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MEAC Findings Report 11

The Gendered Dynamics of Conflict and Peacebuilding in Colombia

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MANAGING EXITS
FROM ARMED CONFLICT

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KEY FINDINGS

- Almost half of men in rural areas (47 per cent) believed that women needed the protection of men in order to survive, compared to only 28 per cent of rural women, 24 per cent of urban men, and 8 per cent of urban women.
- When asked about the use of violence, 18 per cent of men respondents believed that violence was sometimes necessary to protect the community, compared with 12 per cent of women. Furthermore, 26 per cent of men respondents believed that violence was sometimes necessary to achieve political change, compared with 17 per cent of women.
- Compared to the data in the above bullet, as many or more respondents were willing to use violence to protect their community (22 per cent of men and 12 per cent of women) while fewer respondents were willing to engage in political violence (15 per cent of men and 9 per cent of women).
- 51 per cent of men respondents stated that they were fearful of what ex-combatants could do in the future, while 69 per cent of women respondents stated the same.

This Findings Report, and the research that supported it, were undertaken as part of UNU-CPR's Managing Exits from Armed Conflict (MEAC) project. MEAC is a multi-donor, multi-partner initiative to develop a unified, rigorous approach to examining how and why individuals exit armed conflict and evaluating the efficacy of interventions meant to support their transitions. While the Findings Report benefited from feedback from MEAC's donors and institutional partners, it does not necessarily represent their official policies or positions.

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Background

About MEAC

How and why do individuals exit armed groups – and how do they do so sustainably, without falling back into conflict cycles? These questions are at the core of UNU-CPR’s Managing Exits from Armed Conflict (MEAC) initiative. MEAC is a multi-year, multi-partner collaboration that aims to develop a unified, rigorous approach to examining how and why individuals exit armed conflict and evaluating the efficacy of interventions meant to support their transition to civilian life. MEAC seeks to inform evidence-based programme design and implementation in real time to improve efficacy. At the strategic level, the cross-programme, cross-agency lessons that will emerge from the growing MEAC evidence base will support more effective conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts. MEAC is supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Switzerland’s Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), Irish Aid, and the UN Development Programme (UNDP), and is being run in partnership with the UN Department of Peace Operations (DPO), UNICEF, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the World Bank.

About this Series

The MEAC findings report series seeks to put evidence about conflict transitions and related programming into the hands of policymakers and practitioners in real time. The reports present short overviews of findings (or emerging findings) across a wide range of thematic areas and include analyses on their political or practical implications for the UN and its partners.

About this Report

This report is based on data collected from April to May 2021 as part of a phone survey of community members in 11 municipalities across Colombia. It presents findings on gender roles and stereotypes in Colombia, gendered attitudes towards the use of different types of violence, and gendered experiences of fear of ex-combatants.¹ This data may be useful to government, UN, and NGO partners working in Colombia to support their policies and programming to break down gender inequalities and ensure a gendered approach to reconciliation in Colombia, including through implementation of the 2016 peace agreement between the Government and the FARC-EP. The report ends with an examination of key policy and programmatic implications of these findings.

¹ This research was conducted in partnership with Fundación Conflict Responses, <https://www.conflictresponses.org/>.

The Gendered Dynamics of Conflict and Peacebuilding in Colombia

Overview

The year 2021 represents an important milestone for the global movement on women's rights – the beginning of a new decade of implementation of some of the most significant multilateral commitments to gender equality. As 2020 marked the 20-year anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325¹ and the 25-year anniversary of the Beijing Declaration,² stakeholders working on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) and gender equality more broadly looked ahead to the next phase and outlined their priorities for the coming decade. At the forefront of these priorities was action – an urgent need to implement these commitments and others, to increase the momentum and therefore the impact rooted in the words on these decades-old pages.

Colombia represents an important example of both progress made and the need for continued action to address women's rights. The 2016 peace agreement is often held up as an example of an inclusive accord with more gender provisions than any other peace agreement. Women's rights have, over time, been increasingly enshrined in domestic law, reflecting the above-mentioned international standards, resulting in increased attention to gender in relevant programming and practice.³ However, there remain obstacles to fulfillment of these standards. The challenges not only relate to finding the resources, political will, and capacity to implement national and international commitments, but also in catalyzing a corresponding change in the societal norms that affect women's daily lives in Colombia. Moreover, as conflict has disproportionately affected women in the country, efforts to resolve and prevent conflict should adopt gender-responsive designs - especially in the context of implementation of the peace agreement, which aims to address inequalities including gender.

This MEAC Findings Report makes contributions to understanding the gendered dimensions of conflict and peacebuilding in Colombia in three specific areas: gender roles and stereotypes; gendered attitudes towards the use of violence; and gendered differences in fear of individuals formerly associated with armed groups. Better understanding of these areas is crucial to advancing both women's rights and peacebuilding objectives; by breaking down gender stereotypes, gender equality can be advanced, and by undertaking a gendered approach to reconciliation and violence reduction – including placing women in leading roles in such efforts – progress can be made towards inclusive peace.

