



## The endurance of women's mobilization during "patriarchal backlash": a case from Colombia's reconfiguring armed conflict

Julia Margaret Zulver (she/her/hers)

To cite this article: Julia Margaret Zulver (she/her/hers) (2021): The endurance of women's mobilization during "patriarchal backlash": a case from Colombia's reconfiguring armed conflict, International Feminist Journal of Politics, DOI: [10.1080/14616742.2021.1901061](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2021.1901061)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2021.1901061>



Published online: 29 Mar 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



# The endurance of women's mobilization during "patriarchal backlash": a case from Colombia's reconfiguring armed conflict

Julia Margaret Zulver (she/her/hers) 

Latin American Centre, Oxford, UK

## ABSTRACT

Despite the signing of a peace accord between the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and the Government of Colombia in 2016, it is increasingly apparent that the country's armed conflict is reconfiguring rather than abating. This is evident in the widespread targeting of social leaders with threats, violence, and death. This article focuses on the Alianza de Mujeres Tejedoras de Vida, an association of women in Putumayo who mobilized for peace and women's rights during Colombia's armed conflict. Since 2018, however, they have been specifically targeted by armed groups for their activism and support of the peace process. This has led to increased – and gendered – acts of violence against them. This article frames the violence that they currently face as an example of what Berry refers to as "patriarchal backlash," a reaction to the gains that women make in their communities during war that threaten men's hegemonic control. I argue that while the resurgence of violence represents a limitation to women's mobilization, it is not insurmountable. Indeed, the Alianza's ongoing mobilization can be understood as a function of the repertoires of action developed during previous moments of conflict. This article contributes to wider conversations about the durability of women's mobilization beyond the permeable bounds of a conflict/post-conflict binary.

**KEYWORDS** Women's activism; Colombia; patriarchal backlash; repertoires of action; women social leaders

## Introduction

They do not want people to be organized, so who do they threaten? The leader. We women are organized, we have *fuera* [force], there are many of us ... so they know that when they hurt one of us, they hurt all of us ... and we will create the scandal of the century! ... "United women are very dangerous," they say. (Fátima, September 11, 2019)<sup>1</sup>

Fátima belongs to the Alianza de Mujeres Tejedoras de Vida del Putumayo, the Women's Alliance of Putumayo: Weavers of Life (the Alianza). This

**CONTACT** Julia Margaret Zulver  [julia.zulver@area.ox.ac.uk](mailto:julia.zulver@area.ox.ac.uk)  Latin American Centre, 62 Woodstock Road, Oxford, OX2 6JF, UK

© 2021 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

coalition of women's grassroots associations based in southern Colombia mobilized during some of the most violent days of the country's armed conflict. It has played a significant role in creating the social fabric ever since. Despite the signing of a peace accord between the Government of Colombia and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), in 2016, it is increasingly apparent that the country's armed conflict is reconfiguring rather than abating. As noted in the above quotation, violence has returned to the department of Putumayo in the form of "patriarchal backlash" (Berry 2017, 834). Despite the real risks that women face, the Alianza continues its collective action.

Berry's (2017, 2018) work on Rwanda and Bosnia discusses the unexpected opportunities that war can bring for women. However, her work also reflects on how "patriarchal backlash" can limit women's mobilization in post-conflict settings (Berry 2017, 834). In this article, I explore this assertion by documenting the ways in which women in Putumayo resist this "revitalization of patriarchy" (Berry 2017, 844) through ongoing mobilization despite facing increased – and gendered – violence. This mobilization does not exist in a vacuum; members of the Alianza are able to draw on past repertoires learned and refined during previous permutations of conflict in order to resist contemporary violence.

This article uses the case of the Alianza to further document and nuance the understanding of what "patriarchal backlash" looks like in practice and to examine the ways in which women resist attempts to undermine the gains made during times of conflict. It contributes to a wider conversation about the durability of women's mobilization and the ways in which we demarcate conflict and post-conflict moments more broadly.

In Colombia, human rights defenders report record numbers of attacks and assassinations; the think tank Instituto de Estudio para el Desarrollo y la Paz (INDEPAZ) estimates that over 1,000 social leaders have been killed since 2016 (INDEPAZ 2020). The United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders wrote about Colombia that "women defenders face differentiated risks and disproportionate effects that are exacerbated according to the rights they defend... and, in a common way to all of them, their belonging to a population victimized by the war" (Forst 2018, 21). As Fátima noted in the quotation above, the peace process is breaking down, and this means setbacks and retributive violence for those who supported it.

In this sense, Cockburn (2004, 39) was right in saying that "sometimes the postwar period is better called interbellum, a pause before fighting begins again." On the continuum that she describes, violence intersects moments of pre-conflict, conflict, peacemaking, and reconstruction (Cockburn 2004, 43). Violence has returned to the department of Putumayo, and this has particular repercussions for women's mobilization. My interviewees were clear

that they are being targeted for their activism. As one woman noted, “women are being targeted because we have *fuera* and that is the biggest threat we pose. ... [T]hey don’t want leaders; they want complete social control” (interview, November 18, 2018).

The case of the Alianza illustrates a broader phenomenon: women who mobilized during conflict and post-conflict moments now find themselves facing new scenarios of violence. Beyond the Colombian context, there are important implications for the UN Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. Promoting a top-down, external emphasis on women’s representation (including as peacebuilders) and political presence without dismantling broader structures of violence can, in fact, expose women to new forms of harm. In countries like Colombia, Afghanistan, and Myanmar, to name but a few, it is clear that not having a context-specific understanding of the advancement of women’s rights has negative implications; international actors, policy makers, and academics might, in fact, be essentializing women’s so-called peaceful nature without contemplating the wider ethical implications of doing so.

## War as liminal for women

This article begins with the idea that violence is gendered; this serves as an explanation for both the violent experiences of the Alianza and the way in which we understand “patriarchal backlash.” In her work on gendered violence, Cockburn (2004, 35–36) notes that “men and women die different deaths and are tortured and abused in different ways in wars, both because of physical differences between the sexes and because of the different meanings culturally ascribed to the male and female body.” While this suggests that violence is about who *experiences* violence (and how this is gendered), my understanding also encompasses who *commits* violence (and how this is gendered). In this article, I therefore also consider how war facilitates expressions of militarized masculinity and, later, “patriarchal backlash.”

In *War, Women, and Power*, Berry (2018) examines the gains that women can make through periods of war and violence. This is a function of shifting opportunities for women to participate in public and political life: “women engaged in a ‘politics of practice’ that shifted their everyday activities” (Berry 2017, 178). In this sense, war is “liminal” for women, insofar as “structural changes interact with women’s resilience, strength, and agency” (Berry 2017, 178). For example, Berry shows that in Rwanda, women were able to enter politics in significant numbers due to government legislation that supported gender equality. In Bosnia, women were able to enter civil society, gaining powerful positions and roles. She notes that the breakdown of different power structures as a result of war can lead to women entering new spheres, thus permitting their mobilization.

