 percent of the FARC delegates (Council on Foreign Relations 2021a). Thus, the 2016 comprehensive peace agreement came forward as an international example for women's involvement. Gender perspectives were integrated in all six points of the peace agreement, along with references to the rights of the women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) groups specifically. Additionally, elements of ethnic and territorial issues were included in the agreement. Together, these factors helped the Colombian peace agreement to be recognized as one of the most innovative and inclusive peace agreements in history (Cóbar, Bjertén-günther, and Jung 2018). However, the Colombians rejected the originally reached agreement in a referendum, and revisions on gender mainstreaming and sexual orientations were demanded by several sectors in the country. The parties signed the revised agreement in November 2016, after which it was approved by the Colombian Congress (International Crisis Group 2017).

3.2.4 Post Conflict Environment

Despite achieving an important milestone with the arrival of the 2016 Final Agreement for ending the conflict and building a stable peace, Colombia's post-conflict peacebuilding process faced its own challenges. One of the most critical challenges to implementing the agreement was the 2018 electoral victory of those who opposed the agreement. When coupled with the funding gaps and administrative delays, serious challenges were posed to the implementation of key provisions. This was especially true for provisions that related to transitional arrangements, structural reforms, and gender equality which posed a challenge for reaching inclusive and sustainable peace (International Crisis Group 2017).

In 2017, the United Nations political missions in Colombia announced the disarmament of the FARC guerillas who were party to the peace agreement, with the exception of a fraction from the guerilla group who refused to hand over their guns and continued their violent tactics. Shortly after the disarmament of the majority of the guerilla fighters, the formation of a political party, Revolutionary Alternative Force of the Common People, was announced (Human Rights Watch 2020).

Right after the disarmament, the next step was the reintegration of the FARC militants into the civilian life, including its female members. However, although 40 percent of the FARC members were women, there was little to no support by the government regarding their reintegration into society (Council on Foreign Relations 2021a).

In post-conflict Colombia, despite the establishment of war tribunals to prosecute human rights violations over the course of the conflict, indigenous and Afro-Colombian activists continued to be targets of attacks. According to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), in the first 7 months of 2019, the prosecution of 41 human rights defenders was documented (Human Rights Watch 2020).

A board that is composed entirely of women was established to monitor the implementation phase. According to their report, implementation of provisions that are focused on gender do not surpass 20 percent and reasons for that involve budget problems, lack of technical expertise and trained government officials, and negligence of rural contexts (Ruiz-Navarro 2019).

Furthermore, gender-based violence, especially by the armed groups, was widespread during the decades-long conflict and unfortunately still is a reality in present-day Colombia. The absence of training and insufficient implementation of treatment protocols have delayed appropriate access to medical services and allow perpetrators

to go unpunished for their crimes, thus, hindering women and girls from getting the post-conflict care and justice they need (Human Rights Watch 2020).

To conclude, both countries' conflicts were intra-state conflicts in nature that took place between armed groups and governments. It took almost four decades to reach a comprehensive peace agreement between the parties, considering the several setbacks and continued negotiations' failures between the governments and the armed groups. The last peace processes of both countries stood out in terms of their gender inclusivity. The participation of women at the peace table and gender-sensitive texts of the related peace agreements are considered groundbreaking achievements by the international community. However, their post-agreement period continues to face challenges regarding the implementation of the peace agreement, especially the gender-related provisions. The next chapter, the methodology chapter, will further elaborate on the similarities of the cases in the research design section.

4. METHODOLOGY

A research method is a way that researchers use to scrutinize the research question in mind systematically. This chapter of the study describes the primary method to be employed and the decision-making and application procedures behind it while acknowledging the limitations of the specific methods. It is divided into three sections. In the first section, the research question is introduced with an emphasis on its exploratory nature. In the second section, the research design is presented by explaining the rationale behind the case selection, outlining the definition of peace agreements and the sources of agreements as data to be used, explaining data analysis methods to employ in this study. In the final section, the limitations of the study are discussed.

4.1 Research Question

This research aims to explore the possible relationship between the gender provisions in peace agreements and gender equality in the issues of the post-agreement period. Thus, the research question of this study formulated as follows;

"What is the relationship (if any) between the inclusion of gender-related provisions in peace agreements and gender equality in the post-agreement period"

Before diving into the primary method used in this study and decisions taken while gathering and analysing the data, it is essential to highlight the study's exploratory nature. The research question focuses on the assumption of a possible relationship between the gender-related provisions in peace agreements and the issues in the post-agreement period rather than aiming to test the direct causal relationship between them. The relationship between them could be affected by confounding factors, such

as the obstacles in implementing the provisions due to a government change or lack of resources. Limitations are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

4.2 Research Design

In this section, the details of the research design are presented. It began with the case selection rationale and was followed by a discussion on the method for analysis of the gender-related provisions in peace agreements and gender equality in the issues of the post-agreement period. Lastly, a discussion of the data sources and the rationale behind the indicator choices is provided.

4.2.1 Case Selection

A small-N design suits the researcher who wants to have a deeper understanding of the phenomenon at hand by delving into the relationship and interactions between the numerous variables on a more nuanced level. To analyse the possible relationship between gender provisions and post-agreement gender equality, only two cases, Colombia and the Philippines were chosen as the main cases of this study.

Cases were chosen based on purposive sampling according to several criteria. Firstly, the history of both countries' conflicts shares common features. They were both intra-state conflicts that emerged between the government and the non-state armed groups—both in Colombia and the Philippines, various armed groups involved in the conflict. Hence, the recent peace process in respective countries addresses the conflict's intra-state nature between the parties involved (Cóbar, Bjertén-günther, and Jung 2018).

Secondly, both cases were protracted conflicts that lasted more than four decades before a comprehensive peace agreement was signed. In addition, both countries' peace agreements have recently been signed. In 2016, the final peace deal signed between the Colombian Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) ended the five decades-long turmoil in the country (Council on Foreign Relations 2021*a*). Similarly, the Filipino government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) signed a peace agreement, the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, in

March 2014 to bring an end to the long-standing violence (Council on Foreign Relations 2021*b*). However, while acknowledging the differences in the nature of these conflicts, (an ethnic conflict in the Philippines and an ideological one in Colombia), in terms of the study's research question, the emphasis is on the protracted and intra-state dimension of both conflicts. Moreover, since the peace agreements were signed quite close in time and share similar backgrounds to a certain extent, they allow the researcher to undertake a comparative analysis.

The comprehensiveness of the peace agreement was another reason for the case selection. The global community praised both peace processes and agreements and received considerable attention due to their comprehensiveness. Moreover, both comprehensive peace agreements acknowledged the protracted and nested nature of the problems and addressed the root causes of the conflict for rebuilding the war-torn country.

Both peace processes were also exceptional regarding their gender-inclusive peace processes and the peace agreements. Agreements were unique in terms of their gender inclusion for multiple reasons. For instance, the Philippines' comprehensive peace agreement constitutes the first and so far the only female chief negotiator in history to sign a peace deal (Cóbar, Bjertén-günther, and Jung 2018). In Colombia, along with representing women through gender-inclusive commissions, a subcommission on gender comprised of women's groups from different backgrounds was established for the first time (Cóbar, Bjertén-günther, and Jung 2018). The similarities of the two cases regarding gender inclusion allow deducing conclusions from the analysis of the relationship between the content of the peace agreements with reference to gender and gender equality in the post-agreement issues. Likewise, they are a good fit for an analysis related to gender provisions. Both peace agreements took place almost 15 years after the UNSC Resolution 1325, a document that might have affected the peace agreements' inclusivity of gender issues and post-conflict environments.

The last criterion is that enough time has passed after signing the peace agreements of both Colombia and the Philippines to observe gender equality in the issues of the post-agreement period. As cited in the literature review section, scholars state that almost half of the post-conflict countries risk going back to the violent phase of the conflict in 5 to 10 years period. Accounting for the possibility of reverting to conflict, a continuation of the relatively peaceful period of Colombia and the Philippines in the 5 years period is essential for the study.

4.2.2 Method for Analysis

4.2.2.1 Analysis for the Peace Agreements

Qualitative methodology enables researchers to scrutinize deeply the phenomenon studied and contains myriad variables that interact in one case study (Neuman 2014). Researchers can use qualitative research to gain new perspectives or in-depth knowledge on issues about which are already known (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Further, they can also use qualitative research to study a rarely examined issue to develop preliminary ideas for future research, thus emphasizing its exploratory nature.

As opposed to quantitative methods that convert the social realm into numbers, qualitative methods try to gain insights into attitudes, concerns, ideas, and lifestyles by studying social context, diversity, and process (Neuman 2014). Considering the non-structured data, the researcher aims to understand the meaning and the place of the meaning in the social world (Mason 2002). Thus, depending on qualitative studies' flexible, data-driven, and context-sensitive nature, the researcher will adjust the theoretical model, variables, and pre-assumed theoretical relationship as the study progresses (Neuman 2014).

Considering what has been mentioned here and the study's research question together, peace agreements gathered as data sources for this research are analysed using qualitative analysis tools. Quantitative studies with statistical methods could fail to add qualitative nuance, which is much needed when dealing with the complex issues and different themes that stem from the peace agreements. Therefore, considering the rich, complex, and lengthy nature of the peace agreements, text analysis is considered the best fit for this research to understand the agreements' content, meaning, and themes. Utilizing the text analysis method, provisions referring to gender issues derived from the agreement. Thus, the analysis chapter of the study provides these issues, which are social, political, economic, security, relational, and agreement-related issues, in tables for both Colombian and Filipino cases.

4.2.2.2 Analysis of Gender Equality Indicators in the Post-Agreement

Period

This study utilized secondary data analysis for gender equality in the post-agreement period. Secondary data analysis involves reanalysing the data collected by other researchers for different purposes; then, the present researcher intends to use it. Secondary data could exist in different forms, such as statistical documents or published reports (Neuman 2014). Hence, the researcher could go over the collected information with his/her study's research question to address it by reassembling the data.

Since this study's attempt to explore the gender-related provisions in Colombian and Filipino peace agreements and the situation of gender equality mainly in social, political, and economic issues in the period following the agreement, available indicators that could be related to the coded provisions (presented in table 4.1) were collected. Even though the gathered data and their indicators may not be exhaustive to conclude the post-agreement period developments concerning gender equality in the social, economic, and political issues, they are still an effective way of capturing the scene of gender equality in the post-agreement issues.

These indexes of the post-agreement gender equality categories are presented following with two dimensions of analysis. Firstly, post-agreement issues indicators are listed for Colombia and the Philippines, as shown in the table. Secondly, the indicators of gender equality in the post-agreement period were classified according to two time periods: the pre-agreement period and the period after the peace agreements. It can be deceptive to use a one-time slot since this study aims to explore a possible relationship between the post-conflict situation and the inclusion of gender provisions. It is essential to introduce two time period dimensions in the study to see the developments of specific areas post-agreement gender equality over time.

4.2.3 Data Sources

This section presents the data used in this study and the sources from which the data were collected. This study employed different resources for the analysis of the peace agreements and gender equality in post-conflict issues. For the peace agreements of Colombia and the Philippines PA-X Peace Agreement database and the United Nations Peace Makers' Peace Agreement database were employed.

