FEMINIST HUMAN SECURITY: BROADENING THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE RESOLUTION 1325

PREFACE

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Writing the foreword to a publication as complete and exhaustive as Feminist Human Security: Broadening the Framework for the Interpretation of the Resolution 1325 is a difficult task because there is little to add to the reflection that feminism has been doing on notions of security that has not been included by its authors. Feminist Human Security: broadening the Framework of Interpretation of the Resolution 1325 is an outstanding contribution to the debates on feminist human security, but, above all, to the reflections on how to build a feminist peace that places women's lives and their daily experiences of violence at the centre. Rethinking the idea of security in a context of great insecurity for people and particularly for women, such as the one experienced in Colombia, is particularly important, since it is precisely the experiences of security and insecurity that must nourish any conceptual and intellectual debate in order for it to make sense and be useful.

In the 1990s, in the heat of the notion of human security promoted by the UNDP, the hegemonic idea of security began to be questioned, highlighting the importance of people and not states as the central axis of security policies. Since then, feminism has enriched and contributed nuances to this debate, which is still alive. Thus, the notion of human security made it possible to broaden the focus from considering the State and the defence of borders as the central axis of security to a multidimensional approach, which recognizes the complexity and multiplicity of sources of insecurity for people, including economic crises, poverty, lack of access to basic services, conflicts or natural disasters.

The debate on human security represented a crucial step in overcoming militaristic and reductionist notions of security, disconnected from the daily sources of insecurity for a significant number of people. However, the human security approach did not incorporate

a gender perspective, thus excluding those axes of insecurity related to gender inequalities and the patriarchal system. According to this vision, the subject of human security does not seem to be affected by the insecurity generated by a social system that excludes women and all those with non-normative gender and sexual identities, whose lives, however, are strongly marked by particular experiences of violence and insecurity.

Feminists have proposed going beyond the notion of human security to construct new approaches that do incorporate gender inequalities and do not approach subjects by universalizing them. At the same time, they have emphasized the idea that concepts such as vulnerability, interdependence and interrelation are fundamental to approach a new conception of security that does not reproduce patriarchal patterns or perceive human beings in an isolated and individualistic way, but always in relation to their environment and community, since networks of relationships and support are always sources of security.

Feminism, especially Anglo-Saxon academic feminism, has promoted debates and reflections that question notions of security, that do not take into account women's experiences. Thus, in the feminist debate on security, the incorporation of sources of insecurity linked to everyday experiences has become particularly important. However, the geographic space in which the debate takes place generates an important bias, since the Anglo-Saxon view of the global North also reproduces specific logics of power and exclusion that have ignored the contributions from other latitudes, that have not only enriched the debate, but have also highlighted dimensions relevant to the lives of many women. For this reason, the reflection proposed in this document is especially important, since it broadens the view of security from the perspective of Colombian feminism involved in peace building, thus breaking a hegemony in the production of knowledge with colonial biases.

Given the daily experience of insecurity experienced by millions of women in Latin America, and particularly in Colombia, the reflections promoted by women and feminist organizations, whose knowledge situated in the context makes it possible to convert intellectual reflection into transformative practice, are especially relevant. Furthermore, the conceptualization of femicide and the deepening of its analysis was initially a particularly notable Latin American contribution to the debates on security from the feminist perspective and other highly relevant debates are being promoted from the Colombian context. For example, the emphasis placed on the correlation between the militarization of everyday life and insecurity is a significant contribution, since militarism, as a "system of domination, imposes norms of behaviour and violent logics of conflict resolution"; for Colombian women, who for decades have suffered the violence of the armed conflict, has been a constant source of insecurity and suffering.

The articulation of the debate on security from a feminist perspective with the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, which emerged from UN Security Council Resolution 1325, represents another important challenge. This agenda has become an important peacebuilding tool for many women affected by violence in contexts of armed conflict, but at the same time, many feminist organizations have warned of its biases and limitations, as well as the need for the agendas of women's organizations themselves to propose and adjust public policies for peacebuilding, rather than external agendas that are not nec-

essarily connected to everyday local needs and aspirations, and which, on occasion, may obey the logic of neoliberal states. Thus, reflective work such as this document, prepared by LIMPAL Colombia, can help to put on the table the contributions of feminist women to debates dominated so far by hegemonic and patriarchal views.

Feminist human security: broadening the framework of interpretation of the Resolution 1325 is a valuable contribution of Colombian pacifist feminism to a debate that cannot be postponed and that will contribute to overcome notions of security that ignore the lives and experiences of women and that only perpetuate violence and exclusion. Human security from a feminist perspective is undoubtedly a tool for the construction of sustainable and lasting peace.

INTRODUCTION

The following document presents an analysis proposal on feminist human security based on reflections, interpretations, narratives and discourses that the organization LIMPAL Colombia has been developing on human security from a feminist perspective, situated in the experience of women in the context of Colombia.

Through these conceptual and analytical proposals, LIMPAL Colombia intends to deepen a concept of human security that contributes to the processes of capacity building, knowledge management and advocacy of LIMPAL Colombia and, at the same time, to collect methodologies of work, approach and approach that allow consolidating a political bet product of learning and developments that have contributed to the organization from a pacifist, transformative and antimilitarist feminism.

In this sense, we recognize the need to advance in the eradication of patriarchy and inequality as a unique path to peace and broad, diverse, comprehensive, integral, differentiated, feminist and anti-capitalist security, which overcomes the traditional notion of human security founded on the protection of citizenship, which legitimizes the processes of militarization and rearmament in societies (LIMPAL Colombia, 2019).

The production of knowledge that LIMPAL Colombia intends to position in the public arena seeks a methodological expression of the situation of women that allows revealing or unveiling -as Catharine MacKinnon puts it-, the "struggle for a world: for a sexuality, a history, a culture, a community, a form of power, an experience of the sacred" (MacKinnon, 1983) that responds to the particular experience of women.

On the other hand, this document aims to contribute to the exercise of conceptual reflec-

tion from a situated view of politics and politics for women in their diversity and particularly women human rights defenders, as actors of social transformation and protagonists of their own local and regional scenarios. These exercises can be replicable in the departments and municipalities in which LIMPAL Colombia is present and has an impact with its work.

This document also seeks to consolidate knowledge management for research, documentation, systematization of territorial processes and experiences, and the design of methodological and research guidelines in a participatory and inclusive manner. At the same time, it aims to provide women and women's organizations with theoretical-practical and conscious tools for overcoming gender inequality, while strengthening political approaches from a feminist perspective with regard to the security paradigm and the proposal of human security.