Others also write about women's changing opportunities for mobilization and participation during and in the aftermath of war. Wood (2008) discusses the multiple ways in which gender roles are transformed during civil war. This often includes a radical reshaping of patriarchal networks as women take on unprecedented roles (as combatants and interlocutors with authority and through the adoption of new forms of work). Viterna's (2013) study of women's micro-mobilization during the civil war in El Salvador documents the ways in which they were able to enter the formal political sphere in the aftermath. Tripp (2015) looks at women's political gains in Africa following conflict and explains how these unexpected consequences emerged, in part, as a result of the gender disruptions of war. Zulver (2018), Kreft (2019), and Sandvik (2018) point to the development by women of transformational repertoires of action as a function of their experiences with ongoing violence in Colombia. Unfortunately, as Cockburn (2004, 41) notes, "the space that momentarily opens up for change [after war] is not often used to secure genuine and lasting gender transformation."

The question that presents itself becomes whether there are limits to the endurance of women's post-conflict gains. Some scholars suggest that a key limiting factor on women's agency to mobilize in the aftermath of conflict is heightened intimate partner violence (IPV). There is evidence that incidences of domestic violence increase after conflict (Pankhurst 2007). This "must be understood in relation to the acute and prolonged stressors of war, loss, and displacement" (Zannettino 2012). Berry (2017, 844) documents the ways in which "increased availability of weapons, heightened alcoholism and drug use, and the celebration of militarized masculinity during periods of armed conflict" served to limit the gains that women made during periods of conflict in Rwanda and Bosnia (see also Asimovic Akyol 2019).

Berry (2017, 2018) points to a further – and profound – limitation on women's ability to mobilize in the aftermath of conflict: "patriarchal backlash." For her, this term refers to a post-war "revitalization of patriarchy as a reaction to gains women make in their homes and communities during war, which threaten men's hegemonic control" (Berry 2017, 844). Her research identifies aggressive behavior (physical, verbal, and emotional) as a direct way to "undermine women's ability to consolidate their postwar gains and continue mobilizing in their communities" (Berry 2017, 845). This was also a finding in Cockburn's work on post-war patriarchy in Bosnia-Herzegovina: men came home from the war to find widespread unemployment, which meant that they could not "fulfil the role to which they [were] accustomed in the family," and therefore resorted to aggression (Cockburn 2013a, 31; see also Wright (2020) for an interesting discussion of the lack of a masculinities perspective in the WPS agenda).

These dynamics are also identifiable in the Colombian case, where we see increased incidents of gendered violence against women leaders and human rights defenders in the context of the implementation of a peace process. Rettberg (2020, 2) describes this context as an “unfinished social contract” in which “the state is still perceived as being highly illegitimate in relation to rising expectations of the population.” The UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders noted in his report on Colombia that “the attacks have also taken the form of stigmatization, in which degrading stereotypes are used ... [including] questions about non-compliance with traditionally assigned gender roles, and devaluations of [women’s] contributions to social change” (Forst 2018, 22). Restrepo Sanín (2020) shows how this “patriarchal backlash” extends to women’s participation in politics, including against progressive policies (see Berry, Bouka, and Muthoni Kamuru 2020, where the authors discuss this issue in the Kenyan context).

This article’s contribution, therefore, is to provide a nuanced reading of this “revitalization of patriarchy” in the southern Colombian case and unpack how it plays out in terms of limiting women’s mobilization. Berry’s work does not delve into how women do or do not resist the “patriarchal backlash” that she outlines in her case studies. What happens when women whose experiences of conflict gave them new mobilizational capacities are targeted for these gains? How limiting are the constraints on their mobilization efforts?

Before continuing, it is important to note that I do not categorize all violent acts against women as being purely patriarchal attempts to limit the mobilizational gains of the armed conflict period. It is clear that non-state armed groups are killing and targeting a variety of social leaders, not only women (see Prem et al. 2018). Moreover, the dynamics of narcotrafficking continue to complicate security around the country. However, the pursuit of gender justice that characterizes the collective actions of the Alianza presents an affront to the hegemonic control pursued by armed groups in the region. As mentioned in the introduction, women are specifically targeted because of their *fuerza* and the threat that this poses.

This article focuses on the enduring resistance of women to gendered violence, including in the form of “patriarchal backlash.” Hume and Wilding (2019, 15) tell us that, in order to assess women’s ability to resist violence, we need to contextually situate their agency or passivity not as binary categories, but rather as decisions related to where they sit in the “violent landscape of agency [and] what it means to act within a violent world.” Sandvik (2018, 8) points to the ways in which political organizing can be a response to gendered violence, proposing that women’s mobilization should be “scrutinized for what it can tell us about how collective feminist political subjectivities are construed through gendered violence as a mobilising factor.” Kreft (2019, 222), researching in Colombia, theorizes that women mobilize

in response to the threat that conflict-related sexual violence poses to them as women, in part to attempt to change socio-political conditions.

There is here a double transgression of gender norms: women disrupted the hegemonic dynamics of patriarchal order during a time of conflict and are unwilling to relinquish these gains during the hyper-violent attempts by armed non-state actors to regain social control. The double transgression puts women in Putumayo at risk of threats, stalking, disappearances, physical violence, and even femicide. Despite this, they persist.

## Methods

This article is based on qualitative research conducted in different parts of the department of Putumayo during two research trips (in November 2018 and September 2019), as well as supplementary research conducted in Bogotá. I conducted 12 in-depth interviews with women who are members of local organizations that constitute the Alianza in the towns of El Tigre, La Dorada, La Hormiga, and Mocoa. I deliberately kept interviews semi-structured so that participants could discuss issues that they felt were relevant to themes of women's historical and contemporary activism. This also allowed me to avoid potential revictimization through discussions of past trauma (see Liamputtong 2007; Wolfe 2017). In addition, I interviewed a local human rights ombudsman, a social worker, international humanitarian workers, and academics. For the safety of participants, pseudonyms have been used, except in the case of well-known leaders whose names are publicly available.<sup>2</sup>

I spent time driving around the region with a community leader who wanted to show me various sites of memory for the Alianza. She explained the history of the region and its violent past by taking me to places where massacres had occurred and to cemeteries where women are buried, and by showing me murals memorializing women killed during the conflict. Much of the historical testimony included in this article comes from the thorough reports prepared by the Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, the National Center for Historical Memory (CNMH 2011, 2012). Finally, I spent time at the Alianza headquarters in Mocoa, where I sat in on meetings and spoke with both leaders and rank-and-file members of the Alianza.

