



AGENDA FOR WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY AND WOMEN HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS.

Proposal to frame socio-political violence against women
who lead socio-environmental causes and its link with
Resolution 1325



Agenda for Women, Peace, and Security and women human rights defenders.

Proposal to frame socio-political violence against women who lead socio-environmental causes and its link with Resolution 1325

Andrea Catalina León Amaya¹

Introduction

The “Women, Peace, and Security” agenda (hereinafter “WPS agenda”), launched in 2000 by Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council, as a result of the incidence of the transnational women's movement is a binding framework for member states in four key aspects in situations of conflict, violence, or instability, and in contexts of political transition, with various emphases developed in several subsequent resolutions. (i) The prevention of conflicts and violence against women during and after conflicts; (ii) the participation of women in the management and resolution of said conflicts; (iii) the protection of women and girls in situations of conflict and political transition; and (iv) social and institutional efforts to build and maintain peace with policies that include a gender perspective².

The four aspects are intertwined and, 20 years after the WPS agenda was launched, the question about its relationship with other emerging problems is unavoidable. This paper focuses on the situation of women human rights defenders, in order to understand the relevance of the WPS agenda to address socio-political violence against them. In other words, the question is whether the phenomenon of violence against women defenders is related to the WPS agenda and how. In this sense, the quantitative verification of the increase in lethal violence against women defenders gives us an empirical basis that answers this question affirmatively. In fact, based on

¹ Lawyer from the Universidad Externado de Colombia. Master's in Legal and Social Sciences of the Graduate Program in Sociology and Law from the Universidad Federal FLuminense (UFF / Niteroi RJ, Brazil), CAPES scholar (2013

- 2014). PhD in Postgraduate Program in Law, Institutions and Business at the aforementioned University, CAPES scholar (2018 - 2021) in the line of research on “Judicial Power, Justice and Citizenship”. Researcher member of the Nucleus of interdisciplinary investigations of theories, activities, and practices in the field of Law (NUTEAP / UFF), certified by the CNPq. Advisor and consultant on human rights and socio-legal research on issues related to institutional approaches to gender-based violence, monitoring of public policies, judicial practices, gender and differential impacts of the armed conflict, transitional justice, and the situation of women human rights defenders. E-mail: acleonamaya@id.uff.br.

² The normative body that develops the different aspects and emphasis of the MPS agenda, consists of, as of today, ten resolutions issued by the United Nations Security Council, namely: 1325 of 2000, 1820 of 2008, 1888 from 2009, 1960 from 2010, 2106 from 2013, 2122 from 2013, 2242 from 2015, 2467 from 2019 and 2493 from 2019.

said evidence, in the last two reports of the UN Secretary General on Resolution 1325, the concern about threats and attacks against women defenders is addressed decisively³.

However, regardless of numbers, this time we want to contribute to the qualitative understanding of the question: which agendas or social struggles in particular does the increasing lethal violence against women human rights defenders affect? The evidence that has been collected, and that in the United Nations system is already incorporated as warning signs and necessary prioritization in the monitoring of the human rights situation, tells us that the defense of life and of the communities, linked to environmental and territorial conflicts, entails one of the main threatened agendas nowadays.

Moreover, to explore the link between Resolution 1325 (WPS agenda) and the growing problem of threats and attacks on women defenders, I propose a trifold approach. First, an approach to the recent discursive trajectory of the United Nations, which offers legal-political bases to understand the risk of women human rights defenders included in the WPS agenda, and which also supports the argument regarding the link between climate change, the 2030 SDG agenda, and the WPS agenda. Given that those three agendas are considered crucial.

Second, an empirical approach that analyzes quantitative and qualitative data on the global, regional, and local trend (Latin America and Colombia) of increasing socio-political violence against women defenders. Within that trend and placing it in the current context of political transition in Colombia, I will attempt to frame the phenomenon of rising attacks on defenders and leaders who are in the first line of defense of life and their communities, linked to socio-environmental and territorial conflicts, especially in the field of social struggles against extractivism.

Third, an approach that suggests an interdisciplinary dialogue, in order to understand which are the threatened and attacked agendas and why this phenomenon has relevance within the WPS agenda. In this way, I will mention the necessary relationship between the location approach of Resolution 1325 created by the organizations that come together in the *Red Nacional de Mujeres* [National Women's Network] and contemporary geopolitical debates, especially the one that concerns the observation and analysis of the neo-extractivist wave and of the social resistance that rural, farmer, indigenous, and Afro-descendant women are increasingly leading in the territories.