STATE OF THE ART: WOMEN, PEACE AND HUMAN SECURITY FROM A FEMINIST POINT OF VIEW

The idea of security has historically been a fundamental issue in the construction of societies. According to evidence, human beings have considered the need to establish a political pact, in the form of a social contract, in order to live democratically, at least from a philosophical point of view, in order to emerge from a state of barbarism.

Subsequently, human security has placed individuals and communities at the centre of attention and political agendas. Understood in this way, this concept includes "the protection of the individual and his or her empowerment (providing the means for self-development). Human security implies that people should live 'free from need' and 'free from fear'" (Rojas, 2012, p. 5). The above has implied a transformation of the concept and has also meant a certain openness to a deeper and more comprehensive dimension of security, since guaranteeing, realizing and recognizing human rights implies understanding the constant evolution of the conception of human security, based on processes of recognition of human diversity and the incorporation of situated approaches that allow the introduction of new frameworks of interpretation.

Likewise, the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (2011) in El enfoque de la seguridad humana desde tres estudios de caso provides us with a relevant reflection by conceiving human security as "the vital essence of all human lives", in a set of human rights referring to survival, livelihood and dignity.

> The Commission on Human Security, in its report La seguridad humana — Ahora, defines human security as follows:
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> [...] is to protect the vital essence of all human lives in a way that enhances hu-

man freedoms and the full realization of the human being. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms: freedoms that constitute the essence of life. It means protecting human beings against critical (severe) and pervasive (pervasive) situations and threats. It means using processes that are based on the strength and aspirations of the human being. It means the creation of political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together provide human beings with the cornerstones of survival, livelihood and dignity. (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2011, p 18).

Human security therefore links the three approaches:

- Freedom to live without fear

- Freedom to live without misery

- Freedom to live in dignity

In this section, we propose some starting elements that constitute a conceptual framework for peace and security in constant dissertation. To this end, we refer first of all the text that brings together various approaches from the report Inclusive Security: Women Waging Peace cannot vouch for the accuracy of this translation. (Naraghi, El-Bushra, & Sarah, 1996). These points are intended to reflect the current discussions on security, namely:

a) The change in security policies that shifts the focus and emphasis to human security. This shift implies challenges for the approach to security by authorities and governments, as it places human beings at the centre of the focus on security, while the current global security system works to favour state security over human security.

b) The transformation and approach to armed conflicts and peace, which are no longer focused on mediation efforts and formal agreements to put an end to conflict and permanent armed confrontation, but place greater emphasis on conflict transformation, replacing it with mechanisms and processes that allow a conscious listening to the other. This paradigm shift implies understanding that most of the armed conflicts that have ended in the world were not resolved on the battlefield, but went through negotiation tables where an effort of dialogue was made to restore trust and will between the parties (Naraghi, El-Bushra, & Sarah, 1996).

c) The standards that have been developed in humanitarian assistance, based on accountability and with a greater emphasis on the gender approach and the treatment of women during humanitarian emergencies (Naraghi, El-Bushra, & Sarah, 1996).

d) The inclusion of a gender perspective and a broad international normative framework of women's human rights in policies related to armed conflicts and

wars, all of which are established in declarations, international conventions and world women's conferences.

In this context, although security has meant keeping states free from external threats, in the 1990s and due to the end of the Cold War and the change in international biopolitics, the concept of security was progressively modified. Factors such as poverty, government corruption, drug trafficking, the deepening of an unsustainable development model and social inequality in Latin America and the world have been factors generating global instability.

These international realities, added to the growing demand to focus the discussion on people and not on markets and capital, that are also associated with war. This focus has allowed the entry of a new rhetoric related to human security, understood as:

> [...] an alternative way of looking at the world, taking the person as the point of reference, rather than focusing exclusively on the security of a territory or a government.

> A human security agenda must go beyond humanitarian action by addressing the sources of people's insecurity, so that building human security involves long-term humanitarian action as well as long-term strategies to build peace and promote sustainable development. (Naraghi, El-Bushra, & Sarah, 1996).

Threats may be environmental or social and include inequalities, discrimination, "natural disasters", impacts of a socially and economically unjust and unsustainable economic model, poverty and lack of opportunities. Human security complements the framework of rights by drawing attention to international humanitarian law in the context of armed conflict, environmental security and other issues. In regard to protection, the aim is to achieve respect for and recognition of the human rights of people in times of war and peace. Finally, by understanding security from a human perspective beyond the state conception, people are considered as agents with full capacities for agency and resilience, without neglecting the obligation of states to guarantee protection.

Thus, taking into consideration the impact of these strategies on women's lives contributes to the empowerment of their citizenship and decision-making, as well as to the recognition of their political agency. Therefore, insisting on the struggle for the eradication of all forms of violence against women contributes substantially to their autonomy and freedom.

On the other hand, changing the paradigm of transformation and mediation of armed conflicts and the achievement of peace has implied a more assertive understanding of these conflicts. This change of perspective has sought to give conflicts a creative and constructive treatment, not only from the establishment, but also from civil society as a peace builder and agent of transformation, particularly from the proposals that women have managed to develop individually and collectively from their own experiences, their own bodies and their territories.

In the words of Sanan Naraghi and other authors, "women participate as key people in

all activities related to conflict transformation"; women's groups and organizations often become involved in peacebuilding work as a result of their frustration with the implementation of official policies. Those women working as peace activists have defined their role in relation to transforming attitudes, practices, structures and competencies, to lay the foundation for the local and global changes required to achieve permanent peace. In their words:

> Women's peace activism addresses not only women's rights issues, but broader social goals such as equality, justice and reconciliation. Both are necessary elements in conflict transformation. (Naraghi, El-Bushra, & Sarah, 1996).

Conflict is an expression of social differences, interests, ideologies and ways of seeing and conceiving the world and societies. Therefore, its transformation requires structural changes where women, their voices and approaches have a place.

On the other hand, reflections on human security are related to the **humanitarian sphere,** based on four humanitarian principles that have been defined in the literature on inclusive security and peace, as criteria that must be taken into account to provide funding and attention in these frameworks:

1. Humanity means the centrality of saving human lives and alleviating suffering wherever it is found;

2. Impartiality means the implementation of actions solely on the basis of need, without discrimination between or within crisis-affected populations;

3. Neutrality means that humanitarian activity should not favour either side of an armed conflict, or other dispute, where such activity is exercised;

4. Independence means the autonomy of humanitarian objectives in contrast to political, military or other objectives that any actor may represent in the areas where humanitarian action is carried out. (Naraghi, 1996)

Each of these principles agreed upon by humanitarian agencies in the early 1990s was developed in response to the need to establish coordinated policies to ensure that humanitarian work was effective, appropriate and opportune for the people and communities that required it, without neglecting efforts or causing what is known today as action without harm.