PA-X as a peace agreement dataset aimed to enhance the understanding of the negotiated settlements of the conflicts. It enables scholars and other professionals to analyse the negotiated settlements to transition to peace systematically. PA-X database brings together the peace agreements from different phases of the peace processes, including intrastate and interstate conflicts, from 1990 to 2016. Over 1,500 in almost 140 peace processes, these peace agreements include the ceasefire, pre-negotiation, substantive, and implementation agreements. Additionally, the PA-X database also provides the text of all types of peace agreements and the coding of 225 different categories (Bell and Badanjak 2019).

UN Peacemaker is an online mechanism to support mediations established by the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs. It provides a database of peace agreements, material for guidance, and related information on the UN's support services for mediation. The peace agreement database provides full texts of around 800 peace agreements in several languages and thematic areas (United Nations Peace Maker 2021).

For the analysis of the post-conflict gender-related issues, this study employed different secondary sources. These are UNDP's Human Development Data and the World Bank Databank. UNDP's human development data is the collection of national data that are gathered from relevant international data agencies. The data is provided in two sections on the website; the data page and the country profile pages. The data page includes more than 150 indicators and composite indices for almost 190 countries. The page also provides methodology, definitions of indicators, and sources for the original data (United Nations Development Programme 2021b). Moreover, The Human Development Report Office annually produces five composite indices: "the Human Development Index (HDI), the Inequality-Adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), the Gender Development Index (GDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII), and the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)" (United Nations Development Programme 2021b).

World Bank's Databank includes several different databases for different purposes. In this study, the World Development Indicators (WDI) database, primarily collected from the relevant international sources on the development indicators, is used. The database represents the most up-to-date data on global development (World Bank 2021b).

4.2.3.1 The Peace Agreements Data

As stated in the literature review section, scholars have no consensus on the definition of a peace agreement in the literature. Hence, it is crucial to build a conceptual definition of a peace agreement in this research. The Uppsala Conflict Database Program (UCDP) defines a peace agreement as "a formal agreement between warring parties, which addresses the disputed incompatibility either by settling all or part of it or by clearly outlining a process for how the warring parties plan to regulate the incompatibility" (UCDP 2021). Unlike the UCDP's strict systematic criteria of peace agreement selection, Political Settlements Project's PA-X Peace Agreement Dataset applies a broader and more inclusive definition of peace agreements. PA-X database defines a peace agreement as a "formal, publicly-available document, produced after discussion with conflict protagonists and mutually agreed to by some or all of them, addressing conflict with a view to ending it" (Bell et al. 2020). Because this study explores the possible relationship between the gender-related provision of peace agreements and the gender-related issues of the post-agreement period, written texts of peace agreements of selected cases are the data to be used and the broad definition of the PA-X database employed as a working definition. The definition's broadness is advantageous because it allows the researcher to observe the common patterns of gender provisions within the documents.

Nowadays, the number of peace agreements databases are increasing, and most of them are available on the web. Conciliation Resources, United States Institute of Peace (USIP), The Uppsala Conflict Database Program (UCDP), and the PA-X Peace Agreement Database are the most notable ones. The Peace Agreements of Colombia and the Philippines used in this research are retrieved from the PA-X Peace Agreement database. However, five of the Philippines' related agreements are not present in the PA-X database, and those are substituted from the United Nations Peace Makers' Peace Agreement database. Due to language limitations, the English version of the agreements used for analysis.

The conflict in Colombia was the most prolonged intrastate conflict in the Americas, and it lasted more than 50 years. Thus, it witnessed several peace processes with no end. In this study, agreement of the latest peace process between the FARC-EP and Colombian Government is used. Between 2013 and 2016, 19 agreements that led to the Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace was signed in Colombia. The content of these agreements included the following: political participation, the problem of illegal drugs, rural reform, sub-commissions and their visit to Havana, timetable for future negotiations,

decontamination of land, implementation of dialogues, establishment of a judicial commission after the Final Peace Agreement, review of de-escalation measures, creation of a particular jurisdiction for peace, re-integration, security guarantees, final ceasefire, and demobilization.

Like Colombia, the Philippines also witnessed several peace processes during its conflict. This study used the products of the latest peace process between the MILF and the Filipino government. Between 2012 and 2014, 12 agreements, which led to the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, were signed in the Philippines. These agreements included the following themes: principles of the negotiation, creation of Bangsamoro as the new autonomous region, an independent commission on policing, transition procedures, Sajahatra Bangsamoro Development Program and the terms of the ceasefire, revenue generation, power-sharing, normalization, and how to share the waters of Bangsamoro.

For the Philippines case, the final peace agreement, which is the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, and all other drafted products of the peace process are included as data to be analysed. However, for the Colombian case, only the final agreement, the Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, is included as the data to be analysed since all other drafted documents during the latest peace process were incorporated into the final agreement.

4.2.3.2 Gender Equality in the Issues of the Post-Agreement Period Data

To comprehensively understand the selected countries' gender equality status in the related issues of the post-agreement period, the best way is to conduct fieldwork. However, given the COVID-19 pandemic, limited time and resources of this study, existing secondary data was collected from various datasets and reports. These datasets constitute both statistical and verbal information about gender equality in post-agreement issues over time and across countries. However, find a gender-sensitive dataset index in relational or security-related issues in the post-agreement period is challenging. Therefore, datasets on gender equality in social, economic, and political issues were utilized to measure gender equality in the post-agreement period in Colombia and the Philippines. The conceptualization of the variables used in this study are explained below, and how they were operationalized is indicated in the table.

There are many country-level gender equality indexes available for researchers to measure gender equality. One of the reasons for this variety is the complexity of the gender equality concept. This complexity paves the way for different conceptualizations and descriptions and, thus, evaluation in various ways. Among the possible indexes are the United Nations Development Programme's Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), United Nations Development Programme's Gender Inequality Index (GII), the OECD's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI), and the World Economic Forum's Gender Gender Gap Index (GGI) could be given. Each of these indicators is composite indicators because their measurements are based on the combination of several individual indicators of a particular issue into a single compound index. However, they differ in terms of the indicators they used or how they measure those indicators.

The process of deciding what indicators to be used in this study was primarily deductive. According to the gender equality definition used in the literature review and based on how the literature categorized the post-agreement related issues, this study employed the existing indices on the political, social, and economic issues to scrutinize gender equality in the post-agreement period.

Political issues are one of the most critical dimensions of the post-agreement period since governance has become one of the central issues of war-torn countries. Thus, election, political participation, strong political institutions became central issues of the political dimension of the post-agreement period. In the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index (GGI), political empowerment is used as one of the sub-indexes of gender equality. One of the indicators used to measure the political dimension was the share of seats in the parliament, which is used in this study. The specific data over the years and across countries for the share of seats were taken from the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Data.

As indicated in the literature, issues such as education and health are essential components of the social issues that are another critical dimension of the post-agreement period. Further, these issues are also central to almost all of the gender equality indexes.

In the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index (GGI), educational attainment is used as one of the sub-indexes of gender equality. One of the indicators used to measure educational attainment was the literacy rate of females and males. However, since the GGI Index does not provide data for the individual indicators, the data used in this study were taken from the World Bank's World Development Indicators database.

Women and girls are widely discriminated against in health issues, especially in the post-agreement period if rebuilding a war-torn country is made without gender-sensitive programming. Inequality in health services, in turn, can affect their development and freedom of choice in the long run (United Nations Development Programme 2021*a*). When assessing gender equality, the United Nations Development Programme's Gender Inequality Index uses the maternal mortality ratio as one of the indicators to measure gender inequality. In this study, data for maternal mortality ratio is taken from the UNDP's Human Development Data for Colombia and the Philippines between 2000 and 2017.

Since the countries were destroyed economically during conflicts, the post-agreement period's economic dimension was mainly composed of poverty, economic instability, and inequality. Economic issues are also one of the most used indicators for gender equality. In World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index (GGI), the economic dimension is captured by the economic participation and opportunity sub-indices. Labour force participation ratio and female and male's estimated income were among the indicators used to measure this dimension. This study employed the data from the World Bank's World Development Indicators database for the labour force participation ratio and UNDP's Human Development Data for the estimated incomes.

In order to reflect the steps followed in the data collection of this study, the list of datasets, reports, list of indexes, and indicators are explained in the table below.

Table 4.1 The list of datasets and indicators

SOCIAL ISSUES			
ISSUE AREA	**INDICATOR**	**SOURCE/DATA PROVIDER**	**HOW THE DATA PROVIDER MEASURED THE INDICATOR**
Educational Attainment	Literacy Rate	World Bank, World Development Indicators Database	The adult literacy rate is the percentage of people, aged 15 and above who can read and write with understanding a short, simple statement about their everyday lives.
Health and Survival	Maternal Mortality Ratio	UNDP, The Human Development Data	Number of deaths due to pregnancy-related causes per 100,000 live births
ECONOMIC ISSUES			
Employment	The ratio of female to male labor force participation rate (%) (national estimate)	World Bank, World Development Indicators Database	Labor force participation rate is the proportion of the population, aged 15 and older that is economically active: all people who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period. The ratio of female to male labor force participation rate is calculated by dividing female labor force participation rate by male labor force participation rate and multiplying by 100.
Income	Estimated gross national income per capita, female (2017 PPP $)	UNDP, The Human Development Data	Derived from the ratio of female to male wages, female and male shares of the economically active population, and gross national income (in 2017 purchasing power parity terms)
POLITICAL ISSUES			
Political Participation	Share of seats in parliament (% held by women)	UNDP, The Human Development Data	The proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament expressed as a percentage of total seats. For countries with a bicameral legislative system, the share of seats is calculated based on both houses.

4.3 Limitations

Unfortunately, this research contains some methodological constraints. This section discusses the limitations of the qualitative data analysis, secondary data analysis methods, and the study's small-N nature.

Firstly, the usage of only two cases as a qualitative study limited the generalizability of this research.

The text analysis method, employed in this research inherently constitutes biases

due to the researcher's subjectivity while making interpretations. As an outsider to the selected conflict countries, I had my own understanding of the concepts about gender equality in the post-agreement issues, which contributed to the research's subjectivity.

Since the field research was not feasible for the reasons discussed at the beginning of the chapter, there were problems when attaining relevant data for a full-fledged analysis. Further, data validity constituted a matter of concern since the researcher did not control the quality or the way the data is gathered; hence, the researcher was not familiar with the real-life context.

Peace agreements of Colombia and the Philippines that constitute another data to be used in this study initially was not written in English; however, the English version of the peace agreements utilized as mentioned in this chapter due to the language problems. Using English versions may have disadvantaged the research when fully grasping the agreement's content since some of the authentic elements of the original languages may be lost in the translation process.

5.   ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides the findings from the two separate analyses conducted to understand the possible relationship between the gender-related provisions and gender equality in the post-agreement environment in this study in three sections. The first section provides the analysis of the Colombian and Filipino peace agreements based on their themes and categories. The second section explains both countries' post-agreement gender equality situations by looking at the changes on the selected indicators of the post-agreement period. The last section provides a discussion regarding their relations. Charts, graphs, and tables are employed in presenting the findings.