Finally, I highlight the connection with the peace construction and sustainability component of the WPS agenda, by arguing that the contemporary problem of violence against women defenders is part of Resolution 1325, and that today it is emerging as an issue related to socio-

³ As they have proposed, on the occasion of the 20 years of Resolution 1325, the organizations that are organizing and promoting this dialogue, which they have called “contemporary problems or debates and the validity of Resolution 1325 in modern democracies”. These organizations include: *Colombia Diversa*, *Corporación Humanas*, *Red Nacional de Mujeres*, and *Corporación Sisma Mujer*. This text is the result of a collaboration during my time as a consultant with Sisma Mujer.

environmental and territorial struggles. Hence, I propose the need to trace a path of incidence and enforceability for the protection of WHRDs and their agendas in this field.

I. Discursive trajectory of the United Nations: the link between the WPS agenda, women defenders, climate change, and the SDG 2030 agenda

In different United Nations (UN) scenarios, it is possible to sense the shift to a speech that is closing gaps and connecting different agendas and mandates whose interrelation was not obvious until a few years ago. For the purposes of this paper, I focus on the follow-up carried out by the Secretary General (SG) on the status of compliance with Resolution 1325 (WPS agenda), consolidated in his most recent reports (2019 and 2020), and I propose to explore the differences and similarities with the dialogue used in the legal and political discourse that has taken place in other scenarios such as the mandate of the Office of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders (REDDH), the CEDAW Committee, UN-Women, and the programs that are directly related with climate change and sustainable development agendas (UN Environment Programme and United Nations Development Programme. UNEP and UNDP).

Despite the validity of the resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly regarding the protection of women human rights defenders and defenders of women's rights (resolution 61/181 of 2013)⁴, the emphasis done on the protection of women defenders, as an issue that must be key to the WPS agenda, is recent. In its 2019 report, the SG recognized the deficit in the recommendations and measures adopted by the Security Council to ensure the protection of women human rights defenders⁵. In contrast to previous reports, in 2019, the SG gave an explicit alert and highlighted this issue in a list of prioritized areas⁶. Later, in its 2020 report, the SG updated the information on the increase in threats and attacks on women defenders, based on consolidated data from various sources, and highlighted the destination of investments that the Peacebuilding Fund launched in 2020, through its Initiative for the Promotion of Gender Issues and Youth, focusing, among other issues, on “the protection of human rights defenders and peace promoters to solve a deficiency in the agenda on women and peace and security”, as a

⁴ Published on December 18, 2013 by the General Assembly, based on different conventional human rights instruments (including CEDAW), and invoking, in particular, the Declaration on the Right and Duty of Individuals, Groups, and Institutions to Promote and Protect Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms Universally Recognized (Resolution 53/144, of December 9, 1998). Regarding the process that led to its implementation, see the book published in 2016 by UN Women and the Mesoamerican Initiative of Women Human Rights Defenders: Resolution of the UN General Assembly on the protection of human rights defenders and human rights defenders of women's rights. Available at: http://im-defensoras.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/RESOL-DE-LA-ASAMBLEA-GRAL-ONU_010616-MED_WEB_2.pdf.

⁵ “Less than 20% of the Security Council resolutions approved in 2018 included references to the importance and need to guarantee the fundamental rights and freedoms of women human rights defenders” (SG-UN, 2019, para. 109).

⁶ Summarized in the 2020 report. (SG-UN, 2020, para. 9).

priority to be addressed in the next decade, in order to fully comply with Resolution 1325 (SG-UN, 2020, para. 98).

This prioritization includes acknowledging that women who promote peacebuilding and women human rights defenders “are key political actors who play a fundamental role in initiatives to prevent and solve conflicts and maintain peace” (SG-UN, 2019, paras. 35 and 118). Nevertheless, beyond saying empty words, it is crucial to frame and characterize the violent phenomenon that affects them. The SG’s position shows that the violence against women defenders cannot be understood, nor protection measures properly formulated and implemented, without paying attention to the structural causes that promote conflicts and that make peace unsustainable after their resolution. Along these lines, the SG mentioned a correlation with geopolitical issues, and called for the integration and harmonization of the WPS agenda and the SDG agenda. In fact, the last SG report (2020) includes a chapter related to “linking the agenda on women, peace, and security to the efforts to achieve the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”, as a central issue in the consolidation and maintenance of peace (SG-UN, 2020, chapter III).

Among the fundamental and structural causes of instability, which are key to prevent new conflicts and maintain peace, the SG focused on some vital issues to comply with and make compatible the SDGs and the WPS agenda. These include, disarmament, the guarantee of political rights of women, equitable economic systems, the rule of law and the confrontation of “emerging issues” such as violent extremism and the climate crisis (para. 45). For the SG, it is essential to “reexamine the world’s political economy” if it is to produce “a lasting and transformative change”, given that “existing economic structures and power dynamics are unsustainable, as they continue to deplete natural resources and prevent peace from taking hold”(para. 93).