Finally, the legal framework of women's human rights is fundamental in the recognition, guarantee and protection in the framework of peace and security. There are various international policy instruments, resolutions, conventions and commitments, derived from international human rights law to which Colombia has subscribed, and which are part of the constitutional block and which are questioned and nurtured through the perspective of human security.

Although congresses and meetings on the situation of women were held worldwide (the First World Conference on Women was held in Mexico in 1975), it was not until 1979 that a legal agreement on women's rights was established with worldwide recognition as the

CEDAW, which came into force in 1981: "This Convention signified the culmination of more than 30 years of work by the Legal and Social Commission on Women that followed up on the global situation of women and the promotion of their rights" (UNIFEM and Humanas, Regional Center for Human Rights and Gender Justice, 2006).

In addition, CEDAW established not only an international declaration of women's rights, but also a framework for action for member states to guarantee, protect and respect these rights.

For its part, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action set a benchmark in the international community's recognition of women's human rights and focused attention on twelve areas of concern:

1. Poverty
2. Inequalities and women's lack of access to education.
3. Inequalities and women's lack of access to health care.
4. Violence against women
5. The differentiated effects of armed conflicts
6. Inequality and lack of access to resources
7. Inequalities between men and women in decision making
8. Inadequate mechanisms for the promotion and advancement of women
9. Inadequate promotion of women's human rights
10. Gender stereotypes
11. Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources
12. Persistent discrimination and violations of the rights of girls

In this regard, it is important to remember that the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (United Nations, n.d.) is a consensus document endorsed by governments at the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in 1995. This Platform addressed issues related to women and armed conflict, pointing out the need to implement actions such as increasing women's participation in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protecting women living in situations of armed or other conflicts or under foreign occupation; reducing excessive military expenditures and limiting the availability of armaments; promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights violations in conflict situations; promote women's contribution to achieving a culture of peace; provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women and other displaced women in need of international protection, as well as internally displaced women, among others.

The conceptual framework of human security alone does not provide answers to women's security needs and demands. Only the exercise of an articulated reading with other elements of analysis and the referenced framework on security and peace allows for a comprehensive understanding of the causes of the conflict, its differentiated impacts on women's lives, war, insecurity and, therefore, gender inequality.

In a context such as the Colombian, talking about peace and security for women in their territories and regions has led not only to the establishment of public policy measures by

the state, but has also made visible the demands of women and their advocacy exercises for the implementation of concrete actions in the context of the armed conflict in the promotion of peace and security as part of their transformative political action. In this sense, Hunt (2011) states that:

> The concept of "inclusive security" is a diverse approach that emphasizes women's agency rather than their vulnerability. It is a notion that takes advantage of women's participation in social movements and women's organizations.

> An inclusive security approach broadens the range of tools available to police, military and diplomatic structures by recognizing and taking into account local peace-building efforts in the territories. (Hunt & Posa, 2001).

In this sense, human security becomes an umbrella that makes it possible to recognize the need to have and guarantee the basic conditions for the satisfaction of fundamental rights, especially to prevent and punish aggressions against women who are exposed to different forms of violence due to the existence of the armed conflict in the territories. Due to the lack of depth, this concept requires further definition and development in order to achieve efficient responses to the specific needs of individuals and, in particular, of women, taking as a precedent the diversity of their contexts of origin.

Having said that, the Agenda for Women, Peace and Security also seeks to transform gender stereotypes present in the conception of protection. It is intended to transform the idea that women are subject to protection -based on the constitutional point of view that considers women as subjects of special constitutional protection- and to state that protection must guarantee the active participation of women as legitimate political actors (Villellas Ariño, 2020).

These are, in short, some of the most important challenges regarding the implementation of this agenda. In this process, it is essential to incorporate the elements of the plane theoretical into material of security and from a feminist perspective into a perspective of analysis, that is valid and useful for the concrete challenges of implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda on the local ground. Although they have gained visibility in recent years, these new approaches and analyses of security are still excluded from decision-making spaces.

SECURITY AND FEMINIST HUMAN SECURITY WITHIN THE COLOMBIAN CONTEXT DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY IN THE COLOMBIAN CONTEXT

The dimensions of security in the Colombian context are intrinsically related to the body, the patriarchal order, the militarization and power relations from two spheres: the private and the public space.

In this reflection, the body is of particular importance: it is in the body where the events of life are imprinted; violence is exercised on women's bodies and is not conceived in a homogeneous way within the patriarchal order, due to the diversity of women who inhabit different racialized bodies historically excluded.

For several decades, the feminist movement has been interested in the meaning of militarization from different theoretical currents. Some approaches have come from pacifist and nonviolent currents, and others from the broad structure of the defence of human rights and peace studies. All of them have added to the analysis to understand how militarization is located at the core of the patriarchal structure of domination, which, together with other systems of oppression, make up the system that causes and supports inequalities.

In response to the mutations of patriarchy, the feminist agenda, in its intention to guarantee full rights for women in their diversity, has been strengthening its discourse on various issues, some of them associated with militarization, a central phenomenon in the daily lives of the inhabitants of countries affected by war and conflict.

> The militarization of life [...] constitutes the axis of domination over which women's bodies are controlled, because it legitimizes the use of force and violence to subju gate women in a relationship dependent on the patriarchal order. (Sánchez Gómez, 2008)

This patriarchal order or system is based on values such as virility and an androcentric vision that permeates all relationships, ties and social cohesion "around sexist discriminations generated by a desire to control the reproduction of the species" (Mujeres de Negro, 2013). Finally, power structures underlie the socio-patriarchal system that excludes women from political consensus, and thus contributes to multiple discriminations based on gender.

Regarding the public and private spheres of security, it is important to specify that:

> [...] it must be considered that the state can be an agent of security, but also of insecurity. And for many people, and many women, the state is not a guarantor of security. This demystification of the State, taking it out of the center of the analysis and considering it as a subject that generates insecurities, is also a very important challenge. Another relevant issue is the incorporation of the questioning of the division between public and private spaces. Hegemonic approaches analyse security in the public sphere, but not in the private sphere. And we know that the private sphere is a very unsafe space for women, where the main threats to the integrity of women and girls occur. And yet the private space is not analysed from the traditional security prism (Villellas Ariño, 2020).

This same need to transgress the logic of traditional security permeates the Latin American region, where there are incipient efforts such as "the UNCRD-LAC initiative for its reach, follow-up and level of concreteness it has achieved; however, it is little known in the region. Other initiatives that have made an effort to conceptualize human security from the region, such as the UNESCO-FLACSO initiative, have not had sustained follow-up over time. The diversity of conceptions of human security that can be deduced from national and, mainly, academic initiatives is also striking. In this context, human security can be a methodology, a series of principles or guidelines that are not always clearly deduced. In this sense, there is a need for greater conceptual clarity, reflection and, above all, application of the concept of human security" (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights / United Nations Development Program, 2011).