5.1 Analysis of Peace Agreements

5.1.1 Analysis of the Colombian Peace Agreement

This section provides an analysis of Colombia's Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace. The agreement was reached and signed on 24 August 2016 by the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP. However, in the following referendum, it was rejected narrowly, leading to a review of the agreement, and the revised version was signed on 24 November 2016. Therefore, in this analysis, the final version of the agreement is used. The agreement constituted six parts that were negotiated separately but agreed as a whole. These six parts are:

- Towards a New Colombian Countryside: Comprehensive Rural Reform

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- Political Participation: A democratic opportunity to build peace

- End of the Conflict

- Solution to the Illicit Drugs Problem

- Agreement regarding the Victims of the Conflict: "Comprehensive System for Truth, Justice, Reparations and Non-Recurrence," including the Special Jurisdiction for Peace; and Commitment to Human Rights

- Implementation, verification and public endorsement

In all six-part of the Colombian peace agreement, gender has been integrated in different ways and consistently mentioned. As a result of the analysis, 20 different categories with several gender-related issues were formed, and they will be quoted and further explained while elaborating on different categories.

Minor categories emerged from the peace agreements and are further clustered under broad categories. These broad categories are gender in social issues, economic issues, political issues, relational issues, security-related issues, and agreement-related issues (See Table 4.1) and they are explained separately in the following sections.

Table 5.1 List of gender provisions that emerged from the peace agreement of Colombia

GENDER IN POLITICAL ISSUES
Political participation
Security for the exercise of the politics
GENDER IN ECONOMIC ISSUES
Land rights
Rural development
Poverty and economic growth
Income generations, subsidies, and credits
Employment and labor market
GENDER IN SOCIAL ISSUES
Health
Education
Housing
Water and food
GENDER IN RELATIONAL ISSUES
Reconciliation, coexistence, tolerance, and non-stigmatization
Truth, justice, reparations, and non-occurrence
GENDER IN AGREEMENT RELATED ISSUES
Implementation, verification, and public endorsement
GENDER IN SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES
Gender-based violence/ Violence against women (VAW)
Integration of FARC-EP members

Table 5.2 Gender in political issues in the Colombian peace agreement

GENDER IN POLITICAL ISSUES
Political participation
Political security

5.1.1.1 Gender in political issues in the Colombian peace agreement

Below is the table of one of the five broad categories, the category of gender in political issues, which covers highly interrelated issues under Chapter 2: Political participation: A democratic opportunity to build peace. Rights and guarantees for the exercise of political opposition, citizen participation, greater participation in national, regional, and local politics, electoral participation, and security guarantees for the exercise of politics were the main issues discussed under the sub-categories of gender in political issues.

In order to address the importance of women's political participation, agreement begins with acknowledging their specific experiences by stating the following:

> "Taking account of the fact that women face greater social and institutional barriers in terms of political participation, as a result of deep-rooted discrimination and inequality, as well as structural conditions of exclusion and subordination, there will be significant challenges in guaranteeing their right to participation,..." (*Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace* 2016, 34).

The minor category of political participation focuses on the participation of women as citizens in the electoral process, along with an emphasis on their contributions as political subjects and the need for their participation as leaders in the political sphere. The promotion of political participation is weighted with the emphasis on the mass campaign for ID-issuing, specifically for the rural women who are most affected by the conflict and whose right to exercise this right has been neglected for decades.

Further, the agreement clearly stated the rejection of any form of discrimination against their contributions in the political sphere. It acknowledges the need for equality in leadership and participation for a strong democracy and long-lasting peace. A program to promote the political participation of women is also proposed,

and the gender-based approach for the design and implementation of the related measures is guaranteed.

As explained in the Case Background chapter, Colombians have suffered from lack of political representation, and the negotiation during the Barco administration broke down due to the massacre of the members of the newly formed political party by the FARC members. Seen in this light, a comprehensive security system for the exercise of politics was weighted in the agreement. This category of security for the exercise of politics focuses on protecting the women who are taking part in political activity on various levels. It is explained by stating that threats and risks for women's participation and representation will be identified, and the government will allocate resources to protect women involved in such activities.

5.1.1.2 Gender in economic issues in the Colombian peace agreement

Another broad category that emerged from the Colombian peace agreement is the category of economic issues, which also covers highly interrelated issues mostly under Chapter 1: Towards a New Colombian Countryside: Comprehensive Rural Reform.

Table 5.3 Gender in economic issues in the Colombian peace agreement

GENDER IN ECONOMIC ISSUES
Land rights
Income generations, subsidies, and credits
Rural development, poverty, and economic growth
Employment and labor market

Colombia suffered from land injustices as a deep-rooted cause of the decades-long armed conflict. Thus, the Colombian peace agreement put a great emphasis on land issues and rural reform to address this issue. Throughout the chapter, the agreement recognized women's specific situation with regard to social and institutional barriers to prevent women from taking part in economic activities. The agreement mentioned the need for equality and a gender-based approach in resolving land-related issues. Further, it also emphasized the need for overall economic development in the country. The following example could be given from the peace agreement:

> "Acknowledgement of women as independent citizens with rights, who, irrespective of their marital status, or relationship to their family or community, have access, on an equal footing to men, to ownership of land and production projects, funding options, infrastructure, technical services, and training, inter alia; attention is to be given to the social and institutional conditions that have prevented women from gaining access to the assets of production and to public and social benefits." (*Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace* 2016, 34).

The sub-category on land rights focuses on the barriers that prevent women's rights, especially rural women's rights, over land and mentions specific measures to tackle these obstacles, such as the creation of a Land Fund for the distribution of free land to the rural women.

In terms of income generations, the agreement makes particular references to prioritize girls, pregnant or breast-feeding women's need for food and income. In addition, for the allocation of government-sponsored special subsidies and credits such as "Comprehensive Purchase Subsidy" and "Special Purchase Credit," the agreement also highlights the prioritization of rural women and female heads of households.

Under the Rural Development category, the agreement focuses on the need for equality between women and men and women's active role in the rural development process. In order to strengthen the rural women's organizations' participation, the agreement also mentions the need for specific support in the forms of technical, financial, and human support. For the poverty dimension of rural development, the agreement acknowledges the need for adequate access to public goods and services as a basis of a decent life, and thus, eradicating poverty. In terms of poverty eradication, the agreement also makes explicit references to differentiated measures to address specific needs of women in rural areas and the need to achieve effective equality between men and women.

In the context of employment and the labor market, the agreement mentions the mechanism for the creation of job opportunities with reference to specific measures for rural women's access to the available job markets. It also focuses on "promoting the recruitment of women in non-traditional areas of production" (Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 32). Another focus area under this category is the labor rights that mentions the regulations and safeguards for decent employment and worker's rights in accordance with the International Labor Organization (ILO) regulations. In that context, the agreement

specifically refers to women by stating, "Promoting schemes for protection during pregnancy, childbirth, breast-feeding and health services for newborns, by progressively extending the coverage and enhancing the quality of family health and subsidy systems, with particular focus on rural working women." (Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, 32).

5.1.1.3 Gender in social issues in the Colombian peace agreement

Social issues constitute one of the other broad categories with a reference to gender that is extracted from the Colombian peace agreement. Social issues are mostly tackled under Chapter 1: Towards a New Colombian Countryside: Comprehensive Rural Reform as a sub-category of social development and special references made to the issues such as health, education, housing and drinking water, and the right to food.

Table 5.4 Gender in social issues in the Colombian peace agreement

GENDER IN SOCIAL ISSUES
Health
Education
Housing and drinking water
Right to food

As an overarching criterion for social development, agreement emphasizes the effective participation of women, and the following excerpt could be given from the agreement text as an example to this emphasis:

> "Consolidation of institutional designs and methodology with the aim of facilitating citizen participation and ensuring the effectiveness thereof in terms of the formulation of public social policies such as in the areas of health, education, combating poverty and inequality, the environment and culture. To that end, the National Government, in collaboration with the relevant sectors, will review the sector-based participatory processes and forums and will issue instructions to the respective institutions for the latter to adapt their regulations, organization, and method of op-

eration. The National Government will adopt measures to facilitate the effective participation of women in this scenario, including measures to make it possible to overcome obstacles concerning women's career and reproductive roles." (*Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace* 2016, 50).

In the minor category of health, the focus was on the strengthening of the infrastructure in the rural areas for service provision, especially for healthcare services, and in doing so, the agreement put a special emphasis on the adoption of

"equity and gender-based approach that takes account of the health requirements of women, in accordance with their life cycle, including measures to address sexual and reproductive health, psychosocial care and the special measures for pregnant women and children in the areas of prevention, health promotion and treatment" (*Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace* 2016, 26).

For the education category, thematic emphasis was mostly on rural education, eradicating illiteracy, increased quotas in universities, and scholarships under the Special Rural Education Plan to implement by the government. In terms of gender inclusion, provisions under this category stated the fair and equal access to education and scholarship by both women and men as well as promotion of specific training for women in the areas that are historically not open to women.

The housing and drinking water category is mostly discussed in the "National Rural Social Housing Construction and Improvement Plan" framework to provide decent living conditions for both men and women, especially in the rural areas. Here, the emphasis is on the equity approach to grant equal access for women and men to the discussed solutions for the housing and drinking water problems.

Lastly, the right to food category thematically focused on the "human rights to healthy, nutritional and culturally appropriated food," malnutrition, and eradication of hunger. Here, the gender-specific references were made in two different strains. Firstly, the agreement acknowledged the role of rural women in the production of food, and secondly, it emphasized the need for emergency plans that consider the specific vulnerabilities of pregnant and breast-feeding women in combating malnutrition.

5.1.1.4 Gender in relational issues in the Colombian peace agreement

The fourth category is characterized by the relational issues addressed mostly in Chapter 5, which is Agreement regarding the Victims of the Conflict: "Comprehensive System for Truth, Justice, Reparations and Non-Recurrence," including the Special Jurisdiction for Peace; and Commitment on Human Rights. This category encompasses matters that address restoring the relations and social fabric which is ruined by the decades-long violent conflict and creating an environment that allows for peaceful coexistence and reweaves the social bonds between people by increasing tolerance and eliminating the stigmatization. Thus, reconciliation, coexistence, tolerance, non-stigmatization and truth, justice, reparations, and non-occurrence were situated under this category.

Table 5.5 Gender in Relational Issues

GENDER IN RELATIONAL ISSUES
Reconciliation, coexistence, tolerance, and non-stigmatization
Truth, justice, reparations, and non-occurrence

In the reconciliation, coexistence, tolerance, and non-stigmatization category, the language of the agreement acknowledges the several different forms of discrimination that women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) groups, people with disabilities, and other minority groups confront in everyday life, along with emphasizing the disproportionate impact of the conflict on women.

Under the truth, justice, reparations, and non-occurrence minor category, the establishment of a truth, coexistence, and non-recurrence commission is proposed. The commissions were mandated with the prevention of recurrence of the issues that affected women, LGBTI groups, and other minority groups during the conflict. This section mainly states the historical injustices towards women and other minority groups. In addition, it emphasizes the intersectional vulnerabilities of different groups and the discriminations that they face on a regular basis. Moreover, in this part, the agreement also proposes creating a task force that has a gender-based approach in verifying the truth, coexistence, and non-recurrence commission's methodologies according to their gender sensitivity to both women and LGBTI groups.

