



GENDER AND REINTEGRATION

MARIA CANO SCHOOL

Political training and advocacy for the
reintegration of FARC women



KOLEKTIVA FEMINISTA
de pensamiento y acción política

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MARIA CANO SCHOOL TEAM

Marta Buriticá Céspedes
Juanita Barreto Gamma
Methodologists

Sandra Patricia Mojica Enciso
Martha Lucía Sánchez Segura
**Gender Identities and Diversities,
Governance and Democracy, Political
Profile Modules**

Norma Enríquez Riascos
María Eugenia Vásquez Perdomo
**Citizenship for Peace, Organizational Profile
Modules**

Fabiola Calvo Ocampo
Communications Profile

Javier Omar Ruiz Arroyave
Alternative Non-hegemonic Masculinities

Rosa Patricia Chaparro Niño
Coordinator

María del Pilar Duarte Viviescas
Administrator

Rocío Ortega Castillo
Accountant

Saraminta Sánchez Arango
Administrative Assistant

Adriana Alejandra Ramírez Duplat
Content Production

Juanita Barreto Gama
Rosa Patricia Chaparro
María Eugenia Vásquez Perdomo
Content Review

Publishing Process

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María del Pilar López Patiño
Director

Alexandra Rincón
Design and Layout

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	4
WHAT IS GENDER?	7
FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION	12
DIVERSITY AND IDENTITY	15
WOMEN AND RIGHTS	19
FEMINISM AGAINST PATRIARCHY	27
DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION	32
CITIZENSHIP FOR PEACE	36
BIBLIOGRAPHY	39

INTRODUCTION

Kolectiva Feminista de Pensamiento y Acción Política is an organization that focuses its work and ethical-political commitment to strengthening and giving transformative meaning to women's participation in peacebuilding. In this context, and in partnership with UN Women and resources from the governments of Sweden and Norway, the organization has been developing a political training and advocacy process with women and men of the Common Alternative Revolutionary Force (FARC) who are undergoing reintegration, and women from neighboring communities through the development of the ***Maria Cano School*** for the exercise of citizenship.

Educating on the exercise of citizenship allows questioning previous educational experiences and learning the notions, practices, and contexts that have determined the exercise of citizenship—or lack thereof—and its expectations. *Education* will be based on encouraging the dialogical action among the participants based on the knowledge, statements, and images about the social and political

representations inscribed in the bodies and bibliographic sources produced by women.

In *popular education*, dialogical action is the use of dialogue as a tool that combines reflection and action to transform reality and open the mind to each person's reasons and beliefs. It allows recognizing the limits and potential of various resistance experiences from the prominence of social and popular movements and organizations, showing transformations in the political, economic, and cultural arenas. Popular education, based on the value of participatory processes as a form to create knowledge, has a transformative power, and assumes the learning and conceptualization from the practical experience of individuals, groups, and communities.

The Maria Cano School is based on the experience of popular education as a place of resistance and transformation of realities, as it is not only a pedagogical process but also acknowledging knowledge as power and privilege of some people, to consolidate a culture



of dialogue and the exercise of active citizenship.

Building citizenship in reintegration is based on the democratic potential of the Final Peace Agreement¹ and allows understanding the meaning of citizenship and its multiple dimensions. In the Agreement and in the regulations that develop it, they focus on 1) Social knowledge and practice, which accumulate in the history of armed conflict negotiation processes. 2) Knowledge and practices related to the exercise of citizenship by urban and rural women. 3) The conditions, possibilities, and limits for their access to formal education, to the political, social, and community

participation spaces and representation instances. “The Framework Plan will specially consider the practical and strategic needs of women, identifying the various discriminations against them (...) (and) will promote public policies, programmes and reforms that consider the particularities of women and ethnic peoples, including impact indicators to identify the progress in its implementation”².

Reintegration in a scenario of “transition to civilian life” implies analyzing the participation and the exercise of rights recognizing the experience and knowledge gained in the insurgent practice, at a time when the individual and

1 Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace signed between the National Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC-EP) on November 24, 2016.

2 Government of Colombia CSIVI, 2017, page 11.

collective identity of the people participating in this process is reconstructed while learning the social, institutional and organizational characteristics of the State and the regions.

Reintegration must be planned in the short, medium, and long term to contribute to the objectives outlined in the “Comprehensive Strategy for the Reintegration of FARC-EP Women,” considering its *“General Objective: To ensure equal opportunities and rights for women undergoing economic, political and social reintegration, promoting the full exercise of their citizenship.”* Its specific objectives are:

- Strengthen and consolidate equal political capacities for FARC men and women in transit to civilian life.

- Strengthen the decision-making capacities of women in the economic, political, cultural, and social spheres of reintegration.
- Ensure women’s access to social rights in the most urgent affairs following the reintegration process.”³

This document emerges from the need to provide accessible and detailed information on the training purpose of the members of Maria Cano School. It seeks to serve as an aid for ex-combatants regarding the contents covered.

We want to thank FARC women and men undergoing reintegration and the women leaders of the community, with whom we shared Educating in the exercise of citizenship as part of the gender-sensitive and women’s rights-based peacebuilding process.

3 FARC. “Estrategia Integral para la Reincorporación de las Mujeres de las FARC.” Unpublished, n.d., page 7.

Comité de Mujer y género Vicky Hernández



WHAT IS GENDER?

Gender as a concept refers to the historical and socio-cultural ways women and men construct their identity, interact, and organize their participation in society.

Sex

Set of biological and physical characteristics that differentiate women from men. Generally, each person is assigned to one or the other sex taking into account the predominant characteristics of their sexual and reproductive organs, called primary and secondary sexual characteristics. (Woman: Fallopian tubes, ovaries, vulva. Man: penis, testicles).

Woman and man



Gender

Set of social, cultural, and ideological characteristics that are socially, economically, and politically assigned to women and men due to their biological condition; they are learned in the processes of socialization and are rooted in various ways in each cultural context (tenderness, care, strength, power; etc.).