Another issue that constructs a human security discourse based on the particular experience of women has to do with paying attention to the actual inclusion of a gender approach to human security. When the topic is addressed in different academic spaces, research, reports and policies about people-centered human security, it ends up being a gender-neutral approach.

> This approach is often biased against women, as it assumes that men's experiences are the norm. Therefore, given the absence of an explicit discussion around gender inequalities, the assumption that the people-centered approach automatically includes a gender perspective, sounds rather empty. However, it is much easier to raise issues of gender equality and women's empowerment if the discussion is people-centered rather than state-centered. It is hard to ask "where are the women?" if the emphasis is on the states. (June Zeitlin, 2004)

Another issue to be considered has to do with the idea of the body as a political subject that is a bearer of rights seen from various dimensions. In this regard, Virginia Vargas, a renowned Peruvian feminist, describes the argumentation around these political categories:

1) the "body-territory" provided by indigenous women's movements in their struggle against extractivism and as an expression of a way of life in harmony between women's bodies and the cosmos-nature;
2) the centrality of the struggle against racism placed by Afro-Latin-Caribbean feminists, thus showing how racism is still rooted in societies, politics and history, and its expression also in the sexual body;
3) the resignification of gender presented by the bodies of transvestites/transsexuals, as well as the resignification of public space through the appropriation of the street as a place for the construction of identities and political struggle. These irruptions provide another sex-political cartography of resistance by claiming the resignification of the words with which their bodies have been denigrated: machonas, maricas, mariconas. They are forms of resistance around the complex body.

The body thus becomes a territory of power. On the one hand, it acquires voice and political vindication, but it also provides a physical space and a real medium on which to denounce misogyny, the abuses of military dictatorships, gender violence and femicide (Segato, 2014). On the other hand, this same body is dramatically exposed to the exploitation of capital, racism, femicide, destruction and death. The body is today, also, the receptacle of what Rita herself calls the "pedagogy of cruelty" (Leyva Solano & Icaza, 2019).

Human security in the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement

Women are the most legitimate actors in the territories of Colombia for the construction of peace and the demand for the Havana Peace Agreement. According to the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, the peace process has made some progress in the short and medium term. However, there has been stagnation in the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement, especially as of the government of Iván Duque. Likewise, an alert has been generated regarding the situation of social leaders, as well as security guarantees. For its part, point 2 on political participation maintains the state of motionless implementation between 2019 and 2020.

According to the fifth report of the Kroc Institute that shows the state of implementation in the period between December 2019 and November 2020, entitled El Acuerdo Final de Colombia en tiempos del COVID-19: apropiación institucional y ciudadana como clave de la implementación (Colombia's Final Agreement in times of COVID-19: institutional and citizen ownership as key to implementation), efforts have been directed to counteract the persistence of insecurity, threats, selective assassinations, attacks on people in the process of reincorporation, increases in homicides of social and environmental leaders, among others. Likewise, the pandemic caused by COVID-19 led to mobility restrictions

and an increase in armed confrontations, and, simultaneously, revealed specific problems for women, such as conditions of inequality, feminization of poverty and vulnerability, and an increase in gender-based violence against women. In the midst of these phenomena, the resilience and resistance of the communities also became visible.

> Regarding the implementation levels of the 578 provisions of the Final Agreement, the report notes that the provisions fully, such as intermediately implemented, increased by two percentage points during 2020. At the cut-off date of the report, 28% of the provisions were fully implemented, in contrast to 26% in 2019. 18% of provisions were at an intermediate level of progress, i.e. on track to be completed on schedule, in contrast to the previous reporting period when they were at 16 %. Another 35% of the provisions remain at minimum status in this period, meaning that commitments have simply been initiated. The implementation of the remaining 19% of the provisions has not been started, decreasing by five percentage points compared to the previous period, when 24% of the provisions have not yet been started. (Peace Agreements Matrix Barometer Initiative; Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2021).

The report highlights that in 2020 the actors at the national and municipal levels incorporated commitments of the Final Agreement in their municipal and departmental development plans, especially in the PDET regions. Likewise, it highlights efforts and progress in the provisions for the implementation of gender and ethnic approaches, in particular, to continue strengthening the special ethnic and gender instances created in the Final Agreement. However, they have not advanced at the expected pace. This is what the report states:

> As of November 2020, of the 130 provisions that make up the gender sub-matrix, 10% were completed, 14% were at intermediate status, another 46% were at minimum level, and 30% had not yet begun implementation. The progress recorded in the reporting period is due to the fulfilment of some measures of the PMI gender indicators for Point 1, progress under Point 6, as well as progress in specific programs, such as the Ministry of the Interior's political leadership schools. The report highlights the work of the Presidential Advisory Office for Women's Equity (CPEM) and the Presidential Advisory Office for Stabilization and Consolidation (CPEC) in providing technical support to the 18 entities responsible for the 51 PMI gender indicators.

> Regarding the inclusion of the gender approach to guarantee the participation of women and LGBTI persons in the SIVJRNR, the efforts of the Unit for the Search for Missing Persons (UBPD), to incorporate the gender approach in its mandate, were of particular importance. For example, this entity deployed strategies for the socialization of the Guidelines for Differential and Gender Approaches for the search of persons reported missing (Matriz de Acuerdos de Paz Iniciativa Barómetro; Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2021).

Taking into account all of the above, it can be determined that human security has been

especially affected in the scenario of transition and implementation of the Final Agreement, with persistent aggressions, threats and assassinations of social leaders. Therefore, guaranteeing the security of ethnic community leaders, both for the ethnic approach and the gender approach, is one of the main challenges, which is why it is proposed to include a collective approach to protection and security.

In this regard, the Séptimo informe de verificación de la implementación del enfoque de género en el Acuerdo Final de Paz en Colombia (Seventh Verification Report on the implementation of the gender approach in the Final Peace Agreement in Colombia), prepared by the Technical Secretariat of the International Verification Component CINEP/PPP CERAC, describes the current status of the Security Guarantees for the exercise of the policy (Final Agreement point 2.1.2), showing as results that, basically, in point 2, there is little progress in the implementation of the security guarantees for the exercise of the policy. In this regard, the report states:

> [...] there is concern about the lack of effectiveness of the measures and programs implemented by the National Government, as well as the scarce operability that the Government has given to the spaces created by the Final Agreement, especially the functioning of the High Instance of the SISEP and the National Commission of Security Guarantees. The Government convened the High Instance of the SISEP on July 8, 2019, and adopted some decisions associated with the gender approach. However, no progress has been recorded for the fulfilment of the functions established for it by the Final Agreement and Law 895 of 2017. (CINEP/PPP-CERAC, 2020).