My positionality as a researcher from the Global North impacts the power dynamics that I have with participants. Sachseder (2020, 175) notes of her research in Colombia with similar participants that such relationships are "exposed to multiple problematic influences and colonial power dynamics." In the case of the researcher-participant relationship in my project, these power differentials related to socio-economic status, ethnicity, and race, among others. While acknowledging these imbalances, I was able to establish a relationship of trust with participants. This was as a result of having

engaged in feminist research concerning Colombia for over five years and being embedded in the country's broader women's rights community (including having a number of friends, contacts, and allies in common with my interviewees). Much of my knowledge of the Colombian context draws on years of semi-ethnographic research with women's organizations in other parts of the country (see Zulver 2018).

## The case of Putumayo, Colombia

### *A hyper-masculinized history of conflict in Putumayo*

Putumayo is one of the country's largest producers of coca, used to make cocaine. Historically, this has meant that a variety of armed non-state groups have vied for this territory and the resultant control of the illicit economies (see CNMH 2012; Tate 2015; Idler 2019). For the local population, the "militarization of daily life" meant that "residents were forced to navigate extreme violence" (Tate 2017, 167). For much of the 1990s, the FARC maintained dominance. This led to a dynamic whereby ordinary residents were categorized as guerrilla sympathizers, ignoring the experiences of *campesinos*, Indigenous groups, and migrants who tried to resist and negotiate with "the promoters of violence" (Cancinace López 2014, 67). By the end of the decade, the paramilitaries of the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), moved violently into Bajo Putumayo, fighting the FARC and using "terror, threats, anxiety, fear, confinement, armed combat, stigma, torture, sexual violence, and imposed social order" to control the local population (CNMH 2012, 18). These conflict dynamics were complicated by the complicity of the armed forces with the brutal violence of the paramilitaries (see Tate 2015).

A feminist reading of Colombia's armed conflict brings to light a number of gendered power dynamics that cross-cut both historical and contemporary dynamics of violence. This is certainly the case in Putumayo, where a brutal legacy of hyper-masculinized conflict has resulted in egregious levels of violence against women and girls. Here I draw on the concept of militarized masculinity summarized by Theidon (2009, 5) as "that fusion of certain practices and images of maleness with the use of weapons, the exercise of violence, and the performativity of an aggressive and frequently misogynist masculinity." I use this as a way of framing the hegemonic gender relations that have characterized Putumayo throughout Colombia's armed conflict.

Importantly, the intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, geography, and (dis)ability further influence the ways in which individuals are targeted for violence (see CNMH 2015; Marciales Montenegro 2015; Acosta et al. 2018). The Alianza is a diverse organization, and there is a longstanding legacy in Colombia that associates places traditionally defined as "black



and Indian” – such as Putumayo – with “disorder, backwardness, and danger” (Appelbaum 2003, 4; see also Taussig 1984). Most of the women in the Alianza are *campesinas*, which, as mentioned, results in their being categorized as guerrilla sympathizers and isolates them from state institutions and access to justice (FIP 2017). While not a central focus of this article, it is important to note that these intersecting identities influence women’s exposure to violence, as well as their ability to protect or extract themselves from violence.<sup>3</sup> For example, moving to Mocoa (the departmental capital) is one way to decrease exposure to violence, but this requires resources that are not available to most rural women living in Bajo Putumayo.

The dynamics of violence that women suffered during the paramilitary incursion in the late 1990s and early 2000s<sup>4</sup> illustrate that conflict in Putumayo was gendered; perpetrators enacted militarized masculinity against women’s bodies (see CNMH 2015).<sup>5</sup> For example, Sandra took me to see a memory mural that features a teenaged girl sitting cross-legged in a blue and pink dress. She is sewing the head back onto a doll. The accompanying text tells the tragic story of how the girl – María Quintero Gualpaz – was killed by paramilitaries in 2001, but not before they had perpetrated brutally violent acts against her and the fetus that she was carrying.

Indeed, during this time, armed actors used women’s bodies to achieve territorial domination. The CNMH documents accounts of depravities such as public rapes, sexual slavery, sexualized violence, and femicide during the period between 1999 and 2006 when the AUC demobilized. During this time, women’s bodies “became vehicles for [sending] terrorizing messages to the population” (CNMH 2012). Women were tortured and killed in front of their neighbors and loved ones, in some cases because of accusations that they were sympathizers or members of the FARC or had had sexual relations with FARC rebels (CNMH 2012, 167). Some women were punished in order to harm their male relatives; by publicly sexually violating a woman, the paramilitaries sent a message of heteronormative “superiority and domination” to her partner, “dishonoring and humiliating the man who was unable to protect the woman” (CNMH 2012, 168). Other women’s bodies “became objects of desire and control by paramilitaries” (CNMH 2012, 173). Some of the women to whom I spoke during fieldwork told me about the multiple children in the community who were born of paramilitary rape and the ways in which this continues to affect the social fabric today (see Theidon 2015; Sanchez Parra 2018).

### ***“We are all there like little spiders”***

During this period of violent conflict, women in Putumayo began to organize and engage in collective action. Fátima Muriel is one of the founders of the Alianza. Formerly an educator, she traveled around the department for her

work. In 1999, she began to see “horrible scenes” that led her to start referring to the situation as “a war” (interview, November 19, 2018). Over time, she and her colleagues “began to see that there were organizations of women all over and we thought we should bring them together so we could have just one united approach. This is how we began to organize” (interview, November 19, 2018). Out of the uniting of these “small, fragile, but significant networks of small-town activists,” the Alianza was born in the early 2000s (Tate 2015, 205; see also Villareal and Ríos 2006). Today, the Alianza brings together 137 constituent women’s associations from around the department (Redacción Colombia 2020 2019).

Sandra recounted her memories of the formation of the Alianza, framing it largely in terms of feeling that the state had abandoned women (or was complicit with paramilitaries):

During the armed conflict, they murdered or disappeared women and nobody said anything on their behalf, in all the department. Women started to get together, to engage in protests, to go into the streets. “What is happening with our women? Help us to find them!” There were so many women who were disappeared, who were murdered. “Do something for us!” They would go out with pots and pans, to the mayors, to the police, the government. This is how they started. And this is what we do – when something happens, we are all there like little spiders, building a web. Every day there are more of us. (interview, November 18, 2018)

Members of the Alianza have also participated in activism internationally. Tate (2015, 2017) outlines the multiple ways in which the group focused on forging transnational alliances during the 2000s. They were later present for the negotiations between the Government of Colombia and the FARC in Havana. There they spoke to the gender sub-commission about how the peace process could effectively take a gendered approach to women’s lived realities in a post-conflict era. As a function of this experience, the Alianza decided to train 65 women as “Mediators of Peace.” This was a diploma project that allowed women to go back to their communities and replicate what they learned, fostering new expressions of social capital. “What we want is reconciliation. The women here are very scarred; they carry pain,” Fátima explained. “Without the truth, they are never going to be able to forgive” (interview, November 19, 2018).