Gender Roles and Stereotypes

Traditional gender roles, which are associated with violence and instability⁴ and with stigmatization faced by women ex-combatants, are still entrenched in some parts of Colombia, particularly in rural contexts. This was shown in a 2020 study by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE).⁵ The study presented respondents with statements about gender stereotypes and asked them to indicate whether they agreed with each one. Expressions such as “a man's duty is to earn money and a woman's duty is to take care of the home and family” were accepted at rates of between

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50 and 70 per cent in rural areas, in comparison with 20 or 30 per cent in urban areas. Gender stereotypes are also affected by the structural circumstances of armed conflict where “force constitutes the most recognized measure of male performance.”⁶

Gendered Attitudes Towards the Use of Violence

Existing evidence suggests that women tend to have more negative attitudes towards violence and are less willing to act violently than men. This has been attributed to both biological differences between the sexes (which, in turn, can be mitigated by contextual factors such as socioeconomic class, nationality, and culture),⁷ and the way that violence is presented, or not, as part of gender stereotypes and roles.⁸ Within such stereotypes, aggression and dominance are part of the man’s identity, while nurturing, emotional expression, and submission are integrated into the woman’s identity, leading to the normalization of men’s engagement in violence and the marginalization of women for the same.⁹

Although the literature provides evidence for gender differences in attitudes towards violence in general, there is a lack of evidence of gender differences in attitudes towards the use of different *types* of violence. MEAC’s community phone survey data is therefore unique in that it distinguishes between the use of violence for community protection, and the use of violence for political objectives, as will be seen below. This detailed understanding has the potential to support gender-responsive violence reduction efforts, especially those led by women, that address these types of violence as distinct phenomena.

Gendered Differences in Fear of Individuals Formerly Associated with Armed Groups

Existing evidence suggests that sexual and gender-based violence, which has been used as a tactic of war throughout the Colombian conflict, has diverse physical and psychological impacts on its victims,ⁱⁱ including increased fear and trepidation among women victims with regard to armed actors and indeed former members of armed groups.¹⁰ These impacts endure and even intensify in areas where the State has historically been absent, including through a lack of programmes and policies to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence.¹¹

A study conducted by the Colombian Observatory for Democracy between 2017 and 2018¹² found that while the 2016 peace agreement between the Government and the FARC-EP included provisions that should result in positive changes in the lives of women across the country, women remain more reluctant than men to engage in reconciliation with individuals formerly associated with armed groups. One of the main reasons behind this finding was that women described violence as being closer and more personal, motivating them to reject reconciliation processes due to the belief that it is unfair that the perpetrators receive benefits.¹³ This finding is significant, as it suggests that certain demographics could reject the presence of individuals who were formerly associated with armed groups in their communities, be reluctant to participate in reconciliation efforts, reject transitional justice processes, and shy away from support peace negotiations, among other impacts.

ⁱⁱ The use of the term “victim” does not aim to ignore the need to recognize those who have experienced sexual and gender-based violence as “survivors”, nor to diminish the importance of mainstreaming the use of the term “survivors” in the lexicon of the UN and globally. MEAC uses the term “victim” throughout this report in recognition of the language used by victims and victims’ organizations in Colombia, in response to context-specific norms and preferences.

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This report presents MEAC findings in these three areas, representing some of the first data on these aspects of the gendered dynamics of conflict and peacebuilding in the municipalities included in the survey in Colombia.

MEAC Community Phone Survey: Findings on the Gendered Dynamics of Conflict and Peacebuilding

This report is based on data collected in a survey led by UNU-CPR and its Colombian research partner Fundación Conflict Responses from April to May 2021. The 30-minute phone survey with a sample of 2,460 community members from 11 municipalities across Colombia: Mutatá, Antioquia; Caldono, Cauca; San José del Guaviare, Guaviare; Guapi, Cauca; La Uribe, Meta; Puerto Asís, Putumayo; Villavicencio, Meta; Bogotá, Cundinamarca; Cali, Valle del Cauca; San Vicente del Caguán, Caquetá; and Apartadó, Antioquia.ⁱⁱⁱ Eight of these municipalities (all except the cities of Bogotá, Cali, and Villavicencio) are “PDET” municipalities – conflict-affected, vulnerable, and socioeconomically marginalized communities that have been chosen for the implementation of “Planes de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial” or “Regionally-focused Development Plans” stemming from the 2016 peace agreement between the Government and the FARC-EP. Respondents were asked questions on a range of topics including socioeconomic status, experiences of conflict, perceptions of security, attitudes towards violence, perceptions of gender roles in society, and other topics.