Women defenders are seen as key actors in conflict prevention, dispute resolution, and peace consolidation since their work is at the forefront of social struggles and they work for a positive transformation. Moreover, the effects of climate change are added to the various factors of social inequality and instability that are catalysts for new conflicts, meaning their consequences for peace and security are already considered undeniable, and women gain visibility, in this context (and in the discourse that we are analyzing), given the conclusion that they “are left on the front lines of both climate change and insecurity and with new economic responsibilities in increasingly endangered environments” (SG-ONU, 2020, para. 77). This convergence of elements (effects of climate change, conflict, insecurity, and gender inequality) is localized and is particularly critical in the Global South (ibidem). Thus, for the SG, “a more concerted effort should be made to integrate and address the links between gender, climate, and security in the creation of policies, and prioritize the participation of women in response and prevention mechanisms.”(ibidem, para. 75).

In this way, the women defenders who work for socio-environmental causes are finally at the center of an urgent and strategic agenda of integrated actions, in the follow-up to the fulfillment of the WPS Agenda, which links the participation of women in the prevention of new conflicts

and in the construction and maintenance of peace, to other programs promoted by the United Nations entities to deal with adaptation to climate change (including the security risks derived from it) and the inclusive governance of natural resources⁷.

At the same time, the association between the risk situation of people who defend human rights and the social struggles linked to access, governance, and protection of natural resources and the defense of communities in the territories most affected by the climate crisis and the extractivist economies, has been one of the main points of the recent reports of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders (REDDH). In fact, there is a clear connection in his latest report, titled “Last warning: human rights defenders, victims of death threats, and murders” (2020)⁸, and it is one of the main conclusions expressed a year ago in the report on the visit to Colombia by the then Special Rapporteur.

Furthermore, the theory developed by the CEDAW Committee, in its general recommendations (RG), accounts for the connection between discrimination based on gender, violence against women, and the risks and impacts of gender as a result of climate change, the situation of greater vulnerability and disadvantages faced by rural, indigenous, and ethnic minority women in conflict and post-conflict situations, and the situation of risk and violence faced by women defenders (RG n° 28, 30, 35, and 37)⁹. This position resonates with that of the Commission on the Status of Women, 25 years after the commitments adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995)¹⁰.

II. Empirical approach and reframing the discussion: A trend of rising violence against women defenders linked to environmental and territorial causes.

The data regarding the threats and attacks against human rights defenders are not consistent. There are many difficulties that lead to underreporting, especially when it comes to disaggregating and characterizing the violence directed against women defenders, which results in limitations and misunderstanding of this phenomenon. As Carolina Vergel (2020) points out,

⁷ In fact, the SG's message encourages the strengthening of alliances already developed between UNEP, UN-Women, UNDP, and the Department of Political Affairs and Peacebuilding (SG-UN, 2020, para. 78).

⁸ REDDH Report, Mary Lawlor, A / HRC / 46/35, December 24, 2020.

⁹ According to RG 37 of the CEDAW Committee, “the appropriation of land and the destruction of the environment caused by abusive extractive industries and unregulated industrial or agro-industrial activities” materialize forms of “discrimination based on gender that restrict the capacity of women to prevent and adapt to the damage caused by natural disasters and climate change” (2018, para. 61). Moreover, RG 35 draws attention to the worsening of gender-based violence due to economic, political, social, and environmental factors, including: the increase in the globalization of supply chains, the extractive industry, the militarization, situations of armed conflict, social and political crises, contexts of unrest and instability, natural disasters and the destruction or degradation of natural resources (2017, para. 14). Given the presence of these factors, as well as during and after conflicts, GR 35 and 30 acknowledge that women defenders may be at greater risk of suffering violence (2017, para. 14; 2013, para. 36). Furthermore, RG 30 highlighted unequal access to land and natural resources (especially water resources). A situation that affects rural women particularly during and after conflicts.

¹⁰ Political declaration on the 25th anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women, E / CN.6 / 2020 / L.1, Annex, March 2, 2020. The link with the 2030 SDG Agenda is emphasized in this declaration .

the gender perspective in the data produced continues to be absent in most of the studies carried out in recent years (in official and independent reports). Thus, it is still difficult to characterize and point out the threatened and attacked defenders, the agendas they represent, and the people interested or who benefit from the violent death of these people.

However, based on official reports issued by the United Nations (specifically by the OHCHR office), by national public bodies (such as the Ombudsman's Office, in Colombia), and by the information generated by organizations that carry out independent monitoring of the situation of human rights defenders in the world, the UN has verified not only the growing global trend of violence against defenders, but also, within that trend, the intensification of the lethal violence, threats, and other attacks against women defenders.