### ***The Alianza and “patriarchal backlash”***

Berry presents “patriarchal backlash” as a significant impediment to women maintaining the mobilizational opportunities gained during conflict situations. Given the historically gendered dynamics of violence in Putumayo – in terms of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and pervasive expressions of militarized masculinity – it is perhaps not surprising that

there is evidence of Colombia experiencing a similar “revitalization of patriarchy” in the post-accord era. This is reflected in the types of violence (including femicide, disappearances, stalking, and direct threats) faced by members of the Alianza in response to the gains that they made during a previous period of conflict.

To be clear, the reconfiguration of Colombia’s armed conflict in the aftermath of the peace deal is a multi-faceted phenomenon and one that should be characterized as existing on a spectrum of conflict. Indeed, Maher and Thomson (2018, 2) talk about Colombia’s “precarious peace” and interrogate the “spoiler potential” of the country’s new and recycled right-wing paramilitary groups. On his visit to Colombia in late 2018, the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders noted how this reconfiguration of security dynamics impacts women specifically: “They are also exposed to gender-specific violations, including gender-based violence, both within their community and organizations and by external actors. ... I received moving testimonies of women being threatened with attacks against their children” (Forst 2018, 9). He goes on to note that “in recent years, assassinations, torture, sexual violence, and threats against women defenders have increased alarmingly.” He highlights how this produces “profound physical and psychological damage, generates humiliation and intimidation, and implies a violent denial of their construction as political subjects” (Forst 2018, 22).

Putumayo has seen increased violence for women since the demobilization of the FARC. By April 2019, for example, the Alianza had identified 13 cases of femicide and ten cases of forced disappearance in the department, which they saw as attempts to silence those advancing women’s rights in the region (Tejedoras de Vida 2019a). A Colombian academic remarked that “Putumayo is an emblematic department of women’s mobilization, they rendered visible what happened [during the conflict], and they lobbied hard for peace. This mobilization strengthened the women, but it also exposed them” (interview, September 16, 2019). She pointed to another source of retributory violence: some women spoke out and served as witnesses in judicial processes against paramilitary actors who are now getting out of jail and returning to the territories. Added to this is the dynamic of narcotrafficking where women who support crop substitution programs, who publicly call on armed groups to stop recruiting their children, or who openly support the demobilization efforts of the FARC are at further risk of targeted violence. Prem et al. (2018) disaggregate killings of social leaders and note that Indigenous, campesino, Afro, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) leaders feature heavily in these statistics. This would suggest that those women in the Alianza with multiple identities face differentiated risks of violence in the Putumayo context. A local government employee explained the situation clearly:

Women's groups are the strongest [organizations] in the region, and they are punished as an example to others. They have liaised with the [state] institutions, and they were the first civil society group to really speak up during the peace. They were the biggest and strongest [group] to take advantage of the political opportunity [presented by the Peace Process], ... which means they were allied with the state, so they became a target. (interview, September 11, 2019)

Put simply, "the women of the Alianza are incentivizing others to mobilize, so there is a need for them to be stopped" (interview, September 11, 2019).

If we read these statements in conjunction with the above-described dynamics of "militarized masculinity" in Colombia – and in Putumayo in particular – there is an argument to be made that this violence is not only gendered insofar as it reflects particular power dynamics and the ways in which men and women "die different deaths" (Cockburn 2013a). It is also representative of a "revitalization of patriarchy." Indeed, the Rapporteur's mention of the denial of women defenders as political subjects echoes a key concern for the Alianza. In a communication on their website after a female political candidate was murdered in February, the group stated that "[t]his event highlights the persecution on the basis of gender that is carried out against women leaders in the region, and that seeks to intimidate and silence those who seek the advancement of women's rights in the region" (Alianza 2019a).

The violence that women activists in Putumayo currently face can be seen as an example of Berry's "patriarchal backlash." It is a gendered response to and rejection of women's empowerment and the obstacle that this empowerment represents to groups newly gaining social control. In her work on women's mobilization in Venezuela, Friedman (2000, 6) shows that political opportunity structures are deeply gendered and "reflect the social meanings attributed to sexual difference." This is particularly notable in periods following (unfinished) transitions to peace. In Putumayo, the opportunities for women's mobilization are both shaped and limited by gendered power relations. Women are targeted for daring to question the logics of militarized masculinity and for standing up against "patriarchal backlash." The remainder of this article documents the Alianza's contemporary mobilizational strategies and the violence that the group faces as a result.

## **The Alianza and gendered acts of violence**

### ***Alianza actions***

The Alianza's website sets out three lines of action: (1) women, human rights, and peacebuilding, (2) women and political participation, and (3) women and socio-economic development. Their stated mission is to "empower women and their organizations ... with the goal of recovering the social fabric that

was affected by the armed conflict and social violence, and to build a Putumayo with gender equality and peace” (Alianza 2019b).

Among their actions is a campaign against SGBV, both conflict and post-conflict related. Women are taught how to register claims with state institutions and are also provided with psychosocial support. The group also focuses on commemorating the gendered violence of the past through a series of “truth walls,” murals painted in public spaces around the department. Fátima said: “We think there have been around 1,000 women killed here in Putumayo. We are putting their names on truth walls” (interview, November 19, 2018). Finally, they are starting projects for women’s economic empowerment. These include building cooperative stores in both rural and urban areas that serve as “a way to come together as a group, not as individuals. To build confidence and trust after everything we have lived [through] – to create one voice, to be united, to weave peace in our territories” (interview, November 18, 2018). They continue to hold workshops throughout the department in which they teach participants about women’s rights and victim’s rights, offer spaces for collective healing, and strategize about how to make demands on local- and national-level government.

### ***Gendered consequences***

However, as Sandra observed, these actions have consequences:

Around two years ago, the groups started forming here [again]. When they were talking about the peace accords, many people arrived in the rural areas. The Frente 48 of the FARC handed in their arms, but others who didn’t demobilize were forming. They called themselves guerrillas or paramilitaries, but we still don’t really know who. What is happening? Threats, stalking us. (interview, November 18, 2018)

Sandra went on to describe her own experience with targeted violence. A few months prior to the interview, a group of unknown men showed up at her house and asked to leave a “bag of things” with her for safekeeping. Sandra was afraid, so she contacted her *compañeras* in the Alianza and went to sleep at the house of one of its members. When she came back the next day, the men returned, threatening her and her daughters: “They told me: ‘You come with us, or you have to leave this territory – this place is going to light up with violence [*volver candela*]’” (interview, November 18, 2018).