Findings on Gender roles and Stereotypes

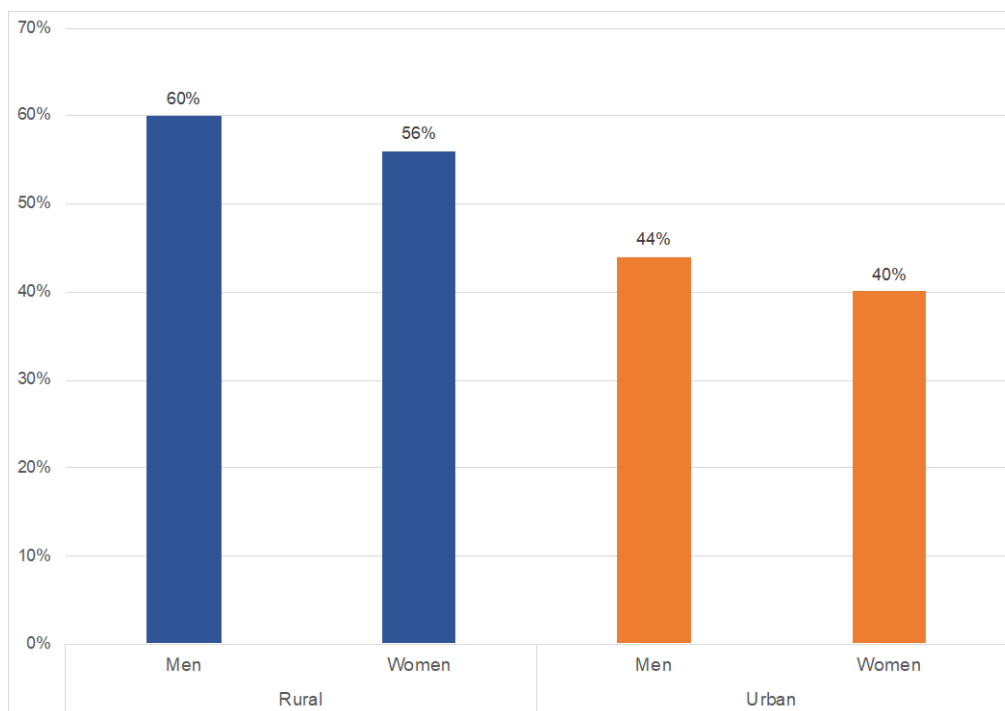
In this survey, MEAC asked questions that shed light on acceptance of traditional gender roles including the gendered division of roles in society, and stereotypes – namely, that women’s need for the protection of men. This data contributes to a strengthened understanding of how gender roles affect women ex-combatants’ experiences of the transition to civilian life. This is especially important given that such transitions take place in a context in which their taking up of arms breaks with the stereotype with which the community around them expects them to comply. Furthermore, in light of evidence that gender inequality is associated with violence and instability, these questions aimed to uncover challenges to peace in Colombia that could continue as long as gender stereotypes like these remain prevalent. Findings on questions regarding men and women’s different roles in society, and on men’s roles as protectors of women, are seen in Figures 1 and 2.^{iv}

ⁱⁱⁱ The sample had a non-probabilistic design comprised of two phases: the selection of municipalities through an intentional sampling strategy, and a convenience sampling with a quota control. The selection of the municipalities was driven by a desire to include a range of geographic, conflict-related, and demographic experiences and identities that were relevant to the research. The sampling of individuals within the selected municipalities was conducted randomly using pre-existing phone lists. This sampling strategy allows for inferences to be drawn about the municipal populations included in the survey, and while it may offer insights on other locations, we cannot draw strong inferences about other municipalities in Colombia.

^{iv} All figures in this report represent the answers of those respondents who answered the respective questions analyzed in those graphs, i.e., not those who “refused to answer”.

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Figure 1. Do you think men and women should have different roles in society? Answer: Yes