Going beyond the figures, which can be consulted in the various international and national reports published in 2019 (before the COVID-2019 pandemic) and between 2020 and 2021 (during the pandemic), it is important to consider Vergel's problematization proposal (2020). Meaning reframing the importance given to the content of the social agendas led by threatened and attacked WHRDs and the reasons behind this violence - a qualitative reframing is already seen in the findings that support the recent discursive trajectory of United Nations presented in the previous section, as well as in the reports of some international, and national NGOs and in the multidisciplinary academic papers that analyze the evolution of extractivism in Latin America.- In this sense, the different sources agree on a conclusion: there is a growing trend of threats and attacks against women who lead processes of socio-environmental and territorial struggles, identified as rural women, farmer women and/or those who belong to indigenous and Afro-descendant communities.

Furthermore, as stated by the SG in its 2020 report, a significant portion of the attacked women defenders worked in the field of indigenous peoples' rights and environmental issues (SG-UN, 2020, para. 34). The source used by the SG was the Front-Line Defenders report, "Global Analysis 2019", which reported 304 murders of human rights defenders, of which "40% defended the land, the rights of indigenous peoples, and the environment"¹¹. This NGO reported the growing institutional violence against environmental defenders, which is not in line with the global focus on confronting climate change. In this sense, while the governments in Latin America, regardless of their political ideology, "continue to approve huge projects and make sacrifices so international companies can carry out said projects" which have led to the emergence of new conflicts or the worsening of those already existing, the policies and measures for state protection for defenders are absent or deficient and the authorities are involved in their intimidation and persecution, through criminalization and judicial harassment (Front Line Defenders, 2019, p. 16-17). Furthermore, this NGO reported that the attacks against the

¹¹ See: https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/sites/default/files/spanish_-_global_analysis_2019_web.pdf

defenders “indicated an appalling level of hostility” (ibidem, p. 17-18)¹². In short, this report concluded that rights related to access to land and the environment, as well as the rights of indigenous peoples “continued to be the most dangerous to defend due to the exploitation of natural resources for profit, combined with rampant corruption, weak governments, and systemic poverty ”(ibidem, p. 8).

The increase in state violence against women who oppose neo-extractivism, in Latin America, has been non-stop since at least 2011, as proven in academic papers: “between 2011 and 2016, human rights organizations registered 1,700 attacks on women environmentalists in South and Central America” (MALDONADO, 2016, as quoted by SVAMPA and TERAN, 2019, p. 196).

In an ultimatum issued by REDDH (2020), they concluded that “Latin America is the most affected region, and defenders of human rights related to the environment are the most attacked” (para. 5)¹³. Moreover, the most vulnerable people to attacks are the ones who defend “human rights related to the environment, those who protest the seizure of land, and those who defend the rights of various communities, including indigenous peoples, opposing governments that enforce business projects on the communities without their willing, prior, and informed consent ”(para. 16). Additionally, according to this report, Colombia was at the top of the list of murders of defenders who had this profile in 2019 (para. 44)¹⁴.

Bringing the aforementioned to the context of political transition in Colombia, it is more evident that in a scenario of intensification of the neo-extractivist agenda, defenders linked to the crucial implementation agendas of the Final Peace Agreement (2016) are at greater risk. In the midst of an intense militarization of the territories that can be understood as related to the interests of the companies that own the megaprojects, ethnic, land, and environmental defenders are at risk, and they are the target of threats, attacks, and persecution due to their defense, particularly, of

¹² Front-Line Defenders highlighted the case of Dilma Ferreira da Silva, who was tortured and murdered in March 2019, after fighting “for more than three decades for the rights of 32,000 people displaced by the Tucuruí hydroelectric dam project on the Tocantins River of the Brazilian Amazon. ”(2019, p. 17-18). Moreover, they reported the impunity of cases that have had an obvious involvement of companies and state agents, such as the murder of Berta Cáceres in Honduras (ibidem).

¹³ They refer to the reports of the OHCHR and the Front-Line Defender and Global Witness organizations.

¹⁴ It is important to point out that, in 2015, Colombia was the third country with the highest number of murders of environmental defenders, after Brazil and the Philippines. Moreover, since 2016 Latin America has the world record, with 60% of the total murders recorded in the world by Global Witness. This is how Maristella Svampa and Emiliano Teran Mantovani describe it in their contribution to the book edited by Karin Gabbert and Miriam Lang “How is life sustained in Latin America? Feminisms and re-existence in times of darkness ”(2019, p. 195-196).

the right to prior and informed consultation¹⁵. This concern was shared by REDDH in their report of the visit to Colombia in 2018¹⁶

In her analysis of the growing lethal violence against women defenders and leaders in Colombia, after analyzing various official reports and national NGOs in detail and taking the time frame of the last negotiation process of peace, and the signing and implementation of the Final Peace Agreement with the FARC-EP, Carolina Vergel (2020), found the most threatened agendas. These are: on the one hand, the environmental cause, which includes collective actions of social mobilization in opposition to the expansion of economic extractivist projects for the exploitation of natural resources and on the other hand, the agenda of the people and groups that demand and accompany the fulfillment of what was agreed upon in the Final Peace Agreement, in particular the points related to citizen participation and local politics (highlighting the land planning and development decisions), the restitution of lands that were subject to dispossession, and the voluntary and concerted substitution of illegal crops.