In addition to threats of sexual violence to women and their daughters, the rate of femicide in the department is steadily increasing, as noted above. Women from the Alianza have been threatened, attacked, and forcibly disappeared. The treasurer of one of the member associations, Deyanira Guerrero Tovar, was disappeared in 2018 in El Placer and has not been

heard of since (interview, November 19, 2018). I asked Sandra why the Alianza – and her work with them – are specifically targeted by the armed non-state groups. She responded:

They want to take Putumayo back. They say that they are stronger than us women. The advocacy [*incidencia*] of women has been very strong; we always fight for women's rights. They don't want leaders. They want to take back social order and govern these territories. (interview, November 18, 2018)

Yesica, who is part of an organization that belongs to the Alianza, also expressed fear at the changing security situation:

Everyone knows that the Alianza is a big force that has empowered many women and taught them how to fight against impunity. There is danger. ... Some men came when I was leaving a meeting and asked me about the projects and about my involvement in the Alianza. (interview, November 18, 2018)

Fátima added to the understanding: "Is being part of the Alianza a risk? I say that because we work on the issues of public policy and gender, and women's rights, we are going to have problems" (interview, November 19, 2018). She was clear, though, that unified mobilization is the only way forward:

We make demands when we are united, and we *do* make these demands because if we are alone, they will disappear us. ... They know that we are an organization that will shout, fight, denounce. ... We will march, we will do sit-ins at the *Fiscalía* [Attorney General's Office], we will get out the lists with all of the women who have been killed and ask "Where is she? Why hasn't she appeared? What happened to her?" (interview, September 11, 2019)

As discussed below, these actions become part of a strategy of "being visible," whereby the Alianza publicizes certain elements of its struggle, particularly to an international audience, in order to highlight the violences that its members face.

### ***Doubly transgressive: women's rejection of the "revitalization of patriarchy"***

I argue that women's ongoing resistance to the gendered acts of violence characteristic of "patriarchal backlash" can be attributed to the repertoires of action developed during conflict itself. Whereas during the 1990s and early 2000s, women were targeted for being women – that is, within the dynamics of hyper-masculinized gendered violence – today, women are targeted for being part of the Alianza. That is, they are targeted for the double transgression of both resisting gendered violence and continuing to employ the gains obtained during their lived history of conflict. The clock does not restart from zero when women who were once at risk re-enter a high-risk context after a period of "relative calm."

The women of the Alianza are modifying the repertoires learned through their first experiences with conflict and mobilization to inform the ways in which they resist new dynamics of violence. Instead of merely resisting SGBV, they are modifying these lessons to respond to contemporary threats to their pursuit of women's rights and gender justice. As McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001, 138) note in relation to repertoires, "Participants in public claim-making adopt scripts they have performed, or at least observed, before. They do not simply invent an efficient new action or express whatever impulses they feel, but rework known routines in response to current circumstances."

Kreft (2019) compellingly argues that women perceive conflict-related sexual violence as a threat to women's collective interests and identity and that they mobilize accordingly. Her macro-level hypothesis is that more prevalent rape is associated with greater women's mobilization: "women mobilize in response to this violence and around a broader range of women's issues with the goal of transforming sociopolitical conditions" (Kreft 2019, 221). In the case of Putumayo, however, these women are not mobilizing for the first time. Rather, it seems, they are drawing on repertoires of action developed during previous mobilizations. Thus, while their mobilization resists targeted violence, it extends to challenge the patriarchal system more generally. This includes violence that takes the form of "patriarchal backlash" designed to undermine the gains that resulted from wartime structural shifts.

As Sandra outlined above, the Alianza was born in a moment of perceived state abandonment – its members were "little spiders" building a web to resist the climate of impunity for SGBV.<sup>6</sup> This collective identity, born out of a recognition of shared risk and of participating in repertoires of contentious action, is non-reversible and can be activated during subsequent moments of threat to the collective. Sandra confirmed: "We are sisters now – when something happens to one of us, it happens to everyone. ... We belong [to] the Alianza, to the territory" (interview, November 18, 2018). Yesica told me about being afraid in the current climate, but then added that, after her husband was murdered and she was raped:

I used to be crazy. ... I would cry all the time, but then the Alianza supported me. ... I learned my rights as a woman and as a victim ... so now, I am a little scared, but ... I will continue [with the Alianza]. (interview, November 18, 2018)

For her, being part of the Alianza has fundamentally changed her. She continues to participate in her association and the Alianza more broadly because it is now part of her identity, despite the risks that this implies. This is in keeping with Whittier's (2015, 115) finding that "participating in consciousness-raising groups, activists organizations, and political actions ... gave women a new interpretation of themselves and the events around

them.” Yesica’s account echoed Calhoun’s identity-based explanation of risky mobilization, whereby

[t]he risk may be borne not because of the likelihood of success in manifest goals but because participation in a course of action has over time committed one to an identity that would be irretrievably violated by pulling back from the risk. (Calhoun 1991, 51)

Fátima framed her understanding of the repertoire slightly differently. When I asked her what impact the peace accords had upon the Alianza’s work, she stated that “the accords are great; they have great intentions. But to implement them ... that’s another thing. We are here permanently. We are from this land. The institutions come and go, but we are here; we are prepared for this” (interview, November 19, 2018). The Alianza’s representative in Puerto Guzmán, Diana, told me that in her community, the Alianza is the only organization with longstanding presence; this is both why they are respected and why they face “*machista* men who want to predominate [*pre-dominar*]” (interview, September 11, 2019).

When Fátima talked about being prepared, she was making reference to the gains that women made during the times of paramilitary violence. The current moment of “patriarchal backlash,” then, reflects Cockburn’s (2004, 43) understanding of a continuum of violence, defying the categories of conflict and post-conflict. The Alianza is activating the same repertoires learned through a different moment of conflict to respond to this new manifestation of violence. Even the discourse used draws the past into the present: “things are going back to how they were before” (interview, September 11, 2019).

### ***Nuanced self-protection over time***

Cancimance’s (2014) work on Putumayo during the paramilitary incursion breaks down inhabitants’ survival strategies into four categories: be brave, be neutral, be a good cohabitant or neighbor, and draw on silence. Following the work of Keck and Sikkink (1998), I add another strategy to the repertoire: be visible. I use Cancimance’s framing here to show the ways in which the Alianza’s past and present resistance repertoires are linked.