Given the above, territorial security becomes a condition for the sustainable transformation of municipalities and departments. Likewise, there is evidence of inequitable access to land and an absence of disaggregated figures for LGBTI beneficiaries; likewise, there is an absence of gender protocols for PNIS. Regarding the gender approach, it is suggested to implement the comprehensive program of guarantees for women leaders and human rights defenders, especially Afro-Colombian and indigenous women or women belonging to rural communities. In this regard, the SJP has the opportunity to consider opening a macro-case on sexual violence related to the conflict and gender-based violence. Finally, point 1 considers the importance to prioritize the implementation of PDET initiatives. Point 1 and point 5 achieved the greatest progress in terms of provisions that began their implementation. In general terms, during these four years of implementation (2017-2020), there are still gaps and partial progress in each of the points of the Final Agreement.

On the other hand, despite threats, aggressions and harassment to women's social organizations, women resist and continue working for the defence of their rights and develop community reconciliation actions, as demonstrated by multiple women's initiatives in the territories. In this regard, the report on gender in the Final Peace Agreement, which is the special follow-up report on the gender approach prepared by the Matrix of Peace Agreements Barometer Initiative and the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies of 2020, points out some key points that should be taken into account in the state of implementation, regarding the gender approach and the issue that concerns us, namely: human security with a feminist vision.

Therefore, it is pertinent to mention the opportunities to support the implementation of the gender approach with regard to the guarantees of security and protection with this approach introduced in the aforementioned report:

> It is essential to guarantee the effective participation of women at all levels of decision-making in the organs created for the protection, prevention and non-repetition of violence against women leaders and human rights defenders. The meaningful participation of women and civil society in the National Commission for Security Guarantees is a key measure to advance in the development of public policy and criminal measures for the dismantling of any organization or conduct that endangers the peace-building process. Progress in individual and collective security and protection measures that respond to the local needs of the territories can only be achieved through the meaningful participation of local organizations, as the example of the Montes de María shows. (Matrix of Peace Agreements Barometer Initiative, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2020).

Regarding the reincorporation of women in the context of transformative peacebuilding, the report emphasizes the need for government entities to manage sufficient budgets and resources to implement social and economic reintegration measures that take into account the needs of ex-combatants and their families, especially to materialize the 18 actions of CONPES 3931 at the national and local levels. These warnings coincide with the feelings of the Farianas and ex-combatant women, who face challenges that are not recognized by the reintegration programs. Their experiences and the psychological trauma they have suffered are not addressed and the support provided to them responds to gender stereotypes and limits economic empowerment by providing skills development only in traditionally female spheres.

The Ex-combat-women demand access to full citizenship for those who lay down their arms. In this sense, society must allow and favor any life project that female ex-combatants wish to live. The structural conditions must exist for any life choice to be possible.

Regarding point 5, which focuses on victims, it is appreciated that the SIVJRNR has developed working groups and a commission for the development of methodologies with a gender approach. Therefore, the participation of women is vital in the recognition of sexual and gender-based violence, in addition to victims from the LGBTI community.

Resolution 1325/2000: its implementation and monitoring in Colombia

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, Women, Peace and Security, recognized the differential and disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and girls. This instrument underscores the situations of insecurity experienced by women as civilians in these contexts. Therefore, the prevention, protection and security of girls and women from a gender perspective is crucial to prevent conflicts and guarantee peace, reaffirming that the protection needs of this population are different and must be treated in a special

way to ensure the full exercise of their human rights, specifically with regard to their political participation and access to justice.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security is perhaps the most forceful commitment that the international community has made on this issue, as it marks a milestone in women's human rights, peace and security. This instrument is the first in international law that demands the parts of conflicts to respect women's rights. It further places value on women's equal participation in peacebuilding, but also in negotiation for the termination and prevention of conflicts. Benavente (2016) explains the role of the Resolution as such:

> Its importance lies in its recognition of the differential and disproportionate impact that war and armed conflict have on women, and underscores the importance of women's contribution to conflict resolution and prevention and to sustainable peace at all stages of peacebuilding, peace-making and peacekeeping.

> This resolution calls for increasing the participation of women at all levels of decision-making in conflict prevention and resolution and in peacebuilding processes; protecting the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts, fully implementing the provisions of international humanitarian and human rights law; mainstreaming a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations; and preventing violence against women and girls, especially sexual and gender-based violence (Benavente, 2016).

The report A 20 años de la resolución 1325, las organizaciones de mujeres revisan su implementación en Colombia durante 2019, showed how to understand that protection for women implies revisiting the view of security in relation to the installation of militarized discourses that seek to promote the idea anchored in weapons as a solution to disputes; in the words of the report:

> [...] when we approach the logics of war, we find significant differences in the concrete ways in which women have been affected. The patriarchal rationale that generates and legitimizes female subordination operates implacably against them. The logic of war, in which patriarchal culture finds its most violent expression in militarism, only deepens the control and domination over women's lives and bodies, restricting their freedom and autonomy, and it does so in the scenarios of the armed conflict itself, as well as in all spaces where women live, relate and mobilize. (Colombia Diversa et al., 2020).

Already for several years, the implementation and monitoring of Resolution 1325 and the pronouncements of the Security Council have highlighted the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and has been emphatic in pointing out the need for greater representation of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes; also, the importance of considering women, not only as victims of war, but also as agents of transformation to ensure and maintain peace in all phases required (prevention, reconstruction, stabilization of conflicts) has been highlighted (Powell, 2017).

However, after the international and national debates promoted by the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, of which the Resolution 1325 is head of, it cannot be said that a structural change in the way in which security is understood, removing traditional logics, has taken place to date. According to some authors, these debates have had other results, such as:

> The use of women's rights is instrumental and fails to provide a comprehensive analysis of security from a gender perspective, thus losing part of the transformative character with which the agenda was conceived by civil society in its origins. The Women, Peace and Security Agenda refers primarily to conflict and post-conflict situations, but does not address the insecurity suffered by women in contexts of violence that are not considered armed conflicts according to classic definitions. Thus, they leave numerous situations of serious insecurity for women out of focus. This is especially important in the context of Latin America. (Urrutia Arestizábal; Villellas Ariño and Villellas Ariño, 2020).

Within this framework, from the multiple interpretations of feminisms, progress has been made in proposals that make it possible to reread and construct a new sense of security, on the one hand, and, on the other, of human security, which not only places people at the centre of the analysis, but also considers the gender, women's rights and intersectional approach, and provides answers to the problems to guarantee life in conditions of dignity.