5.1.1.5 Gender in agreement-related issues (Colombia)

Agreement-related issues constitute one of the broad categories with reference to gender that is stemmed from the Colombian peace agreement and are referred mostly under "Chapter 6: Implementation, verification and public endorsement".

Table 5.6 Gender in agreement-related issues in the Colombian peace agreement

GENDER IN AGREEMENT RELATED ISSUES
Implementation, verification, and public endorsement

Under the implementation, verification, and public endorsement category, the agreement proposed establishing the "Commission for Monitoring, Promoting and Verifying the Implementation of the Final Agreement (CMPVI)" and explain how this commission will be operating. Gender was integrated into the mandate of this commission. The creation of a special forum that is compromised by the representatives from 6 national and regional Colombian women's organization was also proposed in order to assist the commission with its monitoring approach and guaranteeing the rights of the women in the implementation of the Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace.

5.1.1.6 Gender in security-related issues in Colombia

Security-related issues characterize the sixth category, and it is mainly discussed under Chapter 3: End of the Conflict and Chapter 4: Solution to the Illicit Drugs Problem in the agreement. Under this broad category, gender is mainly mentioned with a specific focus on gender-based violence and its relations to illicit drug use and gender-sensitive integration of ex-combatants.

Table 5.7 Gender in security-related issues in the Colombian peace agreement

GENDER IN SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES
Gender-based violence/ Violence against women (VAW)
Integration of FARC-EP members

Under the gender-based violence minor category, the agreement proposes equity

and gender-based approach in fighting against illicit drug consumption and states that "this approach should take into account the relationship between illicit drug use and violence against women, especially domestic violence and sexual violence." (*Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace* 2016, 32). Measures such as training for women to prevent gender-based violence associated with drugs are also coded under this category. Further, wartime sexual violence that women have been the subject is also acknowledged in the agreement.

In terms of re-integration and demobilization of the ex-combatants, the agreement emphasizes the equity-based approach with reference to women's rights. It proposes a particular harmonization program that integrates the non-discriminatory policies for the re-integration of women and girls demobilized from the armed groups.

5.1.2 Analysis of the Filipino Peace Agreements

As the final product of 17 years-long peace process between the Government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro was signed on 27 March 2014. It constitutes 12 different agreements as its integral parts. However, among those, only the Government of the Philippines-MILF Decision Points on Principles as of April 2012, Framework Agreement on Bangsamoro, Annex on Revenue Generations and Wealth Sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), Annex on Power-Sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), Annex on Normalization to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB) mentioned gender in its texts and included gender provisions.

As a result of the textual analysis of the Filipino peace agreements, 3 different categories of gender-related issues have emerged. These categories are further clustered under the broad categories. These broad categories are gender in political issues, socio-economic issues, and security-related issues, and they will be further elaborated in the following sections.

Table 5.8 List of gender provisions that emerged from the peace agreement of the Philippines

GENDER IN POLITICAL ISSUES
Political participation
GENDER IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES
Gender and Development
GENDER IN SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES
Violence against women (VAW)
Re-integration of MILF members

5.1.2.1 Gender in Political Issues in the Filipino peace agreements

Table 5.9 Gender in political issues in the Filipino peace agreements

GENDER IN POLITICAL ISSUES
Political participation

Under the category of political participation, the agreement made limited references to women. Phrases such as "right of women to political participation" taken in this category. In the Annex on power-sharing, the agreement also proposes the "establishment of appropriate mechanisms for consultations for women and marginalized sectors." Further, it states the need for a representative assembly that constitutes "non-Moro indigenous communities, women, settler communities, and other sectors" (*Annex on Power-Sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB)* 2013, 3).

5.1.2.2 Gender in Socio-Economic Issues in the Filipino peace agreements

Table 5.10 Gender in political issues in the Filipino peace agreements

GENDER IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES
Gender and Development

In the Gender and Development sub-category, Annex on Revenue Generations and Wealth Sharing, states the plan for the equal distribution of the public funds in order to address both women's and men's needs. In doing so, at least 5 percent of the related funds were proposed to be specifically allocated to the women's support program under the gender and development plan. Further, "right to equal opportunity and non-discrimination in social and economic activity and public service, regardless of class, creed, disability, gender or ethnicity" were taken under this category.

5.1.2.3 Gender in Security-Related Issues in the Filipino peace agreements

Table 5.11 Gender in security-related issues in the Filipino peace agreements

GENDER IN SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES
Violence against women (VAW)
Re-integration of MILF members

For the violence against women category, the agreement only made a reference by acknowledging the women's rights of protection from all forms of violence.

In terms of re-integration of ex-combatants, Annex on Normalization proposed special socio-economic programs for the female members of the MILF. Furthermore, for the facilitation of returning to civilian life for both combatants or non-combatants female members of the MILF, children, and indigenous peoples, the agreement asked to establish a trust fund.

5.1.3 Comparative Case Analysis

After delving into the specifics of categorization of all issues raised in the Colombian and Filipino peace agreements, a broad comparison of the two cases is important to get a sense of their relative inclusiveness in terms of gender. The table below illustrates the comparison between the categories.

Table 5.12 Comparison of major gender issues in the Colombian and the Filipino peace agreements

GENDER-RELATED ISSUES IN THE COLOMBIAN PEACE AGREEMENT	GENDER-RELATED ISSUES IN THE PHILIPPINES PEACE AGREEMENTS
GENDER IN POLITICAL ISSUES	GENDER IN POLITICAL ISSUES
Political participation	Political participation
Security for the exercise of the politics	
GENDER IN ECONOMIC ISSUES	GENDER IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES
Land rights	Gender and Development
Rural development	
Poverty and economic growth	
Income generations, subsidies, and credits	
Employment and labor market	
GENDER IN SOCIAL ISSUES	
Health	
Education	
Housing	
Water and food	
GENDER IN RELATIONAL ISSUES	
Reconciliation, coexistence, tolerance, and non-stigmatization	
Truth, justice, reparations, and non-occurrence	
GENDER IN AGREEMENT RELATED ISSUES	
Implementation, verification, and public endorsement	
GENDER IN SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES	GENDER IN SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES
Gender-based violence/ Violence against women (VAW)	Violence against women (VAW)
Integration of FARC-EP members	Re-integration of MILF members

The final peace agreement of Colombia made consistent references to women and acknowledged the women's specific experiences during and after the conflict in its entirety. The gender perspective was mainstreamed in all six parts with a particular reference to the rights of LGBTI groups. Further, ethnic and territorial dimensions of gender were also integrated. All these innovations made the Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace one of the most inclusive agreement. However, overall, the Philippines' agreements were very limited in terms of gender provisions, and the language it used was very vague and broad when addressing gender-related issues.

For the gender in the political issues category, the Colombian agreement acknowledged the women's specific vulnerabilities and the barriers they face to participate in politics. In the entire category, the need for gender equality in political participation and the related measures to be taken in that direction were emphasized with its relations to a strong democracy and long-lasting peace. However, in the Philippines agreements, gender was only mentioned as women's right to political participation under the political issues category and the methods or measures that were not specified further.

In terms of gender in economic issues, the Colombian agreement made consistent references to gender under the six sub-categories mentioned in this chapter. In all the sub-categories, women-specific vulnerabilities were acknowledged, and the measures to overcome structural violence were proposed along with a strong emphasis on the need for gender equality. In the Philippines agreement, gender in economic and social issues was not differentiated, and gender was only referenced under the broad gender and development sub-category. Further, the agreement specifically mentioned a fund that is only allocated to women's development projects.

Under the gender in social issues category, the agreement acknowledged the inequalities in accessing health, education, housing, and drinking water while proposing the equity and gender-based approach for eradicating gender-specific discrimination in accessing these services. Moreover, under the right to food sub-category, rather than perceiving women only as recipients, women's role in food production was also acknowledged.

The Philippines peace agreements did not have gender-related provisions on the relational and agreement related issues. However, the Colombian peace agreement consistently mentions the gender-based discrimination that women, LGBTI groups, and other minority groups faced daily during the conflict. It offers the creation of a task force to verify truth, coexistence, and non-recurrence commission's gender sensitivity in addressing the relational issues. For the agreement-related issues,

Colombian peace agreements mention a particular forum composed by women's organizations to guarantee women's rights in the implementation phase of the final agreement. This gender-related provision was unique compared to all the other peace agreements, and this was one of the groundbreaking innovations of the Colombian peace agreement.

For the category of the security-related issue, gender-based violence was acknowledged in both agreements, and women's right to live free from violence was emphasized. However, rather than merely recognizing the violence, the Colombian peace agreement also mentions specific measures, such as training women to protect themselves. Further, both countries' peace agreements recognize women's role as active combatants rather than portraying them merely as victims. When discussing the re-integration of female ex-combatants, both agreements state a particular support program for their integration into society.

5.2 Analysis of Gender Equality Indicators of the Post-Agreement

Period

In this chapter, analysis of 5 representative indicators of gender equality in Colombia and the Philippines are presented to reflect the post-agreement environments in these countries. In the following sections, available values of these measures for Colombia and the Philippines are expressed and compared using graphs across years to understand related changes. Graphs illustrate the indicators per year, but this study focuses on the general yearly variations by referring to:

- The period before 2014 as the pre-agreement and the period after 2014 as the post-agreement period for the Philippines

- The period before 2016 as the pre-agreement and the period after 2016 as the post-agreement period for Colombia

5.2.1 Analysis of Gender in Post-Agreement Political Issues

5.2.1.1 Political Participation

In this part of the analysis chapter, a political indicator of gender equality in the post-agreement environment is introduced.

One way of measuring gender equality in post-agreement political issues is to measure the women's share of seats in parliament. This study utilized the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index data for the indicator. Data for both Colombia and the Philippines are available for the years between 1995 and 2019. However, between 1995 to 2010, data was collected with a five-year interval, and after 2010, the data was collected on a yearly basis.