Looking at past mobilization, Tate (2015, 231) discusses the Alianza’s alternative vision of security developed during the conflict that “focused on strengthening what they called the ‘social fabric’ – women’s connections to each other and the wider community.” Their behaviors included sheltering threatened colleagues (being brave), dressing in a way that did not paint them as FARC guerrillas (being neutral), warning neighbors when their names were included “on the list” (being a good neighbor), staying inside to escape the attention of violent actors (drawing on silence), and traveling



in convoy with international actors (being visible). These are evidence of the ways in which “women employed complex survival strategies in their daily lives. ... [They] fled, bargained, and endured” (Tate 2015, 231).

In the current moment, and as just outlined, the Alianza continues its work around women’s rights in the department (being brave). Despite this, Fátima told me, “[w]e have to lower our profile in the rural areas. I tell them that we have to protect ourselves” (interview, November 19, 2018). Sandra added: “We try not to identify ourselves. We don’t wear the shirts or the jackets [with Alianza logos], we try not to go to public spaces. We go there, quietly, not visible. It’s a way to protect ourselves. We don’t always take the same route” (being silent). She continued: “We call our friends [to say] ‘I’m going out, I’m coming back at this time.’ We are all very alert [*pendiente*] regarding the other members” (being a good neighbor) (interview, November 18, 2018).

Another long-time member of the Alianza, Patricia, echoed other interviewees when she expressed her worry that “now we don’t know who is who” (interview, September 11, 2019). She was referring to the fact that whereas before the women could identify a FARC rebel or a paramilitary, the reconfiguration of armed groups has led to unknown narco-traffickers occupying the territory. This is important knowledge to have to maintain neutrality. She explained that, given an inability to identify who might be listening, the Alianza no longer use local radio to announce their activities publicly. Rather, to protect themselves, they wait until the last minute to announce their community activities (drawing on silence).

Finally, as discussed above, I argue that strategically being visible is another of the Alianza’s tactics. Leaders frequently engage with local and international media to explain the risks to which they are exposed. They also maintain connections with international actors and donors through ongoing projects (for example, the “No Estás Sola” anti-violence campaign, funded by Mercy Corps and Fondo Sueco-Noruego de Cooperación con la Sociedad Civil Colombiana (FOS)). Although this might draw into question their autonomy in the strategies and activities that they pursue, interviewees reported that in the current context of violence, the Alianza is neither targeted nor significantly protected as a result of these connections. Being visible, however, is a way to draw widespread attention to the violence that they face.

## Conclusion

This article has detailed the mobilization experience of the Alianza in Putumayo, Colombia. It began by examining the historical conditions of violence from which the organization emerged, adding further evidence to the growing literature on how contexts of conflict and war can create new

opportunities for women's mobilization. I have argued that in contexts of renewed violence – including in its form as a “revitalization of patriarchy” – women are able to draw on repertoires of mobilization learned during earlier moments of conflict. These may be modified according to grounded assessments of the real risks, but the take-away message remains the same: there is a certain durability to women's mobilization that comes as a function of new opportunities presented during war.

In Rwanda and Bosnia, there arguably existed critical junctures that separated conflict from post-conflict moments. In these settings, Cockburn (2013b, 325) asks, and Berry and Rana (2019) restate, “when does ‘postwar’ become a time that truly merits the name ‘peace’?” By contrast, the path to ending Colombia's conflict has been far from linear. The murder of hundreds of social leaders, the increase in massive displacement and massacres, and the ongoing violent contestation for control of illegal economies since the signing of Colombia's official “peace” create collateral damage. We know that in spaces of conflict women suffer differentially (Meertens and Stoller 2001; Meertens 2010; CNMH 2017) and intersectionally – that is, based on the intersection of factors such as ethnicity, race, geography, sexuality, and (dis)ability (see Acosta et al. 2018).

We know too that some women also resist violence in their capacities as peacebuilders (Rojas 2009; Restrepo 2016; Paarlberg-Kvam 2019), as women's rights activists (Sandvik and Lemaitre 2015; Kreft 2019), and as feminists (Zulver 2018). This complicates victim/perpetrator binaries that continue to dominate, for example, the transitional justice literature (Baines 2015). In the Putumayo context, we even see that some women have to rely on the illicit economies that generate gendered insecurity in their lives. A more nuanced understanding of the intersectional complexities of living in this territory is thus required (FIP 2017).

In this article, I have documented the experience of women who not only mobilized as a result of their experiences with conflict but who continue this mobilization. This is despite a “revitalization of patriarchy” that actively seeks to suppress women's mobilization and the gains that they made in war's reshuffling of the social order.

To be clear, I do not mean to deny that there exist barriers to mobilization that women might face. For example, Berry (2017, 2018) focuses on the ways in which IPV prevents women from more public manifestations of their empowerment. Cockburn (2013a) notes an increase in domestic violence as a result of male frustration amid post-war unemployment. Indeed, Tate (2015, 233), in her longstanding ethnographic work with the Alianza, reports that IPV in Putumayo is “extremely common and remains significantly underreported in the region” and that many of the group's leaders have themselves survived domestic violence. Undoubtedly, this source of violence limits or shapes the ways in which women choose to mobilize.

What I have underscored, however, is that these barriers to mobilization are more permeable than previously represented. To return to Hume and Wilding (2019), we should not assume that inaction by some women is a reflection of passivity; agency should be seen as fluid and contingent on the differing violences and violent repercussions that characterize daily life.

At the same time, the enduring Alianza mobilization is evidence that when targeted and gendered violence surges, some women can draw on and modify repertoires of collective action learned during previous periods of conflict. We see, then, that “patriarchal backlash” does not necessarily limit women’s mobilization gains but can, in fact, lead to a secondary wave of mobilization in response. The shifts in women’s roles may be more robust and durable than expected.

These findings also draw into question the ways in which we promote women’s participation in conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding, as per the recommendations made in relation to the WPS agenda. Some scholars have found correlations between women’s participation in peace negotiations and the durability and quality of peace (Krause, Krause, and Bränfors 2018). The Putumayo case, however, shows that women’s support for peace, in fact, puts them at increased risk of retributive violence. It is thus important at a policy level that proponents of the WPS agenda, when encouraging women’s participation in so-called post-conflict moments, critically engage in context-specific analysis (see Lynch 2019). If they do so in Colombia, they can become more effective allies in supporting the Alianza’s strategy of making visible the gendered risks that women peacebuilders face while engaging in communities affected by ongoing violence.