In this path of proposals built on the basis of feminist knowledge and practice, several aspects related to the urgency of understanding security, not only as a global problem, but also as a local and regional issue, have been revealed. In addition, the active role of the State and its military apparatus in providing insecure contexts for women has been highlighted. In the midst of this discussion, there are also reflections from feminisms that, regarding the false sexual division between the public and the private, recall the relevance of a view of human security that interpellates the violence committed against women in the patriarchal scenario of the private sphere; the latter is often left outside the responsibility of the State and is erroneously attributed with statements such as "the safest place".

Understanding human security from a feminist perspective is therefore a stake to replace the old paradigms of security that ignore people's diversities, oppressions and multiple inequalities, while omitting the fact that these phenomena have affected women in a particular way, even in the name of peace. The analysis from these approaches questions, of course, the narrative around the neutrality of state responses and draws attention to structural inequalities and the overcoming of gaps to guarantee the rights of people with higher levels of subordination, exclusion and oppression.

Women, militarization and security in Colombia

So, reflecting on these interpretations, practices, narratives and discourses on human security from a feminist perspective, situated in the experience of women and in the con

text of the country, implies, in fact, recognizing the conceptual structure that associates security with militarization. The latter is understood as:

> The process by which the military establishment influences and participates in a society, politics, the economy and education. Militarization is, therefore, the process by which militarism is promoted and expanded, as well as an indispensable mechanism to naturalize violence in societies where it is present. (Calvo Rufanges, 2016, p. 14).

Thus, militarism is conceived as the ideology that sustains the processes of militarization of societies, with political, economic and social impact and that justifies the military way and, therefore, the use of armed force when facing a conflict, both nationally and internationally. This definition implies a high level of warmongering, being defined as "the ideology of the use of armed violence" (Calvo Rufanges, 2016, p. 14), but it also complements and gives rise to one of the clearest expressions of hegemonic masculinity.

In Colombia, militarism is equated with the notion of security and, therefore, is intrinsically related to the exacerbation of the concept of heroism in society. Militarizing life implies positioning weapons and the use of force and violence as vital tools for the proper functioning of society, creating barriers between people and exacerbating the figure of authority. Protection at all costs by the authority figure represents the construction of the identity dichotomy of them versus us, i.e., those who deserve to be protected and those who must be protected from the internal enemy. This identity segmentation places women in the most vulnerable links in the face of these expressions of masculinity that are violence and militarization.

In Colombia, after the signing of the Peace Agreement, some aspects can be identified that allow for further reflection on this relationship with militarization:

1. Construction of cultural resistance to develop a new narrative and a diverse story that overcomes the militarization of life and attends to community values from the voices and experiences of women. The paradigm shift from the culture of war to a pacifist and transformative vision of human security that addresses the common good; and with a gender approach, has been gradual, due to the transformation of the conflict towards paramilitary dynamics, organized crime, and social inequality, which affects the conditions of welfare and security that can forge the capacities of women in their territories.

2. Difficulties and obstacles to demand security measures from the State, with a gender, intersectional, ethnic and territorial approach that overcome the patriarchal order of security and defence. This patriarchal order has focused on the militarization of life (evidenced by the increase of military and public forces in the communities) and remains despite the signing of the Final Peace Agreement. The culture of war still exists in everyday life and positions the imaginary of the enemy and armed violence as the pattern to unblock conflicts.

3. Challenges and opportunities to reach a feminist human security dimension that embraces the idea of the political body of women, on the one hand, centred on their voices, struggles, demands and needs, and on the other, understanding the body as the first territory that also receives the logic of war in its rivers, jungles, mountains, plains and landscapes, and also being a territory on which the logic of war and extractivism is imposed.

4. The perception placed by female ex-combatants and peace signatories, especially farianas, that machismo in Colombia cannot be understood without the armed conflict. Gender-based violence, therefore, intensifies in environments of armed conflict and after the signing of the Final Peace Agreement.

In addition, the pandemic caused by COVID-19 has generated an exogenous shock that has affected women's security. This global scenario, coupled with the failure to implement the Peace Agreement, has exacerbated inequity, inequality, the feminization of poverty and, recently, the lack of guarantees to exercise the right to social protest in all territories of Colombia.

All these factors have converged in the social outbreak of the National Strike in Colombia since April 28, 2021 - a phenomenon that has left more than 3700 victims of police violence, according to the organization Temblores ONG - and has reconfigured ways of life and the approach to security in Colombia. In this scenario, the lack of guarantees to exercise the right to protest has had a differential impact on women, as well as differentiated affectations of the government's response. According to the recent report presented to the IACHR during its visit to Colombia between June 8 and 10, 2021, it can be established that:

> It is within the framework of the various forms of participation that women have suffered different forms of sexual violence (SV) and other gender-based violence (GBV) by the security forces. The security forces have used these forms of violence as part of the violent repression of protest, thus incurring in human rights violations and reaffirming such violence as a way to impede the effective enjoyment of women's rights, especially the right to take part in the public and political life of the country, to free expression and association, and to live a life free of violence. (Casa de la Mujer; Comunitar - Corporación de Mujeres Ecofeministas; Corporación Humanas; Corporación Jurídica Libertad; Defender la Libertad Asunto de Todas; Fundación Comité de Solidaridad con los Presos Políticos; Proceso Social de Garantías para la Lab, 2021)

In this context, women have played important roles in the social protests of the National Strike 2021, as demonstrators in the protests and leaders: new political leadership has emerged from various professions and trades, such as health professionals, lawyers, social workers, journalists, artists, muralists, mothers Primera Línea, among others; in addition, they have organized in sit-ins, vigils, community cooking, defence of human rights, etc., actions that have emerged from women with a deep political and vindictive sense. For this reason, it is possible to affirm that the aggressions against women by the public

forces have a discriminatory sense by punishing women for occupying the public space and for exercising their political rights.

In the face of these phenomena, the aforementioned report prepared by the IACHR states that:

La Campaña Defender la Libertad registered 491 women as victims of police violence and 29 cases of GBV, which include different forms of SV, between April 28 and June 2. In turn, according to Temblores ONG, as of May 31, 2021, 25 victims of SV and 6 victims of GBV were registered. For its part, according to records of the Ombudsman's Office, up to May 21, 2021, 106 cases of GBV against women and people with diverse sexual orientation and gender identity were reported in the framework of the protests of the National Strike, in a total of 19 departments of the country. Of these 106 cases, 23 correspond to acts of sexual violence.