Figure 5.1 Women's Share of Seats in Parliament
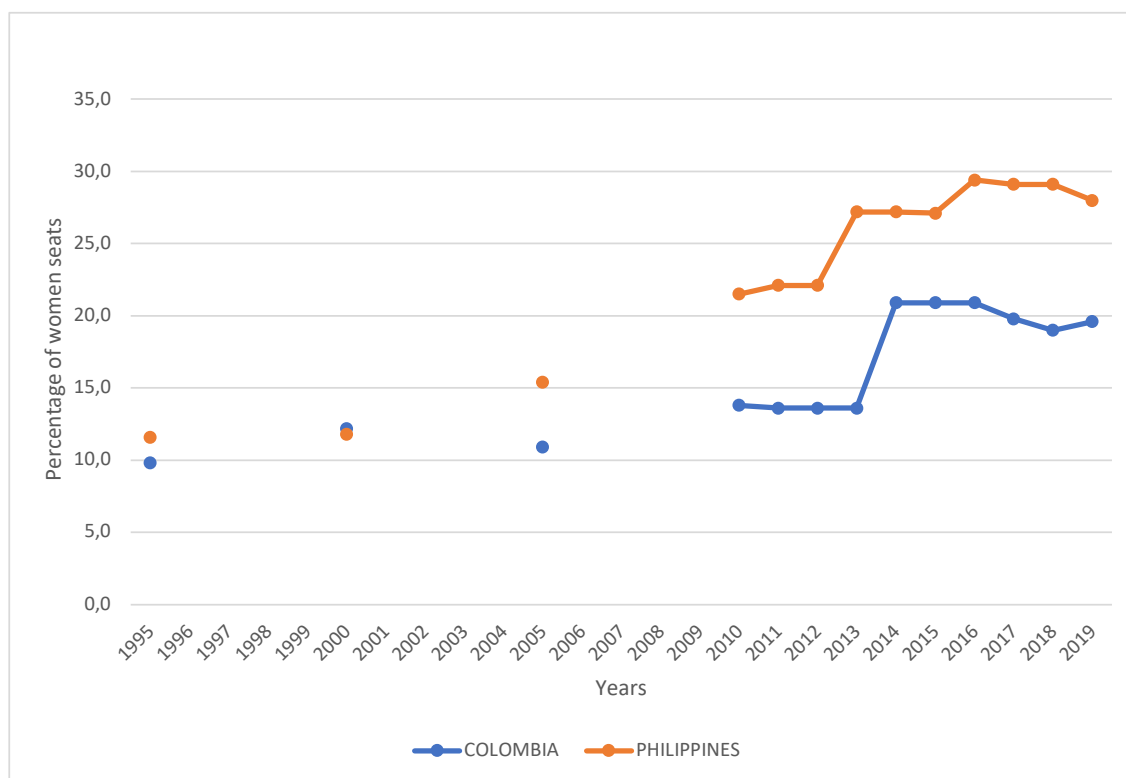
In order to pave their way for more political engagement and make their voice heard, participation in parliament is crucial for women. As observed in the figure above, both Colombia and the Philippines witnessed an increasing trend in women's participation in the parliaments over the years. In the Philippines case, even though there was a slight decline from 2018 to 2019, women's share of the seats in the parliament slightly increased in the post-agreement period. However, in Colombia, women's participation in the parliament steadily decreased after the agreement signed with a slight rise from 2018 to 2019. Even though both Colombia and the Philippines start almost from the same level in terms of women's participation in parliament, the Filipino women's participation ratio increased sharply while the increase in the Colombian women's ratio remained low. The increase in the women's seats in the parliament from 2013 to 2014 in Colombia can be explained by the Electoral Reform Law (Law 1475 of 2011), which brings to quota law for candidate nominations to the political bodies. This quota law required that for the election of five seats or more, every political party list should include at least 30 percent of candidates for each gender (OECD 2020). Filipino women's share of seats also increased from 2012 to 2013, which can be attributed to the mobilization of the strong women's movement and the country's commitment to the international agreements related to women's rights. However, even though the graphs showed an increase, whether this increase is meaningful is questionable. Women's share of the seats in the parliaments remains

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below 30 percent, which is the internationally agreed level that will provide basic equality.

5.2.2 Analysis of Gender in Post-Agreement Social Issues

5.2.2.1 Educational Attainment

One of the crucial components of the post-agreement environment is education. Since the conflict tore apart the infrastructures, education and health became the most affected services by the conflicting period. When considering the patriarchal structures of societies, these interrupted services disproportionality affect women. Hence, analysing the situation of education, and health, and survival in the post-agreement environment to evaluate gender equality becomes crucial.

Here, the educational attainment aspect of the post-agreement gender equality is explained by comparing both female and male literacy rates as an indicator. The data on the adult literacy rates from the World Bank for both women and men are shown as percentages. Data for several years are missing since the World Bank's dataset did not provide it for either country. The figures below illustrate this indicator for Colombia and the Philippines separately.

Figure 5.2 Literacy Rate in Colombia
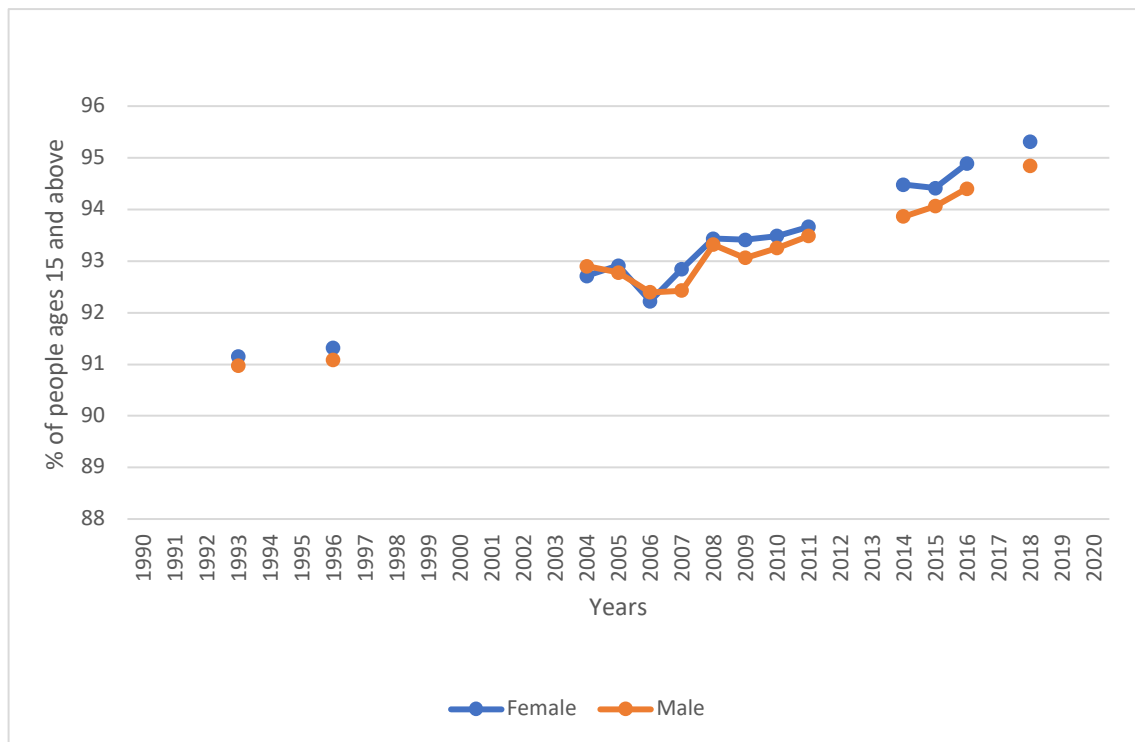
According to the figure above, the literacy rate among females is consistently slightly higher than the male population except for 2004 and 2006. In the pre-agreement period, the literacy rate in Colombia, both for the female and male population, exhibits an increasing trend. In the post-2016 period, the literacy rate for both males and females continues to increase, and females still perform better in terms of literacy.

Figure 5.3 Literacy Rate in the Philippines
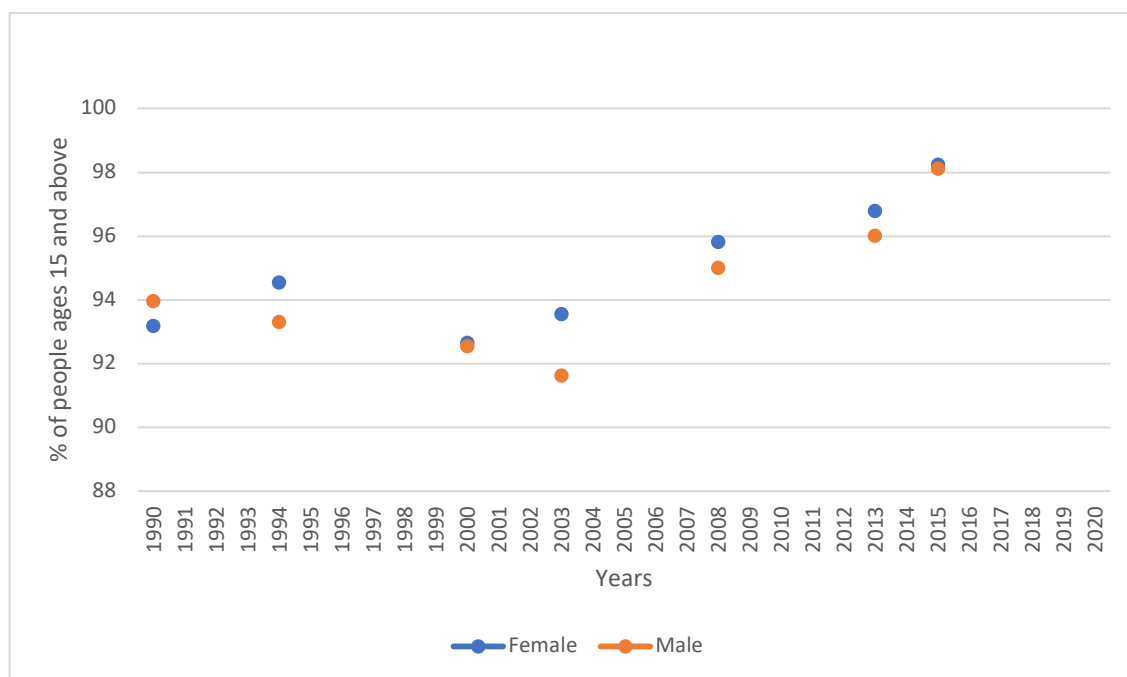
According to the figure above, the female population in the Philippines has a better literacy rate compared to the male population since 1994. However, both female and male population witnessed a decrease from 1994 onwards until 2000. A decrease in the literacy rate is further observed in 2003 for the male population, whereas females started to perform better from 2000 onwards. Based on the data available, after the agreement, both female and male population's literacy rates are on the rise, and the gender gap in terms of literacy seems to be diminishing.

5.2.2.2 Health and Survival

Health and survival are other aspects of the post-agreement environment where the gender inequalities persist, and the structural inequalities affect women the most. The maternal mortality ratio can be used as an indicator of post-agreement gender equality. The maternal mortality ratio is one of the indicators used in the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index to capture the health component. Further, it is used as one of the indicators in UNDP's Sustainable Development Goals and the aim for maternal mortality ratio to decrease less than 70 per 100,000 live births. For this indicator, data on maternal mortality ratio is taken from the World Bank and measured by the number of women who die from pregnancy-related causes per 100,000 births.