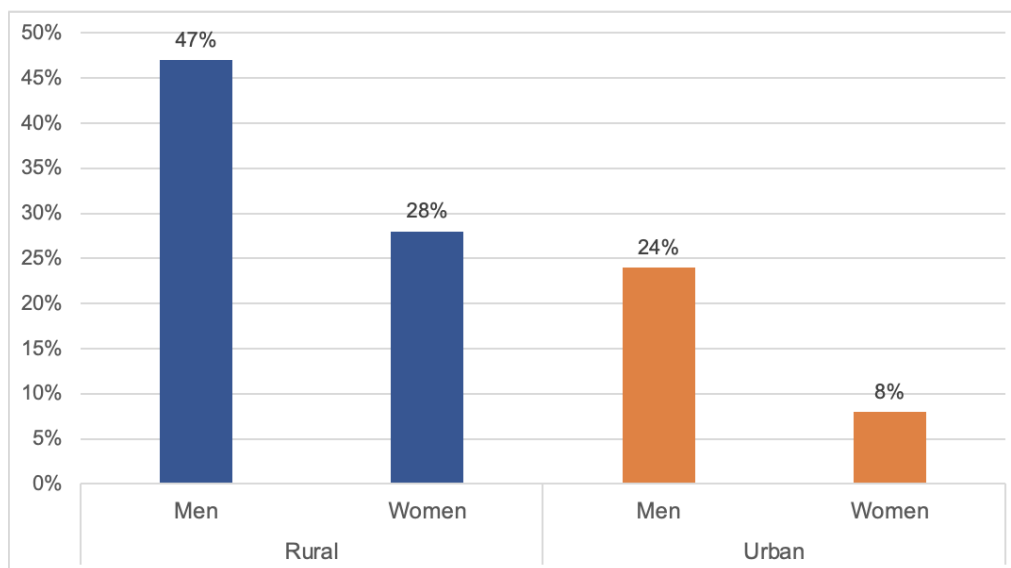


Respondents in rural contexts were more likely than respondents in urban contexts to report that men and women should have different roles in society. As shown in Figure 1, 60 per cent of rural men and 56 per cent of rural women supported this premise, contrasting with 44 per cent of urban men and 40 per cent urban women. This reflects previous findings on the acceptance of the traditional division of gender roles in rural areas in Colombia and elsewhere.¹⁴

In addition to gender and geography, age also played an important role in respondents' answers. In both rural and urban areas, older participants were more likely than younger participants to state that men and women should have different roles in society (for example, 64 per cent of respondents over the age of 65 answered positively to this question, compared to 47 per cent of respondents between the ages of 18 and 24 years old). These findings go hand-in-hand with past research that suggests that older individuals, especially in rural contexts, tend to endorse more traditional and conservative attitudes.¹⁵

Figure 2 shows a much larger gender difference in responses when respondents were asked about women needing the protection of men in order to survive. Again here, given that this relates to gender stereotypes of both men and women, findings based on this question have implications for reception of women and men ex-combatants in communities, as well as for the success of other peacebuilding processes.

Figure 2. Do you think women need the protection of men in order to survive? Answer: Yes



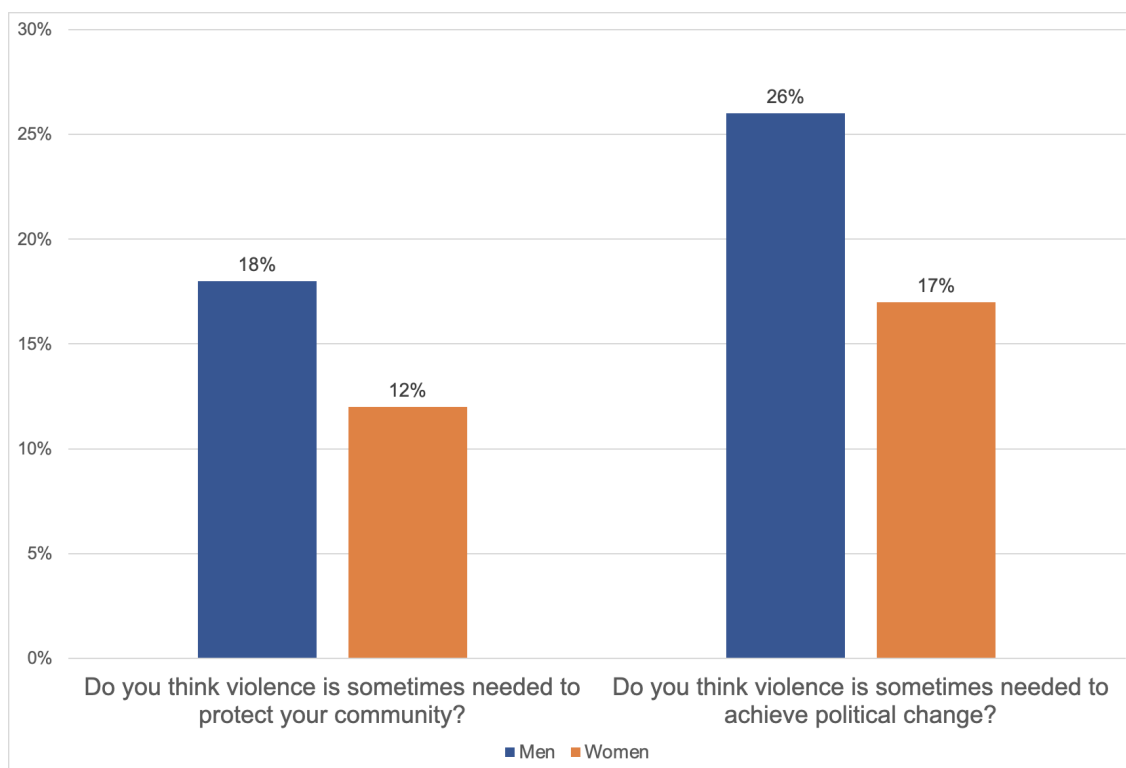
The municipality with the highest percentage of positive response for this question was Mutatá, where 60 per cent of men respondents and 35 per cent of women respondents answered positively. In contrast, in urban areas, the percentages found for this question were much lower: on average, 24 per cent of urban men and 8 per cent of urban women believed that women need to be protected by men. The capital city of Bogotá reported the lowest level of agreement with this idea, where 12 per cent of men respondents and 3 per cent of women respondents answered “Yes”. Again, these findings confirm the idea that rural populations tend to accept traditional gender roles and suggest that urban contexts – generally more demographically diverse and accepting of non-traditional gender roles – are more supportive of gender equality.¹⁶ Age again significantly influenced responses to this question, as older respondents were more likely to believe that women need the protection of men to survive.