In these agendas, the participation of women is growing, although ignored due to stereotypes about their social and community work. Despite the difficulties in characterizing and making visible the work of WHRDs and the attacks against them, the women's movement in Colombia is moving forward in a proposal for the construction of explanatory hypotheses of the exacerbation of socio-political gender violence against WHRDs. According to this, one of the most relevant dimensions and an important sign of the evolution of female leaderships in the country which explains their greater exposure to the risk of threats and attacks, is related to the actions in favor of the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement undertaken by them; especially regarding the struggles in defense of territory and natural resources, women's rights, a dignified life, ancestral knowledge, among others (MOSQUERA & SISMA MUJER, 2019, p 143-144)¹⁷.

III. Analysis of the location approach and current geopolitical contexts related to neo-extractivism: clues in the light of interdisciplinary dialogue.

¹⁵ In fact, the Special Rapporteur expressed their concern about "the apparent connection between Frontera Energy, the Army's 16th Brigade and the Support Structure of the Prosecutor's Office" in a situation of criminalization of leaders and social leaders linked to the socio-environmental cause in San Luis de Palenque, "and the possible impact of the agreement between Ecopetrol SA and the Office of the Prosecutor therein" (2019, paras. 29-30). As described in the 2019 report, "in November 2018, Frontera Energy signed two agreements with the Ministry of Defense for an amount of 1,343,106 United States dollars for the Army to protect their interests" (ibidem, par. 30).

¹⁶ Leaders who defend human rights and peace accords in the rural areas most affected by the conflict are the main targets of assassinations, attacks, and other human rights violations. These violations have a gender dimension when carried out against WHRDs. Furthermore, defenders in Colombia are also at risk and suffer violations and abuses of their rights when they defend the land, the environment, and the human rights of indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples against the interests of the state and non-state actors, such as national companies and international and other power groups. This is due to a combination of factors and structural problems which have not been solved" (REDDH, 2019, para. 70).

¹⁷ In the report "The risk of defending and leading" edited and published by the Colombian Commission of Jurists.

The third approach proposed, to understand the phenomenon of violence against women defenders in Colombia and its relation to the WPS agenda, is related to the importance of analyzing the localization approach of Resolution 1325, elaborated by the *Red Nacional de Mujeres*¹⁸ to the current geopolitical debates in the field of social research (in different disciplines). Meaning, I want us to understand that this problem is inseparable from the history of exacerbation of neo-extractivism, as a characteristic component of the evolution of capitalism in Latin American democracies. Indeed, before the United Nations began to incorporate into their discourse an incipient criticism of the extractivist model, through the narrative of human rights,¹⁹ and prior to the context of the last peace negotiation process with the FARC-EP, which is the basis for the current political transition in Colombia, the neo-extractivist wave and its impacts on the territories and communities, as well as the collective processes of protest and social resistance, had already been focused on different analyzes and lines of thought in the region.

By highlighting some general ideas drawn from this field of studies, I intend to show the relevance of the problem of socio-political violence against women defenders and reinforce the argument of its importance in the WPS agenda. In this sense, the reconstruction carried out by Maristella Svampa and Emiliano Teran (2019, p. 169-217) is useful, as it describes the process of establishment (since the 90s) of an ecological-political critique of the primary-export economies in Latin America, given the negative social and environmental impacts produced in the territories by virtue of the advance of the extraction frontiers during the neoliberal period. Furthermore, the struggles of indigenous peoples and the positioning of environmental organizations were key in this process. Additionally, the deepening of the extractivist model in Latin America was evident even in countries with progressive governments - an aggravation documented as “neo-extractivism” -, for what is referred to as an update, in the 21st century, of a “historical accumulation mode” which has brought with it “new global, territorial, and political dimensions” (SVAMPA & TERAN, 2019, p. 177). This translates into the consolidation of a “model of appropriation and exploitation of common goods” and of “a form of territorialization” that advances vertically over the populations, weakening the achievements made so far when it comes to participatory democracy, and opening “a new cycle of criminalization and violation of human rights” (ibidem).