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Figure 5.4 Maternal Mortality Ratio
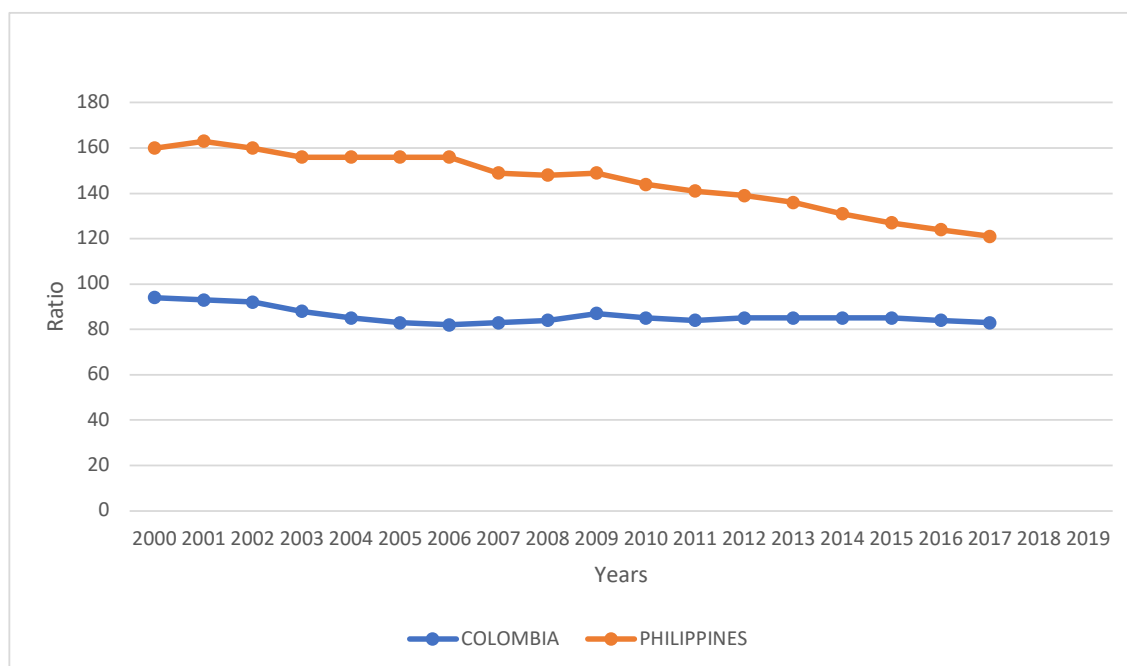
As figure 5.4 shows, Colombia witnesses a considerably lower maternal mortality rate than the Philippines since the first available data year. There is a gradual fall in the maternal mortality ratio over the years in both Colombia and the Philippines, with the exception of 2009 when both countries experienced a slight rise in their maternal mortality rate. In the period after the peace agreements, women in both Colombia and the Philippines continue to experience lower maternal mortality rates. The decline rate of the Philippines after the agreement is significant since it drops from 131 to 121. However, compared to the Philippines, the decline in Colombia's maternal mortality ratio is minimal, and the change does not seem to be very meaningful since the ratio only drops from 84 to 83.

**5.2.3 Analysis of Gender in Post-Agreement Economic Issues**

5.2.3.1 Employment

The employment level is a crucial component of the economic situation in the post-agreement period. Without a doubt, having a sense of the employment level of the

people in the country is important to understand the economic dimension of the post-agreement period. Considering the deep-rooted gender roles that stigmatize women's participation in the paid workforce, once the country enters into the post-agreement phase and their male relatives returned from the battlefronts, women's participation tends to decrease significantly. Participation in the workforce is an integral part of human welfare and guaranteeing women access to formal employment is an important goal in itself. Thus, employment level is another important indicator of gender equality in the post-agreement environment. Viewed in this regard, the graph below displays the data taken from the World Bank and used to understand more about gender equality in terms of labor force participation in Colombia and the Philippines. The data shows the ratio of female to male labor force participation, which is calculated by dividing the participation of the female labor force to the male labor force and then multiplying by 100.

Figure 5.5 Ratio of Female to Male Labor Participation Rate
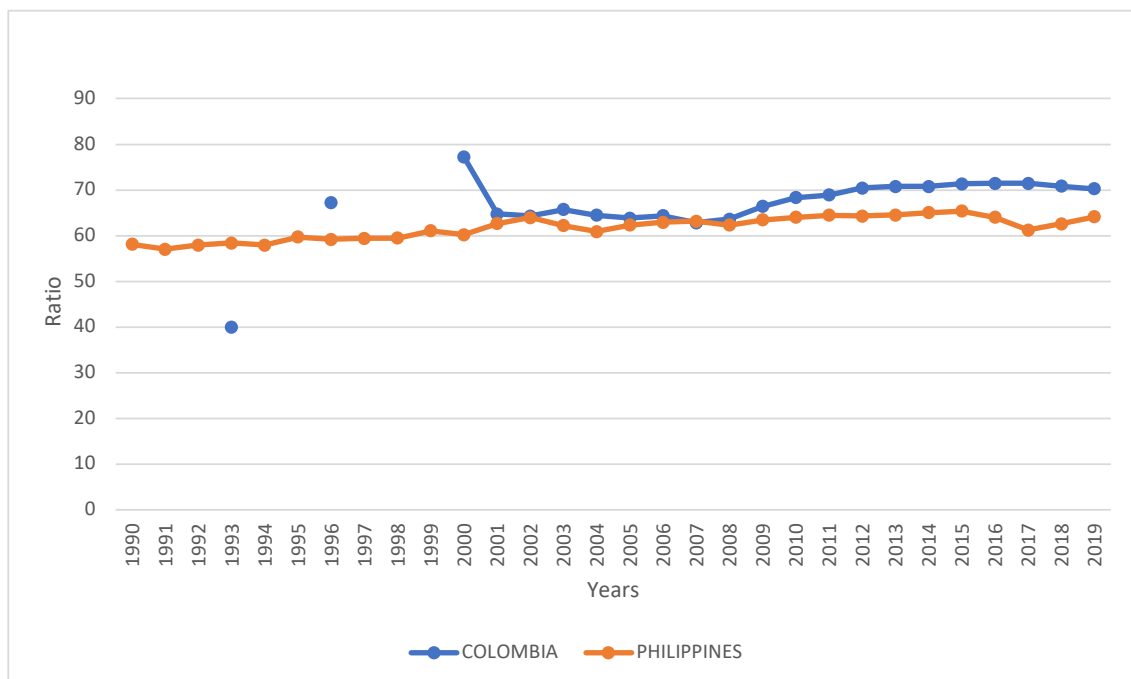
As shown in the figure above, although Colombia witnessed a sharp decline in the period between 2000 and 2001, from 2010 onwards until 2015, the ratio of female to male labor force participation was steady to a certain extent in both Colombia and the Philippines. In the post-agreement period, the Philippine's ratio of female to male participation in the labor force declined from 65 to 61 in the period between 2015 and 2017, but it started to slightly increase afterwards. Although the overall gender equality in terms of the labor force participation is greater in Colombia as compared to the Philippines. The Colombian ratio of female to male labor force

shows a slight decrease in the post-agreement period from 71 to 70, which does not seem very meaningful.

5.2.3.2 Income

Capturing the labor force ratio in the post-agreement period is important to understand gender equality in the economic issues of post-agreement. However, the ratio of female participation to the labor force does not necessarily provide a good indicator of gender equality in economic issues by itself. They may be employed in the sectors that are historically considered as suitable for women or that are generally low-paid jobs. View in this regard, sector base participation rate or the position base indicators in the workforce might be helpful to assess gender equality better. However, due to the lack of cross-sectional data on those indicators, comparing the income levels of both female and male populations in both Colombia and the Philippines might provide a further understanding of post-conflict gender equality. This study utilized the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index data for the indicator, and both for Colombia and the Philippines data are available in the years between 1995 and 2019. However, between 1995 to 2010, data is collected and provided in five-year intervals.

Figure 5.6 Estimated Gross National Income per Capita (Colombia)
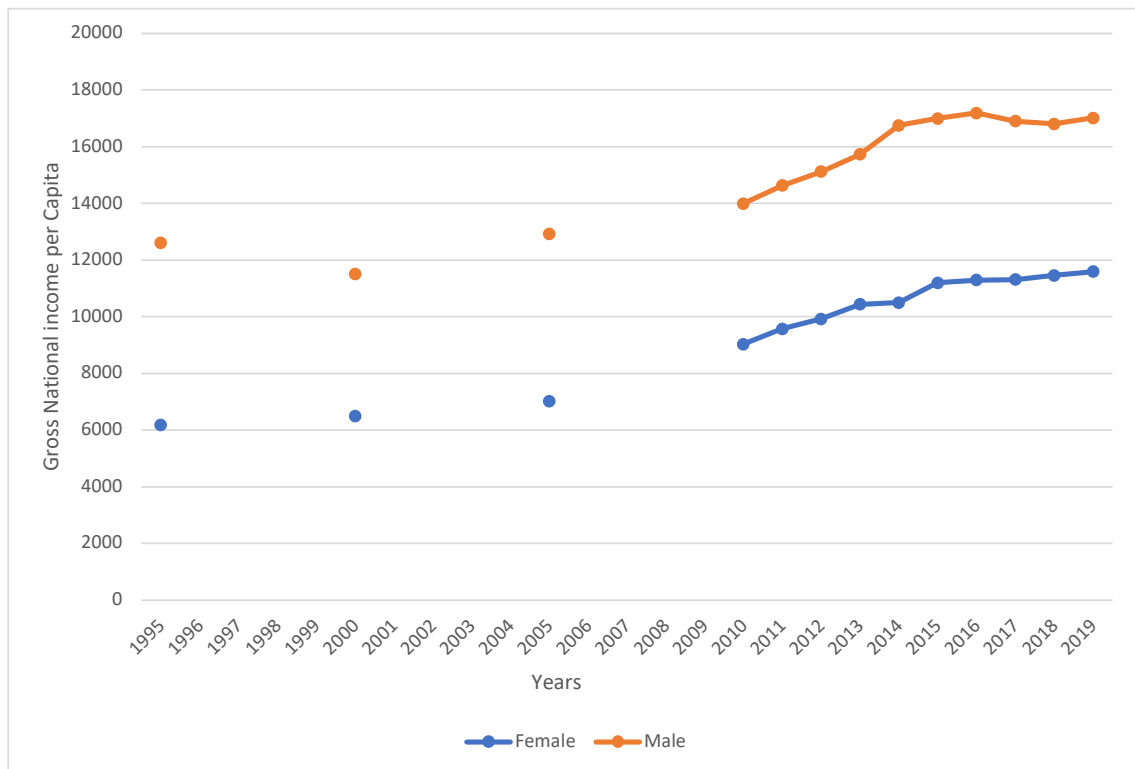
The figure above shows a significant and consistent income disparity between female and male populations. However, even though the female population continues to significantly earn less income, the income gap, although without much certainty, tends to decrease over time. In the post-agreement period, a slight increase in female income seems to be persistent in Colombia.