Female and male



It also refers to the forms in which they vary between cultures and which change over time.⁴ Gender can be understood as a network of relationships based on the fact of being biologically born as a woman or a man and which determines the physical, mental and social structures that characterize femininity, masculinity, and their relationships. Although they are related concepts, they do not mean the same:

intersex people are born with variations from the typical definitions in the sexual organs. Biologically, the same person can simultaneously develop biological characteristics of women and men or their external or internal genitals may be different from those usually defined for the human species.⁵

Gender roles are the set of tasks, functions, and behaviors that—according

4 Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, INMUJERES. Glosario de Género. México D.F. 2007. Available at: http://cedoc.inmujeres.gob.mx/documentos_download/100904.pdf

5 As part of the training process, see, among others, the article by Violeta Hernández Guanche: Intersexualidad y prácticas científicas: ¿Ciencia o ficción? Published in “Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociológicas,” vol. 8, núm. 1, 2009, pp. 89- 102: “Abstract: *Science has seen intersex as a sexual disorder*”

to ideas, perceptions, and socio-cultural assessments of feminine and masculine— are assigned to women and men. Gender roles are learned through socialization and are, therefore, changeable. Socialization processes include the learning of values, norms, and elements of a society and a particular culture which are generated from childhood and throughout people’s lives in various spaces such as family, school and churches, and serve to interact in society.

Gender stereotypes are generalizations of attributes or characteristics that women and men are supposed to possess or should possess, and the social roles and functions they perform or should perform. Gender stereotypes intend to build a single form of “*being a woman*” or “*being a man*” and, together with gender roles, are embodied in the customs, norms, and practices accepted as socio-culturally valid. Gender roles are internalized in socialization and upbringing processes, and are also learned



through the media. For instance, some gender stereotypes of women regarding participation and peace are:

that requires medical intervention. However, in many cases, this need is based on a series of theoretical assumptions—often fabricated or with a cultural nature—susceptible to critical analysis. In this paper, I intend to analyze intersexuality and the technoscientific practices that are exercised in those subjects classified as intersex to ultimately defend the need to review the categories of sex and gender. Available at <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/380/38011446008.pdf>



- Women are peaceful by nature.
- Women do not know or do not understand politics.
- Women do not like the public stage, nor do they like to lead; they are better in supporting roles.
- Women are not strategic; they think about the short term.
- Women are generous, so they always let others take on representative positions.
- Women are selfless and always willing to sacrifice their interests and needs.
- Given their ability to give life, women should be the ones to keep the peace.
- Women in war are crueler than men.
- Women are more honest in managing resources, and they distribute them better because it is like they are running the household.

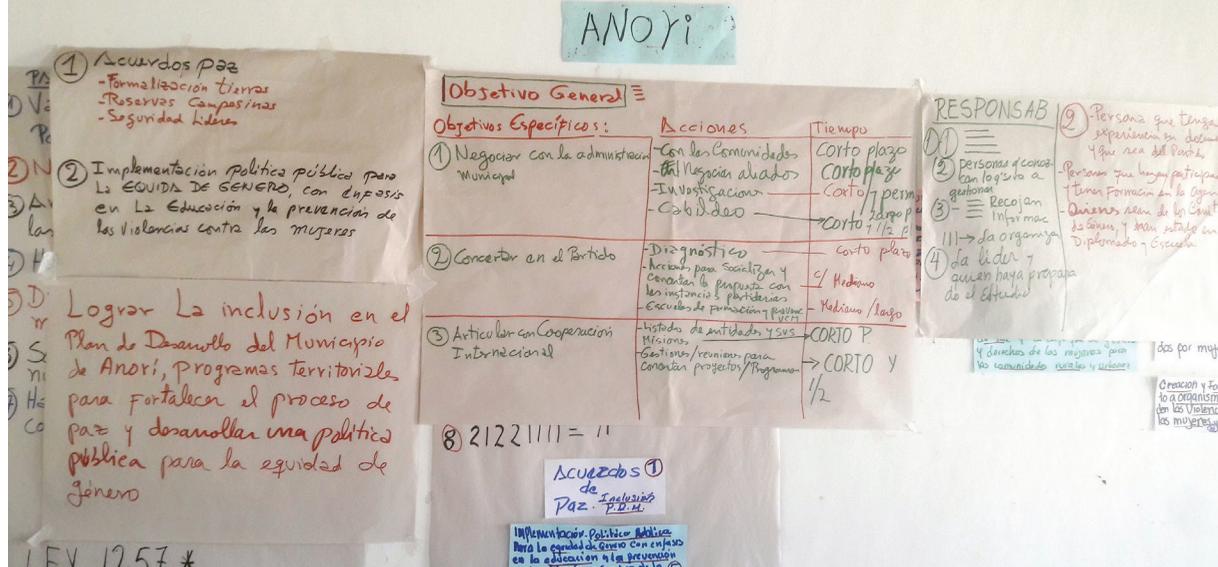
As an **analysis category**, gender exposes **the asymmetrical—not horizontal—power relationships** that justify the oppression, discrimination, and exclusion that causes unequal social, economic, political, and cultural opportunities for women taking into consideration their differences and diversities. A **gender-sensitive** analysis allows:

- Understanding and transforming the traditional models of the sexual division of labor (public-productive, private-domestic-reproductive) that reaffirm gender stereotypes and roles closely related to the social, manual, and intellectual division of labor.
- Developing the necessary instruments to dispute the neutrality of public policies by designing and implementing plans, programs, and pro-

jects that promote equal opportunities for women taking into consideration their differences and diversities.

- Creating processes that contribute to the construction of equitable relations between women and men and question the gender neutrality of values such as freedom, equality, and justice.
- Critically analyzing the constructions of masculinities and project proposals that allow for identifying new models of identity for men that are more caring and alternative to patriarchy.

The gender-sensitive approach is closely related to human rights, women's rights, and peoples' rights-based approaches. It intersects with the equity-based approaches based on people's belonging



to groups or collectivities recognized by their ethnic-racial identities, their age, class or social strata, or by situations of displacement or hearing, visual, cognitive, or mental disability status.

Equality is both a principle that builds ethical value and a set of actions and decisions aimed at recognizing socially constructed conditions or characteristics (sex, gender, class, religion, and/or age, among others) and related to each person or human group, as well as groups and communities. Based on non-discrimination and affirmative action principles and purposes, **gender**

equality promotes equal opportunities for women and men and the development of their basic abilities.