## Notes

1. Some quotations used in this article are also included in a long-form and video journalism piece. The interviewees gave informed consent for their words to be used in journalistic and academic publications.
2. The women of the Alianza have a long history of media engagement, including in recent national publications (El Espectador 2020). When discussing informed consent, they were clear that previous media exposure had not led to backlash violence. Moreover, they wanted increased international exposure and visibility for their experience, both in the media and in academia.
3. For the most part, interviewees did not discuss how their intersecting identities relate to exposure to violence during our semi-structured interviews, which is why this does not form a central part of this article’s arguments. My ongoing research with the Alianza will deal more directly with these topics, to the extent that I can do so without engaging in potentially (re)traumatizing practices.
4. Women also suffered violence before the arrival of the AUC in 1999 and after demobilization in 2006. This period, however, is particularly illustrative of the gendered dynamics of violent conflict in Putumayo.

5. The male perpetrator/female victim binary does not reveal the complete story of violence. Militarized masculinity was enacted against men's bodies too, including in its expression as violence targeted against LGBT individuals.
6. For an ethnographic investigation of the role of the state in Putumayo during this time, see Tate (2015).

## Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank the women who generously shared their time, memories, and insights with her as part of this research, as well as A for good company and logistical support during fieldwork. She would like to thank Marie Berry for thoughtful comments on an earlier version of this article, Brooke Ackerly for generous engagement with her presentation at the 2019 IFJP Polycentric Conference in São Paulo, and Elisabeth Jay Friedman and the two anonymous editors for constructive suggestions in the editing of this article.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Notes on contributor

**Julia Zulver** is a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research Fellow at the Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Mexico, and the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies at the University of Oxford, UK (2020–2023). She earned her DPhil in Sociology at the University of Oxford; her thesis focused on high-risk feminism in Colombia.

## ORCID

Julia Margaret Zulver  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2267-8237>

## References

- Acosta, Mónica, Angela Castañeda, Daniel García, Fallon Hernández, Dunen Muelas, and Angela Santamaria. 2018. "The Colombian Transitional Process: Comparative Perspectives on Violence against Indigenous Women." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 12 (1): 108–125.
- Appelbaum, Nancy. 2003. *Muddled Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846–1948*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Asimovic Akyol, Riada. 2019. "For Bosnian Women, No Justice – and No Seats." *Foreign Policy*, October 3. Accessed February 5, 2021. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/03/bosnian-women-balkan-war-no-justice-and-no-political-power/>.
- Baines, Erin. 2015. "'Today, I Want to Speak Out the Truth': Victim Agency, Responsibility, and Transitional Justice." *International Political Sociology* 9 (4): 1–17.
- Berry, Marie E. 2017. "Barriers to Women's Progress After Atrocity: Evidence from Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Gender and Society* 31 (6): 830–853.

- Berry, Marie E. 2018. *War, Women, and Power: From Violence to Mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, Marie E., Yolande Bouka, and Marilyn Muthoni Kamuru. 2020. "Implementing Inclusion: Gender Quotas, Inequality, and Backlash in Kenya." *Politics & Gender*: 1–25.
- Berry, Marie E., and Trisha R. Rana. 2019. "What Prevents Peace? Women and Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Nepal." *Peace and Change* 44 (3): 321–349.
- Calhoun, Craig. 1991. "The Problem of Identity in Collective Action." In *Macro–Micro Linkages in Sociology*, edited by Joan Huber, 51–75. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- Cancimance López, Andrés. 2014. *Echar Raíces en Medio del Conflicto Armado: Resistencias Cotidianas de Colonos en Putumayo*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- CNMH (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica). 2011. *La Masacre de El Tigre: Un Silencio Que Encontró Su Voz*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. Accessed February 6, 2021. <https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/La-masacre-de-El-Tigre-Un-Silencio-que-encontro-su-voz.pdf>.
- CNMH (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica). 2012. *El Placer: Mujeres, Coca, y Guerra en el Bajo Putumayo*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. Accessed February 6, 2021. <https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/el-placer-mujeres-coca-y-guerra-en-el-bajo-putumayo/>.
- CNMH (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica). 2015. *Aniquilar la Diferencia: Lesbianas, Gays, Bisexuales y Transgeneristas en el Marco del Conflicto Armado Colombiano*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. Accessed February 6, 2021. <http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/descargas/informes2015/aniquilar-la-diferencia/aniquilar-la-diferencia.pdf>.
- CNMH (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica). 2017. *La Guerra Inscrita en el Cuerpo: Informe Nacional de Violencia Sexual en el Conflicto Armado*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. Accessed February 6, 2021. <http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/informes-2017/la-guerra-inscrita-en-el-cuerpo>.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. 2004. "The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace." In *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, edited by Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, 24–44. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. 2013a. "Against the Odds: Sustaining Feminist Momentum in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Women's Studies International Forum* 37 (March–April): 26–35.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. 2013b. "Sexual Violence in Bosnia: How War Lives On in Everyday Life." *OpenDemocracy*, November 28. Accessed February 5, 2021. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/sexual-violence-in-bosnia-how-war-lives-on-in-everyday-life/>.
- El Espectador. 2020. "'Las Mujeres de Putumayo No Sabemos Quién Nos Está Matando': Fátima Muriel." *El Espectador*, February 27. Accessed February 6, 2021. <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia2020/territorio/las-mujeres-de-putumayo-no-sabemos-quien-nos-esta-matando-fatima-muriel-video-906671/>.
- FIP (Fundación Ideas para la Paz). 2017. "Mujeres y la Economía Cocalera en el Putumayo: Roles, Prácticas y Riesgos." FIP Serie Informes 28, November. Accessed February 5, 2021. <http://cdn.ideaspaz.org/media/website/document/5a21a1163faf3.pdf>.
- Forst, Michael. 2018. "United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders: Visit to Colombia 20 November to 3 December 2018 – End of Mission Statement." United Nations Human Rights Special Procedures. Accessed