Thus, there are risks of injury, such as physical aggressions during demonstrations, and other risks related to women's sexuality and gender, such as illegal detentions that increase the risk of sexual and gender-based violence. Despite the fact that the public security forces try to disguise sexual violence in the context of protests, cases of gender-based aggression can be interpreted as a form of punishment for exercising the right to protest and for taking to the streets, i.e., for occupying public space. Therefore, there are rights and freedoms limited by the pandemic, to which the violations of rights produced in the framework of the National Strike in Colombia are added and which affect the notion of human security from a feminist perspective.

In this context of social convulsion that is taking place in Colombia in the midst of a precariously implemented Peace Agreement and structures of structural inequality that are deepened by the pandemic crisis, the role of women as peace builders and transgressors of the dynamics of war is compromised. This happens not only because of the reduction of their guarantees of participation, but also because, in terms of human security, both their rights and their dignity are attacked by the armed actors that are active in the territory and that keep them in precarious situations.

Instruments such as Resolution 1325 and, ultimately, the Women, Peace and Security Agenda - a proposal from global feminist movements to the United Nations to establish a position and promote the recognition of women's roles in peace-building and the impact of wars on their lives and bodies - should be understood as instruments that make it possible to position these premises at multiple levels, without removing the emancipatory nature of feminist proposals that strengthen feminist governance and advances in the removal of the macrostructures of domination. These instruments must reinforce the idea of women as subjects constructed from the diversities that cross them, thus moving away from the homogenization of subjectivities. At this point, the great challenge is that, from this emancipatory power that recalls the autonomy of women in their diversities, the Women, Peace and Security Agenda does not become an agenda used in the framework of electoral processes to gain political advantage and manipulate the electorate or electoral opinion at the national and international levels.

These reflections on women, peace and security should not situate this political subject in the role of victims, but rather advocates for its emancipation coming from an active place: a place that questions the paradigms of security that the patriarchal perspective has created with regards to what women are supposed to need to feel safe. Also, a place that questions the very centrality of human beings in the agenda of human security from the pretended neutrality of the subject, that forgets the historical inequalities and violence that have impacted the construction of citizenship for women. This constructed place is the same one that opposes the naturalized conception of femininity, associated with passivity and vulnerability, and the violence suffered by women through men, as mothers, wives, and daughters. In this sense, proposing a rigorous analysis of the empowered subject, who builds peace from being a woman in an unequal, violent and militarized society, undoubtedly demands a more inclusive, more recognizing and legitimized global and national response, both in the discourse and in the practice of security and peace.

REFLECTIONS FROM ANTIMILITARIST FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON HUMAN SECURITY: THE POLITICAL STAKE OF LIMPAL IN COLOMBIA

Feminism is the struggle and the political proposal of life of any woman anywhere in the world, at any stage of history, who has rebelled against the patriarchy that oppresses her.

Julieta Paredes

The structures of patriarchal domination that have historically subordinated women have been configured in conjunction with power matrices such as militarism. Feminisms have been responsible for dismantling these structures through critical thinking and social mobilization, pointing out and disrupting the molecular and macro-structural patriarchal practices that violate women's lives. With this in mind, feminisms have been built from different vertices that reaffirm the multidimensional diversity of women with an intersectional approach that aims to unveil the oppressions from reasons of gender, race, class, sexuality, among others.

Without losing sight of intersectionality, feminisms are concerned with identifying and deconfiguring the colonialist practices and matrices that have hierarchized racialized and feminized bodies in Latin American societies. From there, we recognize that one of the most potent edges is militarism and proceed to identify how this matrix of power has not only traversed Latin American societies in their socio-political composition, but has also deeply constrained women's existence. Therefore, an antimilitarist feminism becomes absolutely necessary from an intersectional intention to analyse, understand, criticize and dismantle the militarized structures that ultimately end up making the lives of Latin American women precarious.

In the Colombian context, militarism has been further exacerbated through police violence, war and the use of weapons. From this, the need arises to amplify feminist voices that evoke antimilitarism as an alternative. From there, the journey towards antimilitarist feminism is hastened, passing through systems of oppression, militarized masculinity and antimilitarism in praxis as a thought and movement that accompanies, complements, and makes effective Latin American intersectional feminism.

This understanding of antimilitarist feminism, from which the political commitment of LIMPAL Colombia[1] is structured, has allowed us to generate our own reflections on the paths that have already been travelled by other feminists who, coming from the point of emancipation, have dreamed of worlds without war and where the armed paradigm ceases to be the support on which inequalities are deliberately naturalized and even furtherly deepened. Breaking the triad militarism - militarization - security and, with it, the interaction of security with systems of oppression -that are classist, racist and heteronormative- are the stakes of antimilitarist feminism of the Colombian section of LIMPAL.

Building a feminist human security discourse from an antimilitarist perspective involves recognizing community political action, through the **body, space, time, movement and memory** around the historical struggles of women in every corner of the planet. In this regard, Julieta Paredes, a thinker of community feminism, affirms that:

> Our **bodies** are the place where power relations will want to mark us for life, but our bodies are also the place of freedom and not of repression.
>
> Our bodies, in its other attributes, have an individual and collective existence at the same time, and they develop in three spheres: everyday life, our own biography and the history of our peoples.
>
> Our bodies in communities and societies build images of themselves that are projected socially, politically and culturally. (Paredes, 2014)

Space, on the other hand, is a vital field for the development of the body. In the words of Julieta Paredes:

> Space encloses the tangible, meaning that it can be touched, and the intangible, meaning that it exists but cannot be touched, such as, for example, political space or cultural space, as well as the space where political decisions are embraced, imag-

ined, created and developed. Space also comprises landscape and geography as a context that envelops women's days and nights. (Paredes, 2014)

Regarding **time,** the author states that:

> Time refers to giving value to everyday life as a cyclical movement for the care and dignity of women's work. Movement makes it possible to build a social body, a common body that fights for the good life. Memory refers to those vital rooted links that build identity and agency and that make women and their community processes unique. (Paredes, 2014)

The above elements of analysis, centred on the body, time, movement, memory and spatial aspects, call for a citizenship that is generated from the community; hence, the discussion on human security is enriched by the voices and interests of women and should include a feminist, plural, discourse from and for everybody, that embraces the diversity of women and the struggles for their rights.

On the other hand, militarism as a system of domination, imposes norms of behaviour and violent logics of conflict resolution. Supported by the armed conflict, militarism in Colombia built imaginaries, but also ways of life in the populations it directly and indirectly affected. Therefore, people who have been exposed to this practical-symbolic exercise of militarization will be able to account for the effects it has on women. Being placed in the most vulnerable link, women lose flexibility in their political agency in a significant way, which translates into the difficulty of escaping from such scenarios where weapons, violence and hypermasculinity are the essential pillars of the institutions.