Discrimination is the prejudicial unequal treatment of people on the grounds of race, color, sex, religion, political views, nationality, social origin, age, disability status, and sexual orientation, among other characteristics of a person's identity. Discrimination may take different forms in line with the socio-cultural and territorial diversity found in each individual's habitat and is not necessarily a product of their will.

“At the School we have had great personal growth. From the knowledge of each of us as women we now know what our role is in the household, society and all political spheres.”



FORMS OF

DISCRIMINATION

Sexism, racism, and classism —as discriminatory practices— have restricted the recognition and fulfillment of human rights and rights of peoples in the course of human history, humanity, and the personal and collective histories.

Sexism



Set of practices, beliefs and conceptions that are socially constructed and by which men are considered to have sexual, economic, political, and cultural superiority over women. It may be expressed in language, affections, the production of knowledge and ideologies, behaviors, and customs, among many others.

Racism



Set of practices, beliefs, and conceptions that are socially constructed and by which distinction, exclusion, and restrictions to access goods and services based on race, color, nationality, ethnic heritage or origin, have been legitimized to nullify or affect the recognition, fulfillment and exercise of human rights and liberties on equal footing.⁶

Classism



Set of practices, beliefs, and conceptions that are socially constructed and by which anti-values that reproduce prejudice, rejection, or unfavorable treatment of a person or group based on whether or not they belong to a particular social class have been legitimized. Social classes are a social stratification whereby human groups are differentiated by their place in the economic system of a society.

The Gender-Sensitive Approach in the Peace Agreements. In September 2014, the Negotiating Table in Havana installed the *Gender Subcommittee*, comprised of women and men of the

FARC-EP and national government delegations. The purpose of this Committee was to include women's voices in the Final Peace Agreement and include the gender-sensitive approach in each

⁶ International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD).

point of the agenda. In the Agreement, the gender-sensitive approach: “(...) means recognition of equal rights for men and women and the special circumstances of each person, especially those of women, regardless of their marital status, life cycle and

family and community relationships, as enjoying rights and special constitutional protection,”⁷ and implies adopting unique measures so that women undergoing reintegration may access its programs on equal terms.

8 Main Themes

The Gender-Sensitive Approach in the Final Peace Agreement

1. Access and formalization of rural property on equal terms with men.
2. Guarantee of economic, social, and cultural rights of women and people with diverse sexual orientation and gender identity living in rural areas.
3. Promotion of the participation of women in representation, decision-making and conflict resolution spaces, and equal participation of women in decision-making instances.
4. Preventive and protection measures that respond to the specific risks of women.
5. Access to truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition, showing the unique forms in which conflict affected women.
6. Public recognition, non-stigmatization and dissemination of women’s work as political subjects.
7. Institutional actions to strengthen women’s organizations for their political and social participation.
8. Disaggregated information systems.



“Regarding the non-compliance of the Peace Agreements, we do not like the insecurity, the absence of guarantees and the persecution of social leaders; we should not let ourselves be intimidated.”

7 Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace signed between the national government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC-EP). Page 204.



DIVERSITY

AND IDENTITY

Diversity

An **equity-based approach** is an analysis tool and method that recognizes the differences and diversities involved in the identity construction process.

It is an ethical form of observing and understanding reality. It is characterized by the recognition of contextual conditions and the “... *Postures of several social actors as subjects of rights from a unique perspective under the principles of equality, diversity, participation, interculturality, integrality, sustainability and adaptability.*”⁸ The equity-based approach enables women to transform the inequalities that prevent them from fully exercising their rights for diversities and identity.

Diversity is a characteristic of society and refers to the tremendous variety and considerable differences among its members: race, ethnicity, rural or urban origin, culture, socioeconomic status, gender, sex, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, religious beliefs, language, nationality, ideological positions, political views and physical, cognitive and psychological abilities. Diversity is a social resource that invites us to accept differences as a positive value and not as a shortcoming. By respecting and defending it, we advance in the construction of more dignified and just societies, with equal opportunities for all women and men, where no person is discriminated against because of their identity or because they belong to groups or communities that



“As indigenous people, we are engaging in political and organizational work, and the School has strengthened us for that.”

depart from the established models of normal and desirable behaviors, do not share them, or contest them.

Cultural diversity is the coexistence of multiple cultures in the same territory or country, manifested in the originality and plurality of the identities that characterize the groups and societies of humanity. Culture means “*the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.*”⁹ Cultural diversity is a common heritage of humanity. Colombia is constitutionally recognized as a multiethnic and multicultural country, which means that its territory contains a great variety of peoples and ethnic communities, native languages, cultural expressions and diverse identities.

Sexual diversity is the set of practices, perceptions and subjectivities

8 Bogotá, D.C. Mayor’s Office. Secretariat of Health (2012). Working document at http://www.hospitalvistahermosa.gov.co/web/node/sites/default/files/boletines_2012/COVE/ABRIL/ENFOQUE_DIFERENCIAL.pdf

9 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. November 2, 2001.

associated with sexuality in all its biological, psychological, and socio-cultural dimensions.

It is also the diversity of desires and ways of conceiving and living the affective and erotic relationships existing in humanity.

Sexual orientation¹⁰	
Means the physical, erotic and/or emotional attraction to a particular sex or both sexes; sexual orientations are not static.	
Heterosexuality	The direction of emotions, affection and sexual and erotic attraction towards people of the so-called opposite sex.
Homosexuality	The direction of emotions, affection and sexual and erotic attraction towards people socially considered as the same sex.
Lesbian	A woman who self-identifies as such and is permanently attracted to other women in an erotic-affective way and lives her sexuality in that sense.
Gay	A man who self-identifies as such and is attracted to other men in an erotic-affective way and lives his sexuality in that sense.
Bisexual	The person who directs his or her emotions, affection and sexual and erotic attraction to persons of the same sex as well as the opposite sex. It is not necessary to have sexual experiences with both sexes at the same time.