- February 5, 2021. [https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Defenders/StatementVisitColombia3Dec2018\\_EN.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Defenders/StatementVisitColombia3Dec2018_EN.pdf).
- Friedman, Elisabeth. 2000. *Unfinished Transitions: Women and the Gendered Development of Democracy in Venezuela, 1936–1996*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Hume, Mo, and Polly Wilding. 2019. "Beyond Agency and Passivity: Situating a Gendered Articulation of Urban Violence in Brazil and El Salvador." *Urban Studies* 57 (2): 1–18.
- Idler, Annette. 2019. *Borderland Battles: Violence, Crime, and Governance at the Edges of Colombia's War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- INDEPAZ (Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz). 2020. "1.000 Líderes y defensores de DDHH." INDEPAZ. Accessed March 5, 2021. <https://www.indepaz.org.co/1-000-lideres-y-defensores-de-ddhh/>.
- Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Krause, Jana, Werner Krause, and Piia Bränfors. 2018. "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace." *Empirical and Theoretical Research in International Relations* 44 (6): 985–1016.
- Kreft, Anne-Kathrin. 2019. "Responding to Sexual Violence: Women's Mobilization in War." *Journal of Peace Research* 56 (2): 220–233.
- Liamputtong, Pranee. 2007. *Researching the Vulnerable: A Guide to Sensitive Research Methods*. London: SAGE.
- Lynch, Moira. 2019. "Localizing Gender Equality after Conflict." *Peace Review* 31 (1): 83–90.
- Maher, David, and Andrew Thomson. 2018. "A Precarious Peace? The Threat of Paramilitary Violence to the Peace Process in Colombia." *Third World Quarterly* 39 (11): 2142–2172.
- Marciales Montenegro, Carmen Ximena. 2015. "Violencia Sexual en el Conflicto Armado Colombiano: Racismo Estructural y Violencia Basada en Género." *VIA IURIS* 19: 69–90.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meertens, Donny. 2010. "Forced Displacement and Women's Security in Colombia." *Disasters* 34 (2): S147–S164.
- Meertens, Donny, and Richard Stoller. 2001. "Facing Destruction, Rebuilding Life: Gender and the Internally Displaced in Colombia." *Latin American Perspectives* 28 (1): 132–148.
- Paarlberg-Kvam, Kate. 2019. "What's to Come Is More Complicated: Feminist Visions of Peace in Colombia." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21 (2): 194–223.
- Pankhurst, Donna. 2007. "Post-War Backlash Violence against Women: What Can 'Masculinity' Explain?" In *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggle for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*, edited by Donna Pankhurst, 293–320. New York: Routledge.
- Prem, Mounu, Andrés Rivera, Darío Romero, and Juan F. Vargas. 2018. "Killing Social Leaders for Territorial Control: The Unintended Consequences of Peace." LACEA Working Paper Series 016385, Universidad del Rosario, Bogotá, Colombia. Accessed February 6, 2021. <https://ideas.repec.org/p/col/000092/016385.html>.
- Redacción Colombia. 2020. 2019. "Fátima Muriel, una Barrera de Fortaleza en el Putumayo." *El Espectador*, October 1. Accessed February 5, 2021. <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia2020/pais/fatima-muriel-una-barrera-de-fortaleza-en-el-putumayo-articulo-883886>.

- Restrepo, Elvira Maria. 2016. "Leaders against All Odds: Women Victims of Conflict in Colombia." *Palgrave Communications* 2: 16014. Accessed February 6, 2021. doi:10.1057/palcomms.2016.14.
- Restrepo Sanín, Juliana. 2020. "Violence against Women in Politics: Latin America in an Era of Backlash." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 45 (2): 302–310.
- Rettberg, Angelika. 2020. "Peace-Making amidst an Unfinished Social Contract: The Case of Colombia." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 14 (1): 84–100.
- Rojas, Catalina. 2009. "Women and Peacebuilding in Colombia: Resistance to War, Creativity for Peace." In *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War*, edited by Virginia Bouvier, 207–224. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Sachseder, Julia. 2020. "Cleared for Investment? The Intersections of Transnational Capital, Gender, and Race in the Production of Sexual Violence and Internal Displacement in Colombia's Armed Conflict." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22 (2): 162–186.
- Sanchez Parra, Tatiana. 2018. "The Hollow Shell: Children Born of War and the Realities of Armed Conflict in Colombia." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 12 (1): 45–63.
- Sandvik, Kristin Bergtora. 2018. "Gendering Violent Pluralism: Women's Political Organising in Latin America." *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal* 3 (2): 1–16.
- Sandvik, Kristin Bergtora, and Julieta Lemaitre. 2015. "From IDPs to Victims in Colombia: A Bottom-Up Reading of Law in Post-Conflict Transitions." In *International Law and Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy*, edited by Matthew Saul and James Sweeney, 251–271. London: Routledge.
- Tate, Winifred. 2015. *Drugs, Thugs, and Diplomats: US Policymaking in Colombia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Tate, Winifred. 2017. "Post-Accord Putumayo." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 22 (1): 164–173.
- Taussig, Michael. 1984. "Culture of Terror – Space of Death: Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (3): 467–497.
- Tejedoras de Vida del Putumayo. 2019a. "Comunicado Ola de Violencia Contra las Mujeres y Femicidios en Putumayo." February 25. Accessed February 5, 2021. [http://alianzatejedorasdevida.org/2019/02/25/comunicado\\_ola-de-violencia-y-femicidios-contra-las-mujeres-en-ptumayo/#](http://alianzatejedorasdevida.org/2019/02/25/comunicado_ola-de-violencia-y-femicidios-contra-las-mujeres-en-ptumayo/#).
- Tejedoras de Vida del Putumayo. 2019b. "Quienes Somos." Accessed February 6, 2021. <https://alianzatejedorasdevida.org/quienes-somos/>.
- Theidon, Kimberly. 2009. "Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia." *Human Rights Quarterly* 31 (1): 1–34.
- Theidon, Kimberly. 2015. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Children Born of Wartime Sexual Violence." *Current Anthropology* 56 (S12): S191–S200.
- Tripp, Aili Mari. 2015. *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Villareal, Norma, and María Angélica Ríos. 2006. *Cartografía de la Esperanza: Iniciativas de Resistencia Pacífica Desde las Mujeres*. Bogotá: International Peace Information Service/Corporación Ecomujer.
- Viterna, Jocelyn. 2013. *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Whittier, Nancy. 2015. "Sustaining Commitment among Radical Feminists." In *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, 3rd ed., edited by Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, 114–125. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Wolfe, Lauren. 2017. "10 Do's and Don'ts on How to Interview Sexualized Violence Survivors." *Women's Media Centre*, May 16. Accessed February 5, 2021. <https://www.womensmediacenter.com/women-under-siege/10-dos-and-donts-on-how-to-interview-sexualized-violence-survivors>.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2008. "The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1): 539–561.
- Wright, Hannah. 2020. "'Masculinities Perspectives': Advancing a Radical Women, Peace and Security Agenda?" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22 (5): 652–674.
- Zannettino, Lana. 2012. "'... There Is No War Here; It Is Only the Relationship that Makes Us Scared': Factors Having an Impact on Domestic Violence in Liberian Refugee Communities in South Australia." *Violence Against Women* 18 (7): 807–828.
- Zulver, Julia. 2018. "High Risk Feminism in Colombia: Women's Mobilisation in Violent Contexts." PhD thesis, University of Oxford. Accessed February 5, 2021. <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:3fc50c53-d6f5-49c9-a3ba-ca68570a78a3>.