When it comes to the link with the WPS agenda, it is worth highlighting the intensification of social conflict, as a phenomenon inherent in the evolution of neo-extractivism²⁰. The outbreak of

¹⁸ Its definition and some experiences are included in the 20-year report of Resolution 1325: “20 years after Resolution 1325: Women's organizations review its implementation in Colombia during 2019” (2020).

¹⁹ A narrative that, in the United Nations discourse, modulates sensitive issues such as corporate responsibility. See Amanda Romero Medina and Julia Mello Neiva, “Women human rights activists and companies,” Review SUR de Derechos Humanos, edition 30, 2020.

²⁰ This evolution is presented in three phases. The positivity phase (2003-2008), which emphasized the reading of comparative advantages and “new developmentalism”. The multiplication phase of megaprojects and correlative social resistance (2008 and the 2013-2015 period), in which the Santos government's “Locomotora Minero-Energética” started in 2010 in Colombia and the Iniciativa para la Integración de la Infraestructura Regional Suramericana (IIRSA), as well as the outbreak of conflict linked to extractivism, both in countries with progressive

social, territorial and environmental conflicts is expressed in the “empowerment of ancestral struggles for land (led by indigenous and rural movements), as well as in the emergence of new forms of mobilization and citizen participation, focused on the defense of the people, biodiversity, and the environment (ibidem, p. 177-178). According to the mapping exercises of socio-environmental conflict, the direct correlation between its increase and neo-extractivism is undeniable²¹. At the same time, there are numerous spaces for coordination and articulation between different actors, as well as new organizational dynamics led by young people, “many of them women, whose role is also crucial in large organizational structures and in small groups that support actions led by women”(ibidem, p. 184).

Moreover, with the end of the progressive cycle, we face a new type of exacerbation of neo-extractivism, in which processes of adjustment and flexibility take place and what has been described as “mutant forms” of the neoliberal way of accumulation (and appropriation), which reinforces the government's management of extractivist models and achieves notoriety with the expansion of so-called extreme energies, through activities such as fracking and offshore exploitation. In this scenario, there is no law, and violence against social and environmental resistance is accentuated, gaining strength in state and parastatal expression (ibidem, p. 189). As part of this process, states or regimes of exception are normalized “as a pattern of governance in the region, while criminal enclaves and territorialities expand” (ibidem). In Colombia, this corresponds to a broad and long-standing set of continuities in the institutional violence of the State, which did not see substantive variations after the signing of the Final Peace Agreement (2016). On the contrary, it continues to be evident in the militarization and the intense repression and criminalization of social protest (to mention a few examples)²².

At the center of contemporary resistance to neo-extractivism, a “common language of valuation about territoriality” or “eco-territorial shift” emerges (SVAMPA, 2011). They are concepts that converge in this language, different notions of indigenous matrix that integrate ecofeminist narratives and autonomous and community feminisms: good living, common goods,

governments and in those with conservative governments, with emblematic resistance and opposition processes such as La Colosa (Tolima, Colombia) and the Agua Zarca dam (Gualcarque River, Honduras, led by COPINH, an organization founded by Berta Cáceres). Finally, the phase of exacerbation of neo-extractivism (from 2013-2015 and up to today), which is characterized by a continuity made worse by the fall in prices, which leveraged the increase in extractive projects and the expansion of the borders of commodities, marking the end of the progressive cycle. (SVAMPA & TERAN, p. 2019, p. 177-183).

²¹ In independent scenarios such as the Latin American Observatory of Environmental Conflicts (OLCA) and the Observatory of Mining Conflicts of Latin America (OCMAL). According to OCMAL data, for 2019, there were 256 conflicts, 5 of them cross-border and involving 274 mega-mining projects, 192 cases of criminalization and 37 consultations carried out, with Colombia included in the list of countries with the most conflicts (data cited by SVAMPA & TERAN, 2019, p. 185).

²² Description by Maristella Svampa and Emiliano Teran (2019, p. 189) who analyzed with the reflections made by Ana Jimena Bautista, Gloria Luna Rivillas, María del Rosario Chicunque and Danny Ramírez, in development of the project “Dialogues on Transitional Justice Brazil & Colombia” of the Fluminense Federal University (Niterói / RJ, Brazil) in collaboration with the Universidad del Rosario (Bogotá). Their interventions were recorded in the electronic books that bear the same title (volume 1 and 2), available at: <http://nuteap.uff.br/>.

communality, rights of nature, body / territory, autonomy, and ethics of the care (SVAMPA & TERAN, 2019, p. 210). In short, the struggles of women who are on the front lines of the defense of life and the communities in the territories, in opposition to neo-extractivism and the institutional violence that sustains it, are the mark of conflict and social unrest that characterizes this new era.