Identity

Identity is a set of characteristics unique to a person or group, which allow them to be distinguished from the rest. As

human beings, we have multiple identities that permanently permeate us. Some of them in conflict and constant transformation: woman, farmer, indigenous, black, afro-descendant, mestizo,

¹⁰ García, Carlos Iván. Diversidad Sexual en la Escuela. Bogotá, September of 2007. Available at: <http://fundacionexe.org.co/wp-content/uploads/2016/centroderecursos/Cartilla%20diversidad%20sexual%20en%20la%20escuela.pdf>

professional, ex-guerrilla, young, lesbian, citizen, etc. For example, there is not only one identity or a single way of being a woman; as an individual, you are subject to rights and being part of a group of women. *“Identity has the double component of recognizing the other and of self-recognition. (...) Understood as the assumption of a place in social classification systems necessarily implies the concept of difference and otherness. Identity and difference are absolutely interdependent and inseparable terms, the one implies the other.”*¹¹

Gender identity means the social, cultural and historical construction that defines women and men in a determined culture. It refers to how a person constructs, expresses and lives sex, gender, sexuality, and body. *“In the field of sexuality, we distinguish sexual or gender identity from sexual orientation. Identity is the sense of belonging to the masculine or feminine gender (or a mixture of both); orientation refers to heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual practices and/or fantasies.”*¹² For many people, building their gender identity is a constant and changing process.

Trans

Transsexual. A person who feels and conceives himself or herself as belonging to the opposite sex and chooses a medical, hormonal or surgical intervention to adapt his or her physical and biological appearance to his or her psychologic, spiritual and social reality. His or her sexual orientation may be homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual.

Crossdresser. A person who occasionally constructs a bodily appearance and communicative manner corresponding to the opposite gender. He or she does not aspire to be of the opposite sex, nor is always dressed like that. He or she may be homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual.

Transgender. A person who develops a gender identity contrary to that which is socially demanded due to their biological sex (female-male) or who is in transit between the genders (female-male).

11 Santos Velásquez, Luis. “Masculino y femenino en la intersección entre el psicoanálisis y los estudios de género”, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Centro Editorial Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Bogotá, 2009, p. 29.

12 Op Cit. p. 29-30.



WOMEN

AND RIGHTS

Rights can be understood as a valuable asset that people wish to enjoy or exercise in their community (social or political) That said community must respect, and the authorities must safeguard.

Human rights, as defined by the Ombudsman’s Office,¹³ are the attributes of dignity that all persons, collectivities and peoples have; all States must safeguard these. In Colombia, the Political Constitution upholds their protection. Some rights are individual, and some

rights are collective; they might be civil, political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, of the peoples, development, and Peace. Rights are universal, indivisible, inter-dependent and related to each other:

<p>Civil and Political Rights¹⁴</p>	<p>Right to life; freedom from torture, cruel and inhuman treatment or punishment; freedom from slavery or forced labor; liberty and security of the person; right of detained persons to be treated humanely; freedom of movement; right to a fair trial; prohibition of retroactive criminal laws; right to recognition as a person before the law; right to privacy; right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; prohibition of propaganda for war and of incitement to national, racial or religious hatred; freedom of assembly; freedom of association; right to marry and form a family; right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, vote, be elected and have access to public office.</p>
<p>Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</p>	<p>Right to work; right to just and favorable conditions of work; right to form and join trade unions; right to social security; right to the protection of the family; right to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food, clothing and housing; right to health and education.</p>
<p>Collective Rights</p>	<p>The right of peoples to self-determination; development; free use of their wealth and natural resources; peace, and a healthy environment. Other collective rights: of the national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities; rights of the indigenous peoples.</p>

13 Valencia, Alejandro. (2014). Ombudsman’s Office. *¿Qué son los Derechos Humanos?* Bogotá.

14 United Nations Organization. (2016). Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Inter-parliamentary Union. Human Rights, Handbook for Parliamentarians No. 26. Available at: <http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/disabilities-e.pdf>



“We need political participation. If we, as women, want change to happen, we need to participate more. We always say: ‘Men know best..., we are afraid of making mistakes. Well, men also make mistakes.’”



In 1998—on the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights— considering that the human rights were formulated in a historical context in which the concept of human being was primarily related to the western, white, adult, heterosexual and wealthy men; and concerned that this narrow understanding could limit the rights of women, indigenous peoples, homosexuals and lesbians, boys, girls and the elderly, people with disabilities and other groups; the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean for the Defense of Women’s Rights (CLADEM)¹⁵, together with other regional and international organizations, presented a proposal for a Gender-Sensitive Declaration of Human Rights.¹⁶ Article 1 notes that: *All women and men are born free and equal in dignity and rights, being assured the free and full exercise of their*

rights both in the public and private sphere. Seventeen articles are proposed on five themes:

- Identity and citizenship rights.
- Right to peace and a life free of violence.
- Sexual and reproductive rights.
- Right to development.
- Environmental rights.

Understanding **women as collective subjects of rights** means creating awareness and appropriating the rights obtained as a social collective of women in the country and those established internationally to recognize the dignity of people considered free and equal and included in the Political Constitution of Colombia. Only by developing themselves as collective subjects of rights can women fully exercise their citizenship:

¹⁵ Comité de América Latina para la defensa de los Derechos de las Mujeres.

¹⁶ Available [in Spanish] at <https://www.cladem.org/es/publicaciones/regionales/98-desc/485-declaracion-de-los-derechos-humanos-desde-una-perspectiva-de-genero>

Sexual and reproductive rights. They are a fundamental part of the exercise of citizenship. They imply the possibility for women and men to make

autonomous decisions over their bodies and lives regarding Sexuality and reproduction:¹⁷

Sexual Rights	Reproductive Rights
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right to explore and enjoy a pleasurable sex life, without shame, fear, prejudice and guilt. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right of women to terminate a pregnancy in the three cases considered by the Constitutional Court of Colombia in Ruling C-355 dated May 10, 2006.¹⁸
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Right of women and men to be recognized as sexual beings. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right of all people to decide whether or not to procreate and to plan their own family.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right to live one's sexuality without being subjected to violence, coercion, abuse, exploitation or harassment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right of women and men to decide freely and responsibly whether to become mothers or fathers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to health services that allow the prevention and care of infections and diseases that affect the full exercise of sexuality. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right of women not to suffer discrimination or unequal treatment on the grounds of pregnancy or maternity.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognition of separation between sexuality and reproduction. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right to access safe and effective methods of contraception.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The right to access healthcare services and medical assistance that ensure safe maternity.