These findings also confirm theories put forth by literature that suggests that women sometimes contribute to the normalization of sexist attitudes because they promise women a better alternative to what they currently have, including improved security.¹⁷ The data shows how women, especially women in rural areas where traditional gender roles are more entrenched, have internalized such attitudes, indicating a need for efforts to break down such beliefs to take a gender-responsive approach.

Gendered Attitudes Towards the Use of Violence

Given the importance of understanding attitudes towards violence as part of violence reduction efforts, the MEAC survey also aimed to contribute to a better understanding of gender differences in attitudes towards distinct forms of violence, namely violence for community protection and violence to achieve political change. This analysis aimed to explore the need for violence reduction efforts to distinguish between different types of violence and to take gender into account in their design.

Figure 3. Do you think violence is sometimes needed to protect your community / to achieve political change? Answer: Yes

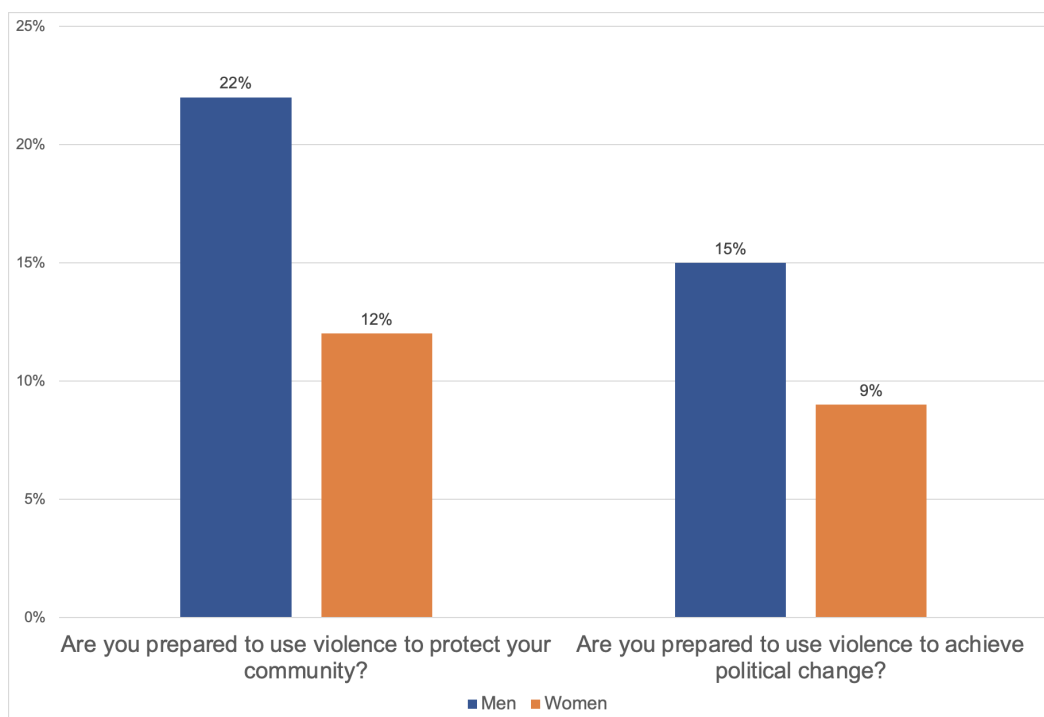


As shown in Figure 3, participants were overall more supportive of violence to achieve political change than violence to protect their community. This may reflect respondents' experiences of the normalized use of violence to achieve political change in the context of the conflict, as well as differing perceptions among respondents about whether violence is the best way to protect communities in the face of political and other violence.