In this sense, Astrid Ulloa's (2016) contributions on "territorial feminisms" furthered this arguments. She attempted to understand the current dynamics of defense of life in the face of extractivism by analyzing the gender impacts of this model in the territories, in the daily interactions, and in the "body-territories". When exploring the relationship between mining and violence, she pointed out that the body-territories of feminized women and men (as indigenous men would be considered in that analysis) are linked and classified as "bodies for exploitation" (ULLOA, 2016, p . 10). Furthermore, she warned that the processes of the extractivist model "have generated irreversible modifications in the territories and cultural and identity transformations and reconfigurations", which are a consequence of "new economic processes and dynamics, which affect the livelihoods and conceptions of various indigenous peoples and rural population"(ibidem).

In this way, the protests and actions of indigenous, Afro-descendant, and rural women gain relevance, by expressing criticisms and alternatives "to the economic dynamics that derive from the modernity/coloniality relationship" and that are expressed in "the modification of nature that generates processes of dispossession by appropriation"(ibidem, p. 12). Furthermore, they "demand other gender relations between men and women" in the processes of defense of the territory, in collective/organizational work and in mobilizations, struggles and resistance movements (ibidem). These political dynamics of women, in Colombia and Latin America, are called by the author territorial feminisms. Moreover, they are characterized by articulating spatial, environmental, and territorial demands/alternatives that the author categorizes as "circulation of life", based on a "vision of the continuity of life articulated to their territories" and on the "defense of daily survival activities, food autonomy, and their ways of life" (ibidem, p. 12-13).

Furthermore, the women's organizations that work for the implementation of the WPS agenda in Colombia (especially those that make up the *Red de Mujeres Nacionales*), have drawn up an alternative application strategy due to the failure of the national government to design a Plan of National Enforceability to comply with Resolution 1325, which consists of locating the WPS agenda through advocacy actions for its territorial application, aiming to engage local governments, authorities, the media, and civil society.

Additionally, the localization experiences documented in the 20-year report of Resolution 1325, published in 2020, highlight the experiences of applying this strategy in conjunction with local women's organizations. This approach has a big potential, as long as it leads to the strengthening of bottom-up approaches and contributes to strengthening and protecting the processes of protest and social resistance led by women defenders in the territories. For this purpose, it is

essential to include the aforementioned geopolitical debates in the conversation, which are based on case studies and documentation of the dynamics of territorial feminisms. Even more so because of the change in discourse by the United Nations on the WPS agenda, which now relate the situation of women defenders linked to territorial and environmental causes to the component of consolidation and maintenance of peace of Resolution 1325 and other strategic agendas such as the SDG 2030 and adaptation to climate change.

IV. Final considerations: Proposal for a legal enforceability plan.

So far, I presented three possible analyses or approaches that, together, contribute to argue in favor of the relationship between the issue of violence against women human rights defenders and Resolution 1325. First, a discursive trajectory of opening and reframing the reports of the United Nations Secretary General. On the one hand, it integrated the WPS agenda, and the strategic agendas related to climate change and the 2030 SDGs, and, on the other, it focuses on the defenders linked to environmental agendas as fundamental actors in the consolidation and maintenance of peace. All this, considering that their leadership and participation in decision-making is crucial to overcome the structural and fundamental causes of conflicts. Furthermore, it makes clear that the social inequities of the dominant economic model and the negative impacts of climate change that are aggravated in this context are part of a vicious and complex cycle of new conflicts or the resurgence of existing ones or those that have not been fully resolved, in contexts of political transition (such as in Colombia). For this reason, the Secretary General stated, in his 2020 report, that the WPS agenda is a crisis prevention agenda, but it is so to the extent that it deals with confronting the structural and fundamental causes of conflicts, which leads to emphasize the role of women defenders in the consolidation and maintenance of peace.

Second, the empirical approach supports the framing of the particular situation of women defenders linked to socio-environmental, territorial, and resistance to extractivism struggles, as a problem that gains relevance in the WPS agenda. Finally, the third approach, which arises from the interdisciplinary dialogue among social studies that deals with neo-extractivism and correlative processes of struggle and resistance (among which the aspects that Astrid Ulloa categorizes as territorial feminisms stand out), offers elements to strengthen the necessary approach between Resolution 1325's localization approach and current geopolitical debates.

In this sense and keeping in mind that the arguments presented show only some possibilities of problematization and intervention, I suggest moving forward with the construction of plans of incidence and enforceability, in at least four levels. (i) In the strengthening of the focus of localization of Resolution 1325, with horizontal and comprehensive methodologies of territorial expressions of social resistance to neo-extractivism (which is not limited to illegal mining), and to continuous state and parastatal violence (among them, militarization, criminalization, and restriction of civic scenarios) led by indigenous, Afro-Colombian, black, *Raizal* and *Palenquera*, and rural women in the territories.