17 Defensoría del Pueblo, Profamilia. (2007). Módulo de la A la Z en Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos. Para funcionarios y funcionarias con énfasis en violencia intrafamiliar y violencia sexual.

18 According to the Colombian Constitutional Court Ruling C-355 dated May 1, 2006: (...) the crime of abortion is not committed when, with the woman's consent, the termination of the pregnancy occurs in the following cases: (i) When the continuation of the pregnancy constitutes a danger to the life or physical or mental health of the woman, certified by a doctor (ii) When there is a serious malformation of the fetus that makes its life inviable, as certified by a doctor; and (iii) When the pregnancy is the result of a conduct, duly reported, constituting carnal abuse or sexual act without consent, abusive or non-consensual artificial insemination or transfer of fertilized egg, or incest. HYPERLINK "https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aborto_en_Colombia#cite_note-SentenciaC355/06-12"

Right to a life free of violence. Violence against women is any act or omission that causes death, injury or physical, sexual, psychological, economic or property-related suffering because of their

status as women, as well as threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private settings.¹⁹

Physical violence	The violence that causes risk or decreased bodily integrity; includes beatings, assaults with objects or liquids that can cause harm, confinement, shaking, and squeezing, among other behaviors that seek to harm women.
Psychological violence	Action or omission intended to degrade or control women’s actions, behaviors, beliefs, and decisions through manipulation, intimidation, threats, isolation, or other behavior that harms their psychological health and personal development.
Sexual violence	Any act that threatens the sexual freedom and integrity through the use of physical force, threats, blackmail or manipulation, to force a person to maintain sexual, physical or verbal contact, or to participate in sexual interactions. This violence includes touching, molesting, rape or attempted rape, sexual abuse, and exploitation.
Patrimonial violence	The violence that causes the loss, transformation, subtraction, destruction or retention of objects, working instruments, personal documents, goods, values, or economic rights destined to satisfy women’s needs. For example, when a man keeps the property of his spouse after a divorce.
Economic violence	Action or omission aimed at economic abuse and control of finances, monetary rewards or punishment of women because of their social, economic or political status. It can take place in couples, family or work relationships. For example, women in the same job or trade are paid less.

¹⁹ Article 2 of Law 1257/2008- For the Right of Women to a Life Free of Violence.

Other types of violence include:

Political violence. Actions, discourses, conceptions, and practices that disregard or deny women's political role and their status as citizens with rights. The depoliticization of their demands and the under-representation of women in power and decision-making instances and bodies in the State, the political and community parties and movements. Practices, attitudes or anti-values that disqualify their social, political or community leadership, exclude women from learning and exercising their rights as citizens. It is exercised by the State when state authorities seek to impose order through terror, war, persecution, physical, sexual and emotional torture, and intimidation.

Sociocultural violence. The patterns of behavior, attitudes, values, beliefs or customs, aimed at producing and reproducing the role of service, subordination and domesticity of women in society, as well as the unequal power relations between men and women, both in the public and private sphere.

Violence in situations of armed conflict. Violence against women in situations of armed conflict refers to all manifestations, actions and expressions of violence in territories affected by the presence of armed actors, situations of armed conflict, war or forced displacement. It includes one or more of the conditions described in Writ 092 of 2006 and other provisions covering the effects of armed actions on



“ I used to have a sexist thought. I was invited to the School, and it has really helped me in life. I have come to my senses so that I will never again be as bad as I have been. And I really feel calm, happy and now as a family we express ourselves freely, thinking of an alternative model for both women and men.”

women in conflict zones or places of transit, resettlement, territorialization and displacement. The multiple forms of violence that are exercised against women just for being women are the most significant expression of power used to achieve and maintain

the domination, subordination, exclusion and discrimination of women and the main obstacle to the full exercise of their rights and citizenship. Women may suffer any type of violence mentioned above in various spaces or settings:²⁰

Violence in the private setting	Violence in the public setting
<p>The violence that takes place within the family, the domestic unit or within the framework of any interpersonal relationship, whether or not the aggressor shares the home with the woman. It can include rape, mistreatment, humiliation and sexual abuse, among others. Violence in the private sphere is a crime and a matter for all people.</p>	<p>It takes place in the community, can be perpetrated by anyone, and can include threats, rape, sexual abuse, torture, forced prostitution and sexual harassment in the workplace, or educational institutions, hospitals, health facilities or any public place.</p>

Right to participation and representation. Participation is a fundamental right protected by the Political Constitution of Colombia and recognized in Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is the right of each citizen to participate in the conduct of public affairs, to vote and to be elected in periodic, fair and genuine elections and to have access to public office, within the framework of democratic processes based on the consent of the people that guarantee its effective enjoyment, together with the freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, whatever

“A great breakthrough of the School is to interact with peers, where women’s participation and autonomy can be further strengthened throughout the (peace) process. All of us are working for the same purpose.”

form of constitution or government a State adopts.

Right to Peace. “The idea of peace as a right arises after World War II, where various nations see the need to work to eradicate wars and strengthen

²⁰ As defined in the Belém do Pará Convention.

democracy. The United Nations was founded in the context of the post-war period (1945) and established in Article 1 of its founding Charter its purpose to maintain and strengthen international peace and security, while promoting friendship among nations.”²¹ Colombia welcomed peace as an essential goal of the State and a duty of obligatory fulfillment in its Political Constitution of 1991. Article 22 reads: “the right of all persons to live in peace, that is, to be part of a society in which there is no war and violence is excluded as a means of resolving conflicts.” Peace as a right of peoples is a collective right; assuming it as a right implies understanding its inherent, inalienable, non-transferable and interdependent nature, in other words, a superior right that guarantees all other human rights.