Across both questions, men were more likely than women to think that violence is sometimes necessary. These findings support the theory that women are generally less supportive of violence than their men counterparts, which may have implications for the need for a gender-responsive approach to violence reduction, including support for women-led violence reduction initiatives and efforts that target men as being more supportive of violence.¹⁸ In addition, the MEAC findings contribute new evidence of a distinction between different types of violence, suggesting that these efforts should take a more nuanced approach to addressing different types of violence in targeted ways.

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Figure 4. Are you prepared to use violence to protect your community / to achieve political change? Answer: Yes.



The MEAC survey then asked respondents to think about their own willingness to use these types of violence – moving into a more “real” scenario in which respondents consider whether they would do something potentially illegal or dangerous. Similar to the findings in Figure 3, the data showed that men were more prepared than women to use violence both to protect their community and to achieve political change.¹⁹ However, the data revealed differences in respondents’ answers that could indicate that both men and women are more likely to engage in violence with a more personal or direct impact than they are in violence to pursue more abstract goals. With regard to violence to protect the community, men’s positive responses rose from 18 per cent to 22 per cent when asked if they would engage in such violence, while women’s stayed steady at 12 per cent. Meanwhile, when asked about political violence, 15 per cent of men respondents were willing to engage in this violence – down 11 percentage points from 26 per cent – while 9 per cent of women respondents were willing to engage in violence towards political goals – down from 17 per cent who thought such violence was necessary.

This suggests that, while most men respondents did not believe in theory that violence was necessary to protect their community, some could be convinced to participate in such violence when their community was under threat – and similarly, women were as willing to engage in protective violence as thought it was necessary. Meanwhile, the decrease in both groups’ rate of positive response when asked if they were willing to engage in political violence – set towards seemingly distant, not immediate, goals – suggests a “free rider problem” wherein individuals leave it to others to take the risk of engaging in violence on their behalf, knowing that they can still reap the benefits of the change resulting from the violence if those benefits materialize.²⁰ These findings may also indicate that some respondents were reluctant to admit willingness to use political violence in the context of a phone survey, or felt uneasy about the motivations behind the questions.

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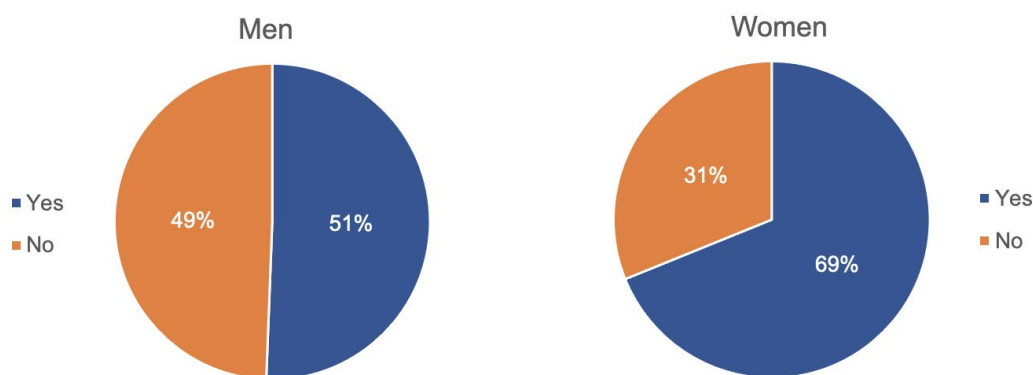
Throughout this data, respondents' age was correlated with their acceptance of and willingness to engage in violence, with young people most willing to engage in violence towards both protective and political ends. For example, 22 per cent of respondents of between ages 18 and 24 years old were willing to engage in violence to protect their communities, and 20 per cent of respondents in this age group were willing to engage in violence to achieve political objectives. This compares with 12 per cent of respondents of age 65 and older being willing to engage in violence to protect their communities, and 9 per cent of the same age group being willing to engage in violence to achieve political change. As age increased throughout the sample, willingness to engage in both types of violence decreased. These findings suggest that age influences individuals' acceptance and willingness to engage in these forms of violence; further research would be needed to ascertain whether this trend holds true for types of violence with other objectives and in other contexts.

Across the data represented in Figures 3 and 4, and unlike the data in Figures 1 and 2, there was little urban versus rural variation in responses, with the exception of Cali, where respondents were the most accepting of violence to both achieve political change and to protect their community, and were most willing to use violence towards these ends. It is important to note here that the MEAC survey ended in Cali on 4 May 2021, just as protests against tax reform and broader social inequalities were beginning across Colombia, particularly in Cali, but before they had become violent. Further analysis is needed to delve deeper into possible geographic variation that goes beyond a simple urban versus rural distinction.

Gendered Differences in Fear of Individuals Formerly Associated with Armed Groups

Finally, MEAC explored the gendered dimensions of reported fear towards formerly associated individuals.