From this approach, the idea of focusing human security on removing the inequalities that have placed women in places of oppression and vulnerability is transgressive. Thus, the feminist approach to human security consists of incorporating a gender focus on what human security means for women, taking into account the situated, spatial and racialized differences experienced by women and girls in their territories, as well as promoting and strengthening the debate on violence against women as a security issue and recognizing them as actors and protagonists of their own local and regional scenarios, capable of permeating the politics of life and care.

Of course, this antimilitarist approach to security and in particular to human security seeks to eradicate the normalized practices of protection of bodies and territories, based on weapons. Both militarism and militarization are appropriate for the positioning of warlike solutions to armed and socio-political violence in countries such as Colombia, which are characterized as militaristic societies, where militarization becomes applicable, so that all processes related to war can be carried out with the support and legitimization of all people. Militarization occurs when something or someone is instrumentalized to ensure the security of society against "diffuse and imagined enemies" or when something or someone is instrumentalized to become a symbol of masculine expression or masculinized citizenship, since all this requires control by violent means that can only occur under militarized conditions (Enloe, 2000, p. 4).

We propose a human security that questions the daily life of militarization and militarisms, going through the critical reflection of military budgets and the impacts of these budgets used to buy, build and promote the culture of war in the lives of women and societies; in other words, we propose a new paradigm that recognizes the coloniality of the old approaches, allowing the implementation of emancipatory, decolonial and transgressive political stakes.

We recognize that a rhetorical exercise of security built on the basis of patriarchal sexual binarism will not transform the experiences of women and girls in their environments and spatialities. Thus, June Zeitlin (2004) states that:

> women's empowerment and gender equality are central to human security. Unless human security approaches are used to improve the situation of women in their families and communities, they will become just another lofty idea that will not translate into action. (June Zeitlin, 2004)

To avoid this phenomenon, we consider it pertinent to promote the respect and effective realization of human rights, to make visible all the dimensions of justice for women as well, and to consider human security as a tool for new models of life, care and defence of the common good, overcoming the patriarchal logic based on male domination as a paradigm of order, control and legitimacy. Therefore, this proposal seeks to promote a transformative approach that incorporates the particular experience of women, that recognizes the multiple and diverse identities of the female subject in her diversities and that legitimizes the notion of women's political body.

Undoubtedly, this is an interesting and hopeful challenge that allows us to put on the stage and in the public debate the body as a political category and, at the same time, the political body of which women are made, their experiences, feelings and aspirations, which lead to citizenship free of fear, violence and war. For this reason, we consider it pertinent to enunciate an excerpt from this manifesto:

> Feminists affirm that our bodies are produced and transformed by the social relations in which we are immersed. Thus, in capitalist-neoliberal, colonial, patriarchal, heteronormative and racist societies, where relations of domination and exploitation prevail, our bodies are affected by these relations that reveal the traces of exploitation, subordination, repression and discrimination [...]. Women's bodies - bearers of rights - have become a "disputed territory". We allude to this when we state that "the body is a political category", in which feminist discourse is embodied [...]. In the struggles for the defence of democracy and the expansion of rights, feminists have always given our contribution from our understanding of the body as a political category, but we have not always done so from a critical and intersectional intercultural perspective: that is the challenge we face at the present time. (XIII Eflac 2014: no p. no.) (Leyva Solano & Icaza, 2019).

In this sense, we promote a feminist vision and conception of human security that involves:

A. The imperative need to propose new paths for the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

B. Possible and assertive strategies to eradicate patriarchy and inequality as a condition for peace (inclusive and transdisciplinary pedagogies).

C. A broad, diverse, integral, differentiated, feminist, racialized, intercultural, anti-capitalist and intersectional conception of security that has as its axis of analysis the body as a political category.

D. The transformation of stereotypes about human security expectations centred on people with neutral content, where women and their needs have no place. On the contrary, it is necessary to give them and their historical struggles of resistance and dignity a voice. People-centred human security does not necessarily imply a gender-sensitive approach to human security.

E. Overcoming the traditional notion of human security based on the protection of citizenship, which legitimizes the processes of militarization and rearmament in societies. Furthermore, in Colombia it is especially important to overcome the paramilitary thinking that is deeply rooted in society as a failed response to the resolution of social conflicts, in order to give way to a dignifying narrative of the country.

F. The need to incorporate the voices of women, who experience multiple oppressions, into the debates.

In this line, LIMPAL's political stake is oriented towards the vindication of a feminist conception of human security, which recovers and defends the body territory (cuerpo territorio) of women, as a transversal element in the demand and defence of their rights. These struggles are also linked to a body territory and to a reflection on development models based on capitalist patriarchy, racism and exclusion of difference, understanding that "recovering and defending the body also implies consciously provoking the dismantling of the male pacts with which we live, it implies questioning and provoking the dismantling of our female bodies for their freedom" (Cabnal & ACSUR, 2010).

It is also relevant to recognize that war and militarization are a patriarchal construction, led by men, and that they have a differential impact on women and girls. Therefore, speaking of human security from a feminist perspective implies relating it to the right to a life free of violence, questioning male domination and the patriarchal order in women's lives. In other words, "violence materializes in one of the most totalitarian forms: the growing militarization of society and life. The mobilization and exhibition of the power of weapons shows par excellence the totalitarian character of violence" (Sánchez Gómez, 2008).

Living in a society under the lethargy of militaristic dynamics that ignore the progress that Colombia has made with the signing of the Final Peace Agreement, as well as normalizing

these dynamics, has a notorious impact on the high levels of social inequality in Colombia and on the culture of hatred that materially annihilates those who think differently, and on the other hand, whose only way to resolve conflicts is through weapons and stigmatization.

Although we recognize that the notion of feminist human security is constantly evolving and under construction, and that it is nourished by the situated experiences of women, their struggles and resistance, we understand that the human security approach and the feminist security approach are complementary, not contradictory. Undoubtedly, the conception of human security must appropriate more of the gender perspective to enrich its reflections on what insecurity is, where it is constructed and how it affects the population in a more specific way, fleeing from a universalist view that leaves out important perspectives (Villellas Ariño, 2020).

Ultimately, no human security objective can be achieved without taking into account the security interests of both women and men. It is essential that the discussion on human security continues to focus on people, women and men, as an alternative to the military-based security of the state that has generated so many conflicts around the world (June Zeitlin, 2004).

From this approach we consider a human security that, coming from feminist conceptions, claims its integral character, which means, a character that incorporates a psychoemotional and mental health component that allows strengthening leaderships and healing them in order to change patterns and imaginaries in relation to women. Therefore, the role of women as peace builders and human rights defenders will be strengthened and it will become evident that they are essential subjects in the transformation of these security paradigms.

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