“Working with and from a **Women’s Rights Approach** implies—in practice—the incorporation, the psychological design and the conceptual elaboration,

for the explicit recognition of women as subjects of rights and political actors from their differences and diversities. This process needs:

- To controvert the principle of universality of human rights.
- To consider the proposals and demands of women’s organizations for the elimination of all forms of violence and discrimination against them.
- To foster and promote the knowledge, analysis, application and dissemination of national and international regulations against discrimination and violence against women.
- To reveal the problems and barriers to women’s participation, representation, organization and mobilization.
- To encourage the recognition, enforcement, guarantee, promotion and exercise of individual and collective rights of women, considering their differences and diversities.



A great breakthrough of the School is to interact with peers, where women’s participation and autonomy can be further strengthened throughout the (peace) process. All of us are working for the same purpose.”

21 District’s Secretariat of Women, Right to Peace team. Module: Citizenship for peace. Methodological proposal. Page. 4, Bogotá.



FEMINISM AGAINST

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy is a socio-cultural system based on the belief in the superiority of men over women, giving them dominance and advantages that are reinforced by the development of the institutionality of each culture, especially concerning family, school, science, law, religion, work, economy, politics, and symbolism.

Dominance has as its counterpoint in the obedience and submission of women, based on loyalty and the commitment to maintain and strengthen the foundations of society.

This system is based on the sexual division of labor, assigning different tasks

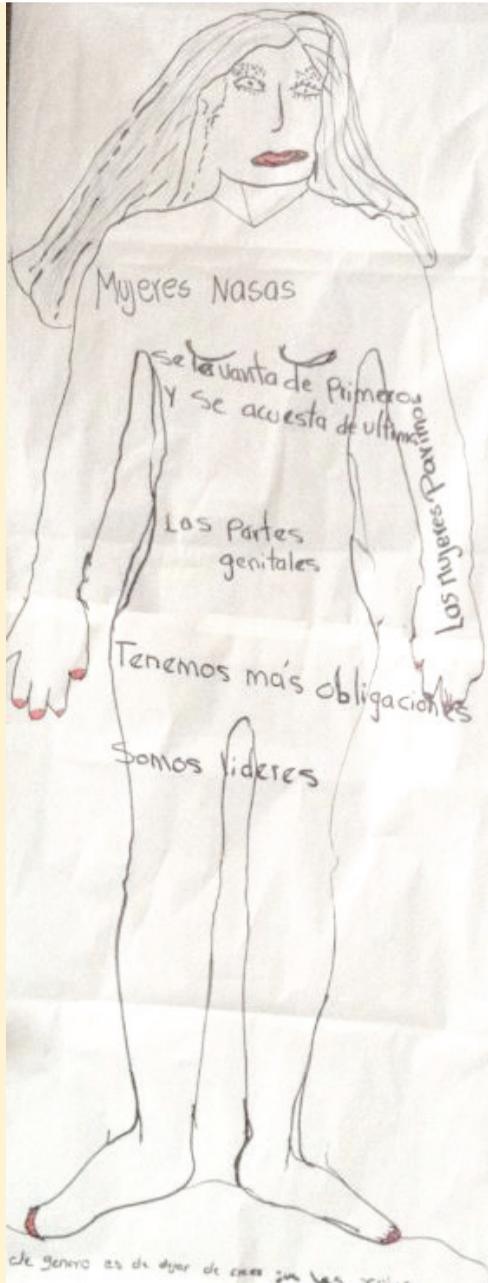
Sexual division of labor	
Women	Men
Reproduction	Production
Private and domestic sphere	Public sphere
Unpaid	Paid

Patriarchy is based on a **power ideology** that maintains and reproduces the oppression and discrimination of women, assigns the authority to command, punish, watch or reward to the figure of men, which has ensured the control of power and dominance over the lives of others throughout history. **Sexism** and its normalization are the primary tool of patriarchy for its consolidation; it implies the belief in the superiority of men over women and the superiority of traditionally considered “masculine” practices over any other that is not typical of this stereotype. Sexism includes various discrimination levels, exercising violence against women and anything different from the traditional male role.

to men and women in society and the family, that is, in the private and public spheres, determining different values for each of them, where the least value is given to everything that takes place in the field of social and biological reproduction.

“It is not normal to be abused’. We must advocate so that other women have that knowledge against abuse of women; we must replicate everything we have learned.”

Through **traditional or dominant masculinity**, patriarchy defines the way of being a man. This conventional male is built through upbringing and socialization patterns that reinforce the idea of superiority over women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex people. For example, there is tolerance for different kinds of violence against women and girls or even aggressive practices among men in this field. There are also abusive exercises of power, or contempt for emotional and affective environments, the absence of an ethic of care for one’s health and others’. New or alternative masculinities are efforts to eliminate patriarchal ideas and sexist practices from men’s daily lives,, which should have a positive impact on the



lives of women and men considering their differences and diversities, as well as social life in general.²²

Equality should be understood as the right of all people to be treated and recognized as equal before the law and to enjoy all rights and opportunities unconditionally. Equality does not mean that all people will be equal, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend, for example, on whether they were born with a particular gender, belong to a specific ethnic group or have a disability.

Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex people must be considered and recognized in all their diversity. Specifically related to equality, gender equity is defined as: “fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of *rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities*.”²³ In view of the differences that cause inequality, **affirmative actions** must be implemented, that is, measures aimed at compensating for the historical disadvantages that

22 Ruiz Arroyave, Javier Omar. (2013). Consider the existence of various schools of thought and action in this regard. *Masculinidades posibles: Otras formas de ser hombres*, Ediciones Desde Abajo, Bogotá.

23 UNESCO. Culture for Development Indicators. Methodology Manual. Available at: https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/cdis_methodology_manual_0_0.pdf

women have suffered, implementing gender equity is an act of justice.

Empowerment is a process to change the distribution of power, both in the relationships between people and institutions and society. The empowerment that allows women to exercise power in an alternative way is a process through which they exercise control and take charge of their own lives, positively transforming insecurity and dependency conditions. It includes recognizing the power that each person exercises over himself and his decisions, as well as the socio-cultural, economic, political, environmental and subjective conditions that favor, promote, restrict or limit its exercise. Therefore, empowerment implies personal and collective action to transform the power relations that legitimize oppression.