Figure 5. Are you afraid of what people who were members of armed groups before might do in the future?



As shown in Figure 5, there are significant gender differences in the extent to which participants express fear towards ex-combatants' future actions. Approximately half of men respondents (51 per cent) versus 69 per cent of women respondents reported that they fear what ex-combatants might do in the future. In analyzing these responses, MEAC considered how different experiences of conflict might affect respondents' fear of ex-combatants, particularly victimization. However, the difference between women and men respondents' reporting of self-identification as victim was not large: 55 per cent of women and 51 per cent of men in the sample considered themselves victims of

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the conflict. Furthermore, regression analysis of the data in Figure 5 and self-identification as victim confirmed that victimization did have an effect on respondents' fear of ex-combatants, but that there was no difference between women and men in terms of this effect. Both women and men respondents who identified as victims were 18 per cent more likely to be fearful of ex-combatants than those who did not identify as victims. However, women respondents who did not identify as victims were also 18 per cent more likely than men respondents who did not identify as victims to hold this fear. In other words, women victim respondents were 36 per cent more likely than men non-victim respondents and 18 per cent more likely than both men victim respondents and women non-victim respondents to be fearful of what ex-combatants might do in the future. This finding suggests that there is something significant in addition to victimization that causes women to be more fearful of ex-combatants than men. Further research is needed to gain better understanding of the causes that underlie these differences between men and women's fear towards ex-combatants' future actions.

Policy and Programmatic Implications

The MEAC survey data suggests that gender stereotypes persist in the locations in which this survey was conducted, especially the rural municipalities. Furthermore, the findings confirm that men and women experience and think about conflict and violence differently, implying that efforts to resolve conflict, including through implementation of the peace agreement, require a gender-responsive approach.

Gender Roles and Stereotypes

Urban governments, which have more frequently taken efforts to address gender-based violence and empowerment of citizens, particularly women – likely reinforcing societal attitudes that support gender equality – could likely share lessons learned that would support similar efforts in the rural locations included in the survey. For example, the *Public Security Strategy for the Women of Medellín*, which began in 2008 and may still continue under a different title,²¹ successfully addressed gender-based violence in that city by providing legal and psychosocial support services to community members affected by gender-based violence, and in strengthening institutional capacity to address the issue through training and other means. This initiative highlighted the central role of the institutional strengthening process in "[improving] the quality of care provided to [victims of gender-based violence]".²² This concurs with MEAC's *Evolution of Inclusion* report,²³ which demonstrated the importance of strengthening gender provisions in the institutional architecture of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to achieve greater inclusion.

From a national perspective, the peace accord signed in 2016 between the Government and the FARC-EP included gender provisions throughout its six chapters. The agreement can be seen as a tool for dismantling gender stereotypes in both rural and urban areas highlighted by the MEAC data and thereby enabling gender equality. This is especially true with regard to elements such as the "promotion of vocational training for women in disciplines other than those traditionally occupied by women"²⁴ or the commitment to the construction of a citizenship that incorporates non-discriminatory values and respect for women's right to a life free of violence.²⁵ Continued implementation of the agreement is essential to advancing gender equality in rural areas.

Gendered Attitudes Towards the Use of Violence

The MEAC data shows that men and women have distinct perceptions of and willingness to engage in violence, both to protect their communities and to achieve political objectives. Efforts to reduce acceptance of the use of violence must involve women in all aspects, both within the population of those who accept violence and within the population who have already rejected this attitude. Community violence reduction efforts should include a gender-responsive approach – including through support of women-led violence reduction initiatives – as well as identifying the different types of violence to which community members are exposed so that efforts to overcome them are tailored appropriately. Such gender-responsive interventions should also address the MEAC findings on men’s attitudes towards violence, namely that men respondents more frequently believed violence was necessary to protect their communities and achieve political goals, and were more willing to engage in such violence. Efforts taken to break down gender stereotypes, as suggested in the previous section, should therefore take into account that some men may see their masculinity as being connected to the use of violence, implying a need to break down this part of the gender stereotype as part of violence reduction and conflict resolution.

Gendered Differences in Fear of Individuals Formerly Associated with Armed Groups

Reconciliation must take into account the diverse experiences of violence that may affect women’s and men’s fear and acceptance of ex-combatants and, therefore, their approach to reconciliation. The MEAC data show that women are more afraid of the actions of ex-combatants than men. Additionally, and according to the survey data, there is a relationship between victimization in the conflict and fear of what ex-combatants may do in the future, but even without taking victimization into account, women were more fearful than men. This indicates that gender-responsive measures to address reconciliation should again break with stereotypes and not assume that women are victims, but rather should take other factors and aspects of their experiences of conflict into account.