(ii) In the creation of protection policies and measures, using bottom-up methodologies, as aforementioned. (iii) In broadening the advocacy for the formulation of a National Action Plan for the fulfillment of Resolution 1325, including the elements already incorporated by the Secretary General of the United Nations regarding climate change and the SDG 2030 agenda, as strategic agendas related to the peace consolidation and maintenance component of the WPS agenda. Finally, (iv) taking advantage of communication channels and reporting to United Nations bodies, focusing especially on the follow-up carried out by the Secretary General, the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders (taking advantage of her recent ultimatum), the Universal Periodic Review, and the protocol path of the CEDAW Committee.

Bibliography:

COLOMBIA DIVERSA et al. (2020). A 20 años de la Resolución 1325 las organizaciones de mujeres revisan su implementación en Colombia durante 2019. Bogotá: A.F. Impresores S.A.S.

BAUTISTA, Ana Jimena et al. (2021). [Memoria transcrita del diálogo grabado el 1º de diciembre de 2020]. In: ALVIM, Joaquim Leonel y LEÓN AMAYA, Andrea Catalina (Org.). Diálogos sobre justiça de transição. Atores institucionais, lideranças sociais e defensores dos direitos humanos. Libro electrónico. Vol. 1. Londrina: Engenho das Letras.

FRONT LINE DEFENDERS (2019). Global Analysis 2019. County Dublin: Front Line, the International Foundation for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders. Available at: https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/sites/default/files/spanish_-_global_analysis_2019_web.pdf. Último

MOSQUERA, Carolina y SISMA MUJER (2020). Análisis de la situación de las defensoras de derechos humanos desde el enfoque de género y de derechos de las mujeres. In: COMISIÓN COLOMBIANA DE JURISTAS (Ed.). El riesgo de defender y liderar: Pautas comunes y afectaciones diferenciales en las violaciones de los derechos humanos de las personas defensoras en Colombia. Bogotá: AltaVoz Editores, p. 128-154.

ONU MUJERES e INICIATIVA MESOAMERICANA DE MUJERES DEFENSORAS DE DERECHOS HUMANOS (2016). Resolución de la asamblea General de la ONU sobre protección de las defensoras de los derechos humanos y las personas defensoras de los derechos de la mujer. México D.F.: ONU Mujeres / IM-Defensoras.

ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS ASAMBLEA GENERAL (2019). Visita a Colombia. Informe del Relator Especial sobre la situación de los defensores de los derechos humanos. A/HRC/43/51/Add.1, December 26, 2019.

_____ ASAMBLEA GENERAL (2019). Visita a Colombia. Informe del Relator Especial sobre la situación de los defensores de los derechos humanos. A/HRC/43/51/Add.1, December 26, 2019.

_____ CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD (2020). Las Mujeres y la Paz y la Seguridad. Informe del Secretario General. S/2020/946, September 25, 2020.

_____ CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD (2019). Las Mujeres y la Paz y la Seguridad. Informe del Secretario General. S/2019/800, 9 de octubre de 2019. Report by the Secretary General. S/2020/946, September 25, 2020.

_____ CONSEJO ECONÓMICO Y SOCIAL, COMISIÓN JURÍDICA Y SOCIAL DE LA MUJER (2020). Declaración política en el 25º aniversario de la Cuarta Conferencia Mundial sobre la Mujer. E/CN.6/2020/L.1, Anexo, March 2, 2020.

SVAMPA, Maristella y TERAN, Emiliano (2019). En las fronteras del cambio de época. Escenarios de una nueva fase del extractivismo en América Latina. In: GABBERT, Karin y LANG, Miriam (Ed.).

¿Cómo se sostiene la vida en América Latina? Feminismos y re-existencias en tiempos de oscuridad. Quito: Fundación Rosa Luxemburg / Ediciones Abya-Yala, p. 169-217.

ROMERO, Amanda y MELLO, Julia (2020). Mujeres activistas de derechos humanos y empresas. In: SUR Revista Internacional de Derechos Humanos. v. 17, n. 30, São Paulo, p. 235-246.

ULLOA, Astrid (2016). Feminismos territoriales en América Latina: defensas de la vida frente a los extractivismos. In: Nómadas. N° 45, Bogotá: Universidad Central, p. 123-139.

VERGEL, Carolina (2020). A las mujeres también las están matando y no sabemos muy bien por qué: el asesinato de lideresas sociales en el pos-Acuerdo de Paz en Colombia. In: JARAMILLO, Isabel Cristina (Ed.). Género en transición: estudios sobre el papel del derecho en la distribución de recursos para y en el posconflicto colombiano [libro electrónico]. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.