Personal empowerment fuels the exercise of women's autonomy over themselves, their bodies and their decisions as full citizens with rights, supported by processes that contribute to the recognition of women as collective subjects of rights and political subjects at the same time.

For the women of FARC, **the empowerment is collective**, in as much as they



What I like most about what we learned at the School was the knowledge that you get from this, not keeping the information to yourselves and sharing it out into the community.”

engage in collaborative fight processes for the emancipation and participation of the women in the public and decision-making spaces, and to have real incidence in the Party and in the social organizations with which they are related.

The advancement in rights, eradicating patriarchy from society and ending the conditions of subordination and oppression of women and the most vulnerable groups, have resulted from a long process of struggle and social mobilization of women.

As a political and social movement, **feminism** seeks the transformation of social relations for the liberation of all women through the elimination of hierarchies and conflicts of inequality between the sexes. Feminism recognizes the differences and diversity of women as a positive fact for this liberation process.



“Feminism defines the emancipatory processes of women in their differences and diversities, recognizes the intersections that evidence the multiple discriminations and violence and allow us to overcome material inequalities.”

UNESCO²⁴

Diverse schools of thought and political action have developed concepts and practices of various feminisms that propose different political action alternatives to improve the conditions of life for all people, especially for women. This struggle has contributed to the construction of a more just and real democracy like no other social movement.

In their *Thesis on Women and Gender*, the women of FARC propose the need to strengthen their place as political subjects, to continue the struggle for equal opportunities for women and men, and the non-return to traditional roles in society. For this, they develop their proposal of feminism, called *insurgent feminism*, which in its general lines, proposes that:

- For FARC-EP, feminism is emancipatory by nature, is constituted from the redistribution of wealth and is framed within the class struggle.
- There is no possible liberation of women without eliminating class discrimination, just as there is no human emancipation without the full recognition of women’s rights.
- The elimination of the unequal and individualistic capitalist system does not guarantee that women’s exclusion will end.
- The feminist struggle contributes to the articulation of the demands of all women in their diversity.
- Feminism will allow progress in the recognition of gender identities and diverse sexual orientations.

24 FARC-EP. Tesis de Mujer y Género. 2017.

Planear es?	Para que?	Como	Que necesito
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *organizar *Prepararse *Pensar *Diseñar *Diseñar las actividades de forma sistemática *llegar a un objetivo *Para que todo salga bien 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Para cumplir un objetivo trazado *Para aprovechar al máximo el potencial de las personas y los recursos con que se cuenta *Para prevenir e identificar posibles riesgos *Para fijar las tareas y fortalezas *Identificar las fortalezas y debilidades 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *De forma organizada *con disciplina *coordinadamente *concertando *participativamente *Para quien, con quien 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Recursos *Físico *humano *convicción *Identificar el problema *conocer *Investigar *Verificar *Hacer alianzas *Estrategias

DEMOCRACY AND

PARTICIPATION

Democracy is a form of government based on the people's sovereign power and their right to elect and be elected.



Democracy is a universal value based on the freely expressed will of the people to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their lives.”
United Nations Organization²⁵

Democracy must guarantee the right to freedom of thought, freedom of speech, social and political organization, public debate and electoral participation; it must also promote the alternation and renewal of power, and the existence of various parties or political movements. The Colombian Constitution defines that the people’s sovereign power is exercised through representative democracy and direct democracy.

Representative democracy is one in which the people’s power is delegated to representatives elected by the majority of citizens.

Participatory democracy is when the citizenry has a more direct influence on politics and expresses itself through participation mechanisms such as the popular consultation, the popular initiative, the referendum and the plebiscite.

Plural and radical democracy is that which seeks to build citizenships that

strengthen the relationships between participation and representation processes as a condition for the inclusion in public agendas and political decision-making and representation instances of the interests of people, groups, and collectivities historically discriminated against because of their socio-economic, cultural, ethnic-racial, rural or urban background, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, religious beliefs, language, nationality, ideological positions, political views or physical, cognitive and psychological functions.

“The decisive question of democratic politics is not to arrive at a consensus without exclusion - which would bring us back to the creation of an “us” that does not have a “them” as a correlate - but to arrive at establishing the discrimination between us and them in such a way that it is compatible with pluralism. (...) The objective of a democratic policy, therefore, is not to eradicate power, but to multiply the spaces in which power relations will be open to democratic contestation. The dynamics inherent in

²⁵ <http://www.un.org/es/sections/issues-depth/democracy/index.html>

radical and pluralistic democracy are part of the proliferation of such spaces with a view to creating the conditions for genuine agonistic pluralism, both in the domain of the State and in that of civil society.”²⁶

The social State based on the rule of law is a form of political organization characterized by the respect, guarantee and integral realization of human rights, which become the foundation and ultimate *raison d'être* of the State. As a multiethnic and multicultural social State based on the rule of law, Colombia must guarantee conditions of equality for all its population and create the social and material conditions that will allow all Colombians to enjoy these rights. **Governance** is the capacity of the democratically elected government in power to fulfill its functions, as well as to exercise its authority and control the actions of its people. Within the framework of the exercise of citizenship, all persons can carry out actions aimed at demanding the fulfillment of the established rights; these **enforcement** actions can be individual or collective.