Some recent progress has been made in terms of experiences of dialogues involving women ex-combatants and other women in the same communities. A recent example is the *Encounters for Reconciliation and Coexistence*²⁶ dialogues held in 2020 in some rural areas of Cesar and La Guajira departments in the Caribbean region. These dialogues aimed to enable reconciliation through joint activities by ex-combatants and women from neighbouring communities that benefit their families and the communities in general. For example, the initiative *Coffee and peace: Encounter of women for reconciliation and coexistence*²⁷ involved multiple dialogues between women who saw income generation activities as a tool for reconciliation. The initiative resulted in the *Community Strategy with a Gender Approach*, which continues to be implemented in the nearby “Former Territorial Space for Training and Reincorporation” (“Antiguo Espacio Territorial de Capacitación y Reincorporación” or AETCR) today. Momentum on such initiatives must not be lost. Examples like these could provide the foundation for a comprehensive response to the challenges to reconciliation presented in this report, and the need to undertake relevant interventions in a way that recognizes gendered conflict impacts and experiences without treating women as victims, but rather recognizing other factors that affect their experiences and perceptions of conflict.

The peace agreement represents a significant step in incorporating international standards for gender equality into national peacebuilding efforts. It is essential that implementation of all the gender provisions in the agreement continue and accelerate. This will ensure that measures are

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taken to address the obstacles that women face in exercising their right to participation and reconciliation, and that structural inequalities are overcome in order to achieve inclusive peace.

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Annex 1: The Sample of Municipalities

The MEAC team selected the 11 municipalities included in this survey with the goal of exploring some of the ways that the conflict's impact has varied across urban and rural geographic locations and diverse ethnic groups, among other sub-populations, and based on information needs from key stakeholders working to advance peace in Colombia. The following table summarizes the criteria and characteristics that were taken into account in the selection of these municipalities.

Sample	Municipality	Department	Population ²⁸	Afro-Colombians ²⁹	Indigenous ³⁰	Urban/Rural ⁵	PDET ³¹	TATR ³²	Venezuelan migrants ³³	Referendum Vote ³⁴	Armed groups present ³⁵
203	Apartadó	Antioquia	121,003	42% ³⁶	1%	Rural	Yes	No	1,940	Yes	Clan del Golfo
188	San Vicente del Caguán	Caquetá	50,719	1%	0%	Rural	Yes	1	64	Yes	FARC dissident groups
203	Mutató	Antioquia	13,991	8%	15%	Rural	Yes	No	20	No	Clan del Golfo
207	Caldono	Cauca	39,946	0% ³⁷	75%	Rural	Yes	1	24	Yes	FARC dissident groups
207	San José del Guaviare	Guaviare	52,815	5%	6%	Rural	Yes	1	222	No	ELN; FARC dissident groups
201	Guapi	Cauca	27,616	98%	0%	Rural	Yes	No	No	Yes	ELN; FARC dissident groups
189	La Uribe	Meta	9,284	0% ³⁸	2%	Rural	Yes	No	48	Yes	FARC dissident groups
200	Puerto Asís	Putumayo	64,867	4%	4%	Urban	Yes	1	605	Yes	FARC dissident groups
205	Villavicencio	Meta	531,275	1%	0%	Urban	No	No	4,587	No	Clan del Golfo
327	Bogotá	Bogotá	7,412,566	2%	0%	Urban	No	No	357,000	Yes	Clan del Golfo; ELN
347	Cali	Valle del Cauca	2,227,642	20%	0%	Urban	No	No	63,696	Yes	ELN; Los Rastrojos

⁵ MEAC recognizes that many of these municipalities include large towns that could be considered “urban”, however, for ease of analysis we have categorized all municipalities as either urban or rural.

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¹ UN Security Council, "Resolution 1325, adopted by the Security Council at the 4213 meeting," United Nations, 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325.

² United Nations, "Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women," 27 October 1995.

³ Cristal Downing et al., *The Evolution of Inclusion: Three Decades of Policies and Programmes to Manage Exits from Armed Groups in Colombia* (New York: United Nations University, 2021).

⁴ Valerie Hudson, Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen. *The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021).

⁵ Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE). *Mujeres rurales en Colombia* (Bogotá: DANE, 2020) <https://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/notas-estadisticas/sep-2020-%20mujeres-rurales.pdf>.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Mary B. Harris and Kari C. Miller, "Gender and perceptions of gender," *Sex Roles*, 43 (2000); Jan L. Hitchcock, "Gender Differences in Risk Perception: Broadening the Contexts," *RISK: Health, Safety & Environment* 13, 1 (2002).

⁸ María de Fátima Flores-Palacios and Serena Serrano Oswald, "Social representations, gender and identity: Interactions and practices in a context of vulnerability," *Papers on Social Representations* 28:2 (2019); Mo Hume, "The myths of violence: Gender, conflict and community in el Salvador," *Latin American Perspectives* 35, 5 (2008).

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