Figure 5.7 Estimated Gross National Income per Capita (the Philippines)
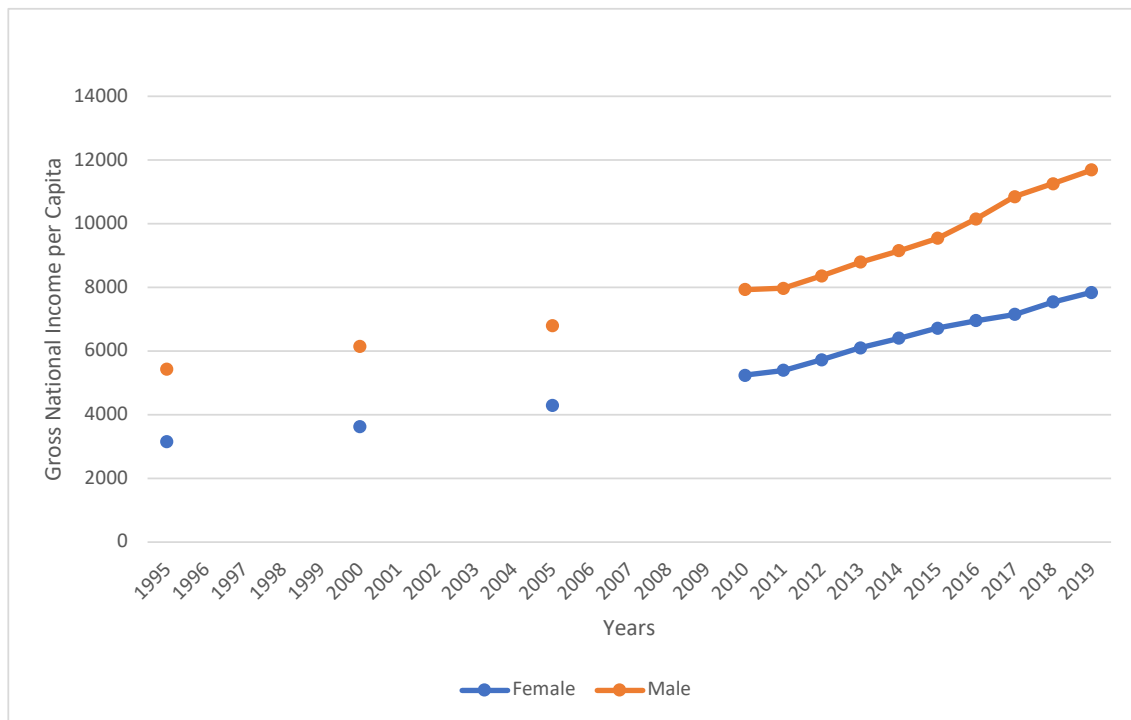
According to figure 5.7, which reflects the income level for both female and male population, female income seems to be steadily increasing. However, even though the female's income continues to increase in the post-agreement period, the gap between the male and female income is widening compared to the pre-agreement period.

<center>**5.3 Discussion**</center>

This study aimed to explore a possible relationship between peace agreements' gender inclusiveness, and gender equality in the post-agreement period. By analysing the provisions mentioning gender in social, economic, political, and security-related terms in Colombian and Filipino peace agreements and the state of gender equality in the post-agreement-related issues, this research intends to find any possible relationship between these provisions and the post-agreement gender equality outcomes. Viewed in this regard; this section focuses on evaluating and discussing the findings explained in the previous sections in relation to relevant reports.

5.3.1 Discussion on the Possible Relationship between Peace Agreements

   and Post-Agreement Gender Equality

In the section that analysed the peace agreements in terms of their gender provisions, 20 sub-categories from the Colombian Peace Agreement and five sub-categories from the Philippines Peace Agreements emerged as a result of the analysis of peace agreements and clustered under the categories that are gender in social, economic, security-related, relational, and agreement-related issues. Considering these issues, the following section discusses the possible relationship between the inclusion of these gender-related issues in peace agreements and the state of gender equality in the post-agreement period.

5.3.1.1 Relation between Gender in Political Provisions and Gender

   Equality in Political Issues of Colombia

According to the findings from the peace agreement analysis, gender was emphasized in political issues. Among the political issues, political participation and political security were the sub-categories that emerged out of the analysis. The category of political participation focused on women's participation both as citizens and leaders in the political sphere. The need for equality was also acknowledged in terms of participation and leadership for long-lasting peace. However, the post-agreement

period in Colombia does not seem to be characterized by gender equality in the political sphere. Further, based on the values of political participation indicator, which is women's share of seats in the parliament, it can be said that the inclusion of gender provisions in the peace agreement does not appear to be effective. Hence, there seems to be no significant relationship between the inclusion of women's political participation-related provisions and the post-agreement situation of gender equality in the political sphere in Colombia.

Political participation of women was one of the substantive points in the Colombian peace agreement and considerably emphasized. However, only 3 percent of the provisions from this category have been implemented so far (Joshi et al. 2020). Progress has been made in certain areas, such as capacity building for women's participation as citizens and inclusion of women in media channels. However, the progress was slow in implementing measures that promote women's participation in national, regional, and local politics; thus, it meant limited progress in increasing the participation of women (Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies 2020). For example, a bill including measures for support to women's organizations and the support for the nomination of the female candidates did not pass Congress (Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies 2020). This less systematic participation and slow progress in the implementation phase, compared to the women's participation in the negotiations phase, may be the result of both mobilization fatigue and patriarchal backlash (Abballe et al. 2020). Further, the political context of Colombia could be another factor that severely affected the implementation progress. In 2018, the government of Santos was replaced by Ivan Duque's government, known for its ultra-right tendencies, with a promise to bring an end to the peace agreement (Ruiz-Navarro 2019). Accordingly, public officials by the new government have been appointed, and new alliances have been made with parties that express their rejection openly (Quintero, Cortés, and Flórez 2019). Therefore, the mere inclusion of gender-related provisions is not always sufficient for their implementation, and slow progress in the implementation phase can be argued as a reason disrupting the possible relation between peace agreements and post-agreement gender equality.

5.3.1.2 Relation between Gender in Political Provisions and Gender

Equality in Political Issues in the Philippines

One of the categories that is included in the Filipino peace agreements was the political issues. The agreement emphasized the women's right to political participation in its provision, and the post-agreement period can be said to witness an increase in women's participation in politics (which is measured by the indicator of women's share of seats in the parliament) to a certain extent. In other words, when women's right to political participation is included as a provision in the Filipino peace agreement, the inclusion of women in the parliaments in the post-conflict phase does seem to be prioritized. Hence, one can argue for the existence of a relationship between these political provisions in the agreement and their situation on post-agreement gender equality. However, this possible relationship must be taken with a grain of salt since the proxy indicators that are used to measure the post-agreement situation of the related issues are not a perfect fit.

5.3.1.3 Relation between Gender in Economic Provisions and Gender

Equality in Economic Issues in Colombia

As the findings from the analysis section revealed, in the Colombian peace agreement, gender was consistently touched upon in the economic category, which included several topics ranging from land rights to employment and income generation of women. When one looks at the available economic indicators of the post-agreement period from the previous chapter, it can be concluded that there is, in general, not much progress in terms of gender equality in economic issues.

The issue of employment and the labor market was dealt with in the Colombian peace agreement with specific references to women's access to the available job markets, as well as the creation of an explicit mechanism to integrate women into non-traditional areas of employment. Further, the category also included the labor rights that grant safeguards for decent employment for women considering their special needs, such as childbirth services. However, the post-agreement period does not show any progress in terms of gender equality in the labor force (which was measured by the ratio of female to male participation in the labor force). Even though there was not a dramatic decline in the ratio, it still implies a worsening tendency in terms of gender equality in labor force participation. One reason for this decline could be the lack of guidance and detailed information on the specific measures

that were supposed to increase women's employment. Despite the Colombian peace agreement's mention of women's access to employment, it was not clear how those accessions will be achieved and how these specific measures will be implemented. Further, the lack of clarity could also be the reason for the slow implementation. According to the Barometer Initiative's Second Report on the Monitoring of the Gender Perspective in the Implementation of the Colombian Peace Accord (2019), virtually no progress has been recorded in the commitment of access to employment for female heads of household. Hence, one can conclude that the broad reference to women's access to employment and the lack of clarity on the specific measures to enhance women's participation in the labor force trivialized gender equality in the post-agreement period of Colombia.

In the peace agreement, the income generations category made references to the women's need for income, especially to female heads of the households, and a slight improvement can be observed in the female's income level in the post-agreement period of Colombia. However, the gap between the female's and male's income remains, and gender equality in terms of income level still has not been achieved in post-conflict Colombia. Thus, the direct causal link cannot be established, and the increased level of female income can have other explanations since the gap between the female and male income levels remains.

Moreover, despite the lack of post-agreement indicators to measure the issue of land rights, which is one of the emphasized categories in the Colombian peace agreement, it can still be possible to scrutinize the situation of women's land rights. The content of the land right is critical because it addresses one of the primary causes that paved the way for the armed conflict in Colombia, especially those relevant to poverty and inequality. The sub-category on the issue mentioned women's rights over land and specific measures to tackle obstacles that prevent women from ownership. In the post-agreement period, initiatives such as the National Development Plan (NDP) contributed to gender equality over land ownership. Further, according to the report from the Barometer Initiative, Peace Accord Matrix and Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies (2020), 5,403 female farmers benefited from the formalization of 35,029 hectares of land via different deeds as of September 2019. In the land access and titling programs promoted by the Ministry of Agriculture, 5,865 women benefited, constituting 48 percent of all beneficiaries (Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies 2020). Particularly, 2,320 women legalized their land and acquired titles, while 162 women gained access to land via the Comprehensive Land Subsidy Program (Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies 2020). Therefore, the existence of a positive relationship between the inclusion of women's land rights

issues and post-agreement gender equality over land ownership can be concluded.

5.3.1.4 Relation between Gender in Social Provisions and Gender Equality in Social Issues of Colombia

As explained in the analysis section, gender in the social issues category covers the topics such as health and education in the Colombian Peace Agreement. Considering the analysis from the available indicators of gender in social issues in the post-agreement period, one can observe the slight improvement in the state of gender equality in social issues. However, the limitation on the temporal data of Colombia should be acknowledged when assessing the relationship.

The issue of educational attainment was mentioned in the Colombian peace agreement regarding rural education, eradicating illiteracy, especially illiteracy among females, via fair and equal access to education. Accordingly, in the post-agreement period, literacy among the female population increased in Colombia. Thus, it is possible to argue for the existence of a positive relationship between the educational attainment aspect of the peace agreement and the educational equality between females and males in the post-agreement period. However, it is difficult to know whether the increase in literacy rates among the female population was the direct result of the provision in the agreement, especially considering that issues, such as the female literacy rate, take time to improve.

Further, health issues constituted another major part of the gender in social issues in the Colombian peace agreement. Analysis from the peace agreement's text showed that health service provision for women and acknowledgment of women's specific health requirements were mentioned. Accordingly, the maternal mortality rate, which is the indicator of gender equality in health issues, slightly decreased in the post-agreement period. However, the decrease was minimal and did not seem to be a meaningful one. Therefore, there does not seem to be a causal link between the health component of the peace agreement and gender equality in health issues in the post-agreement period.

5.3.1.5 Relation between Gender in Socio-Economic Provisions and Gender Equality in Socio-Economic Issues of the Philippines

In the Filipino peace agreements, gender in social and economic issues could not be distinguished as in the Colombian peace agreement, so the broader category of gender in socio-economic issues was employed in the analysis of peace agreement. Under this category, there was a mention of a specific gender and development plan which allocates 5 percent of the funds only for programs that support women. Since this category does not have parallel post-agreement indicators, this section matches text segments with the possible correlating post-agreement indicators and provides a general discussion.