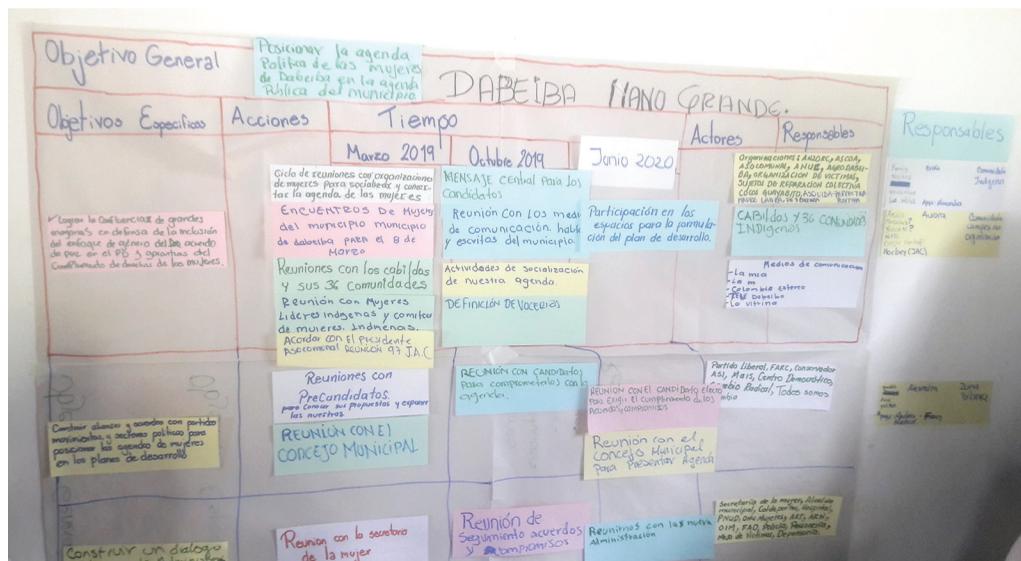
Citizenship is the set of rights and duties that a person has due to his or her belonging to a community, generally of a territorial, political or cultural nature. When you are a **citizen**, you have a sense

of belonging, and you get recognition from the community to which you belong. Citizenship, like rights, is in a constant process of transformation and change. Citizenship goes beyond concrete practices (voting, having freedom of speech, receive social benefits from the State). It is identified with the expression of “*the right to have rights*” and the commitment to participate in the public-political debate the content of political priorities and social demands.

Autonomy is the capacity of each person, or entity, to make free and responsible decisions based on their conscience. **Freedom**, in the social field, is the ability to express an opinion and decide without interference regarding those activities that one wishes to carry out, as long as it does not interfere with others' rights.

The **social and political participation** of women and men, apart from being a human right, is an essential part of the exercise of citizenship and indispensable in the construction of real democracy. **Participation** can be understood as individual and collective actions that are developed to influence in search of the transformations or the maintenance of conditions considered necessary for a dignified life in community at a local, regional and national level. The participation and

²⁶ Mouffe, Chantal. *El retorno de lo político, comunidad, ciudadanía, pluralismo y democracia radical*. Paidós, Barcelona, 1999 pages 16 and 25.



representation of women in decision-making spaces in society and the State are an expression of empowerment and the exercise of their citizenship as subjects of rights.

An **organization** is a space created by the will of a group or collective of people with a defined intention. Social and political organizations are

designed to respond to specific needs or interests and transform existing social and political conditions. Because of the flexibility of their structures and their focus on concrete purposes that respond to the interests and perceived needs of broad social collectives, social movements enjoy the support of diverse collectives and institutions at the national, regional, and global levels.



CITIZENSHIP FOR PEACE

Peace is considered a higher human right, a requirement for the fulfillment of all other rights of people and citizenship; some of its characteristics as a right are:

Inherent	All people have the right to peace regardless of their ethnicity, race, gender, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation and/or social status.
Essential	One cannot waive the right to peace, just as one cannot waive being a human person.
Interdependent and interrelated	It is complementary and depends on other rights. Its violation affects the exercise of other rights.
Non-transferable	A person cannot give up or surrender his or her right to peace to another person.

Peace is a process that includes several stages that can happen simultaneously and in a related way:

Preventive	When a society reduces the chances of its conflicts breaking out into war.
Peace Agreements	When agreements are made to end conflicts and wars.
Peacekeeping	These are the actions and mechanisms to preserve peace, which are carried out after the agreements.
Peacebuilding	These are all measures necessary to strengthen the institution and create conditions for its sustainability, which implies transformations in society.

Coexistence implies accepting and recognizing the others in their differences, respecting their rights, and sharing the same space, territory or collective project within the framework of democracy. **Reconciliation** is fundamental to building and keeping the peace, a transition process that seeks to re-establish interpersonal and community relations, regaining confidence in institutions to forge a shared future of peace with all of society.

Peace requires an end to armed conflict and—at the same time—the transformation of the social, political, economic and cultural conditions of oppression, which affect the lives of women and the communities that seek to recognize, defend and guarantee their rights. Since it is a process in development, it requires the participation of all of society. **Co-responsibility** implies a commitment to peace on the part of the government, institutions,

Co-responsibility promotes the direct participation of the citizens in the decisions about public affairs promoting the participation by means of mobilization actions, monitoring and control, open consultations, development of organizational initiatives, creation of instruments for the incidence, that allow to position the voices, demands, interests and experiences of diverse social sectors as part of the process of construction of peace.”

District’s Secretariat of Women, Right to Peace team.²⁷

and people in the process of reintegration and the role of each woman and man who is part of society.

Citizenship for peace and women implies not only the recognition of their rights and collective interests but also participation in decision-making scenarios in the face of peace, to build alternatives for cultural transformation and social change.

Agendas are instruments of political negotiation, which serve social organizations in their advocacy processes since they prioritize the most relevant points in the short, medium and long term. The **women’s agenda** starts by recognizing the specific and priority problems, needs and interests of

women and seeks to position them before the authorities who have the competence and responsibility to act.

The **women’s peace agendas** contain the themes that their organizations consider fundamental to advance in the elimination of all types of violence against them and to be recognized as subjects of rights and political actors in the construction of new realities that strengthen peace in their territories and the country: “It is a political and ethical approach to the negotiation of women as a collective and political subjects to position themselves as a transformative force and to contribute to the peace process in Colombia, from their own proposals.”²⁸

We got together in the wake of femicide and created this collective and decided that everyone had to know what was affecting us. We prepared a report and organized a forum on the situation. We receive support from the women’s house and other organizations. We are making ourselves visible, so that women know that we are not alone, that we will support each other. We have a road map and the others will follow to make it happen.”

27 District’s Secretariat of Women, Right to Peace team. Module: Citizenship for peace. Methodological proposal. page. 4, Bogotá.

28 Moser, Caroline; Acosta Angélica y Vásquez, María Eugenia. (2006). *Mujeres y Paz. Construcción de consensos. Guía para procesos participativos e incluyentes*. Alianza Iniciativas por la Paz –IMP–. Colombia 2001-2004. Ediciones Espejo de papel Ltda. Bogotá, Colombia.

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