Even though the economic issues, such as employment and income, were not directly integrated into the peace agreement, text segments like the right to equal opportunity in social and economic activities signified these issues to a certain extent. Thus, the employment and income level indicators are used as the corresponding post-agreement indicators for these issues. Considering the fluctuating ratio of female to male labor force participation rate in the Philippines, a direct relationship cannot be established between the related provisions in the peace agreement and gender equality in the post-agreement period. Moreover, even though the female's income level increased in the post-agreement period in the Philippines, the income gap between the female and male population seems to be widening. Thus, one cannot claim a relationship between the inclusion of gender equality provisions of employment in the peace agreement and post-agreement gender equality of the issue.

In order to address both female and male population's needs, the agreement referred to a specific quota for the equal distribution of public funds to women's support programs under the gender and development plan. Specific programs did not mention in the agreement, but reports from the field indicate the allocation of resources to the basic social services projects for women such as health, education, and livelihood (Kubota and Takashi 2016). Therefore, the analysis of the related indicators, which are the literacy rate of the female and male population and the maternal mortality ratio from the post-agreement Philippines, could be used to scrutinize the possible relationship between the agreement provisions and the post-agreement gender equality.

Considering the analysis from the previous chapter of the literacy rate indicator, since the available values are limited for the post-agreement period, it is hard to assess a relationship between the educational component of the agreement and the state of gender equality in education. However, the year following the agreement,

female and male literacy rates increased, and equality in terms of literacy rate seemed to be achieved.

Specific needs of women in terms of health issues were acknowledged, and specific funds were allocated for the related projects in the post-agreement Philippines, and maternal mortality ratio (which is the gender in health issues indicator) considerably decreased after 2014 in the Philippines. However, it is hard to know whether these projects were the sole result of the inclusion of gender and development provisions into the peace agreement. Thus, while an improvement in terms of gender equality in the post-agreement period can be observed, a direct relationship cannot be established.

5.3.1.6 Discussion on Relational and Security-Related Issues

This research primarily aimed to investigate whether the inclusion of gender in social, economic, and political provisions into the peace agreements has any relationship with the gender equality of these issues in the post-agreement period. Nonetheless, the importance of gender in relational issues and security-related concerns are hard to ignore, especially to make sense of the gender equality situation in the whole peace process in the Philippines and Colombia. However, this study is constrained by the lack of reliable and up-to-date data in the post-agreement period to measure security-related concerns. For example, data on violence against women could not be reached after 2015 for Colombia, and as for the re-integration of FARC-EP's female members, demobilization of the female data does not exist. For gender in relational issues, for example, comprehensive indicators do not exist to measure whether women's specific grievances were addressed or not in the truth commissions. Thus, measuring them in the post-agreement period to assess a possible relationship between the agreement and post-agreement period was impossible. The absence of comprehensive indicators will be further scrutinized in this study as a conclusion.

5.3.2 Comparison of the Cases

Colombian and the Filipino peace agreements overall integrate the different levels of commitment to gender equality. As explained in the analysis chapter, while Colombia made consistent gender references in the entirety of the peace agreement, the

Filipino peace agreements were very limited in terms of gender provisions. Regarding post-agreement graphs, a discussion could be misleading if the comparison is made based on the overall performances of these countries. Looking at the relative development in specific areas in the post-agreement period is more crucial than deciding which country performed better generally. When the relative changes in the values of corresponding indicators were compared, both the Philippines and Colombia witnessed an increase in female participation in education and health issues. However, the labor participation rate of females decreased in the post-agreement period of these countries.

Contrary to how the Colombian peace agreement was viewed as a success in terms of a gender perspective and praised for its inclusivity, the findings showed a worsening tendency in women's political participation and employment after the peace agreement was signed. The important reasons for the failure could be explained by the lack of support for the agreement, problems during the implementation, and the lack of specificity about how the measures and mechanism mentioned in the agreement should be implemented. Moreover, the decrease in women's participation in the labor force and the income level in the Philippines could also be attributed to the lack of specificity on the corresponding gender provisions. The table below further summarizes the relationship between the gender provisions in the peace agreements and the post-agreement gender equality indicators for both Colombia and the Philippines.

Table 5.13 Summary of the relationship between the gender provisions and the post-agreement gender equality indicators

Gender Provisions in the Peace Agreement	Indicators of Post Agreement Gender Equality	Colombia	The Philippines
Political Participation	Women's share of seats in the parliament	Decreased	Increased
Land Rights	(Does not have a specific indicator)	Increased	(Land rights did not mentioned in the agreement)
Income generations	Level of female income	Slightly Increased	Decreased
Employment and Labor	Ratio of female to male labor participation	Slightly Decreased	Decreased
Health	Maternal Mortality Ratio	Slightly Decreased	Increased
Education	Literacy rate	Increased	Increased

6.   CONCLUSION

Even though the gendered nature of the conflict is undeniable, women's specific experiences during and after the conflict are almost always silenced. This gender-neutral understanding of the conflict situations contributes to women's marginalization and further excludes them from the equations to address the conflict. Therefore, feminist scholars criticized the peace agreement literature by pointing out the marginalization of gender-related issues while emphasizing the importance of including gender provisions in the peace agreement. Literature on women, peace, and security depicts this issue by framing it as a "window of opportunity" to improve women's situation and gender equality in the post-agreement period. Existing studies on the gender provisions in peace agreements focus on the UNSC Resolution 1325's effects on the peace agreement and gender mainstreaming in peace processes. Further, studies only analyzed the peace agreements for their gender inclusivity quantitatively and sometimes with their impact on the implementation of the peace agreements. Thus, there is a need for more studies to understand better the extent to which gender provisions in the peace agreements are helpful to assess gender equality in the post-agreement period.

This study aims to fill this gap in the literature by scrutinizing the possible relationship between the gender provisions in the peace agreement and gender equality in the post-agreement issues. In order to do so, Colombia and the Philippines were used as case studies in the study according to purposive sampling considering these four criteria: 1) history of their conflict 2) signing date of their peace agreements 3) comprehensiveness of their peace agreements 4) gender inclusiveness of their peace processes. Later, two-stage analyses were conducted through these chosen cases. Firstly, a textual analysis was conducted for both the Colombian and Filipino peace agreements to understand the content of the gender provisions in the agreements. Secondly, a secondary data analysis method was employed to understand the situation of post-agreement gender equality. Secondary data, gathered from the relevant datasets and indices, were analysed in relation to the issues that emerged from the peace agreements contents.

While showing the importance of gender provisions in the peace agreements, the data employed in this study also found out that post-agreement gender equality does not entirely depend on the content of the peace agreement. However, in light of the discussion provided above and the related literature, it is possible to draw four conclusions:

1) Inclusion of gender provisions are not enough for the post-agreement gender equality; specification of those provisions is also essential. Regarding the relationship between the gender provisions in the peace agreements and gender equality in the post-agreement issues, their mere inclusion of gender is not the only aspect of the peace agreement that affects the post-agreement gender equality because their specificity and applicability are essential. Several gender provisions in both Colombian and Filipino peace agreements faced complications during the implementation period because the agreements were not specific enough in terms of mechanism and tools to implement the related commitments. Therefore, the vagueness of the implementation measurements caused problems for effective implementation.

In this vein, the thesis also contributes to the gender mainstreaming on European Union literature to a certain extend by supporting Verloo's argument on why gender mainstreaming does not work in some parts of Europe. Verloo (2005) states the problem by arguing that the way in which the gender mainstreaming strategy itself worded was vague, and because of its vagueness, it became an empty signifier, and states were able to use it the way they wanted. Therefore, this study's findings are in line with the argument since it also emphasized the importance of the specification of the provisions in terms of implementing them.

2) Problems during the implementation phase significantly impact the post-agreement gender equality, such as changes in the government or lack of support to the peace agreement. Sense of ownership of the peace agreement by the society is also crucial to understand the relationship between the peace agreements and the post-conflict period (Arnson 1999). Even though the officials formally sign the peace agreements, usually consent of the society through plebiscites is needed. Without the sense of "ownership" by the society, peace agreements encounter several complications during the implementation phase, which automatically affects the post-agreement period. For example, although the Colombian peace agreement was a product of the very inclusive peace process, it encountered a backlash from several sectors of society. As explained in the case chapter, the majority of the Colombians voted no to the peace agreement in the plebiscite. A patriarchal backlash against the peace agreement primarily targeted the gender provision and gender-sensitive wording of the agreement. As argued in the discussion section, the lack of ownership due to

patriarchal backlash caused complications during the implementation of the gender provisions. Therefore, including gender provisions in the peace agreement is not enough for positive developments in the situation of gender equality in the post-agreement period, and the approach of the society to the agreement is an essential part to consider.

Furthermore, other complications during the implementation such as changes in the government, budget problems, lack of technical expertise, and trained government officials are other important issues to consider when assessing the relationship between the inclusion of gender provisions to the peace agreements and post-agreement gender equality. As explained in the discussion section, the political context of the countries can explain the lack of relationship between the peace agreements and developments in the post-agreement period. For example, Colombia has experienced a radical leader change in their government which does not approve the gendered dimension of the agreement and complicates the implementation of the related provisions. Therefore, developments in the gender equality of the post-agreement period do not entirely depend on the gender inclusivity of the peace agreement.

3) Peace agreements are essential in terms of guiding the post-agreement period, however, achieving gender equality is a complex process that could take longer than what is defined as a post-agreement period in the literature. The transition from conflict to peace is perceived as a "window of opportunity" by the feminist scholars to improve gender equality in post-conflict societies, and thus, how peace agreements are worded is important for laying the ground for gender equality in the post-agreement period (Cahn 2005; Reilly 2007). Based on the findings from the Philippines and Colombian cases, this study acknowledged that the inclusion of the gender provisions in the peace agreements is not enough for gender equality in the post-agreement period. However, this could not only be attributed to the inadequacy of peace agreements, given the already complex nature of achieving gender equality and the very limited time scope of the post-agreement period in the literature (which usually ranges 5 to 10 years). Thus, it is nonrealistic to suppose countries to achieve gender equality just through an inclusive peace agreement in few years. Further, both Colombia and the Philippines are still in the early stages of their post-agreement period to fully understand the long-term changes in gender equality in these countries.

4) A systematic bias is present in the international community regarding gender-related data collection. The methodology of this study could be argued to be a finding in itself since it reviewed the possible datasets and composite indices to explore the relationship between the gender provisions in peace agreements and post-

agreement gender equality. A possible conclusion is that these datasets and indices are flawed and biased could be drawn from the review and the analysis. Thus, the international community could be criticized as the ones who put together the agenda for the gender-specific data collection to create these indices. By focusing only on gender in political, social, and economic issues; they turn a blind eye to women's specific situation in security-related and relational issues such as sexual violence, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration which are crucial aspects of post-conflict gender equality. This systematic bias prohibits these issues from being documented and understood, thus creating an obstacle to improving the situation of gender equality in the post-agreement period.

Considering the conclusion on the biased data, recommendations could be made to conduct future research to build better guidance for the data collection to understand, measure, and evaluate gender norms in security-related and relational issues in the post-agreement period. With more gender-specific data in all neglected issues of the post-agreement period, it is possible to have a deeper understanding of post-agreement gender equality.

Lastly, complications during the implementation period could be further scrutinized to understand the relation between the gender provisions in the peace agreement post-agreement period gender equality.

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