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**Queering Empowerment and Accountability - Towards a Decolonial
Peacebuilding-Development Praxis Nexus**

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List of abbreviations

AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia)
A4EA	Action for Empowerment and Accountability Research Program
BMV	Bias-Motivated Violence
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
CA	Capability Approach
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEV	Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad (Truth Commission)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DC	Development Cooperation
E&A	Empowerment and Accountability
FARC-EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People’s Army)
FCV	Fragility, Conflict, and Violence
FCVAS	Fragile, Conflict- and Violence-Affected Settings
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Development Cooperation)
GPAZ	Grupo de Género en la Paz (Working Group on Gender in Peace)
HR	Human Rights

List of abbreviations

JEP	Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz (Special Jurisdiction for Peace)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
NAPs	National Action Plans
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PBN	Peacebuilding-Development Nexus
RUV	Registro Único de Víctimas (Central Register of Victims)
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SOGIESC	Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression and Sex Characteristics
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank

Glossary

This glossary explains how central concepts are interpreted within this work. These explanations are essential for the comprehensibility of the argumentation. However, each of these aspects will be interpreted in detail in the corresponding chapters of this thesis.

Black and white

In contrast to white, Black is capitalized to emphasize its character as a historical, political, and social identity which was constructed inferior to the category white, the latter being considered the superior norm. This differentiation in spelling is an attempt of deconstruction by making the asymmetrical relationship visible (Roig, 2021, p. 14).

Development

In this thesis, development is considered a contested field at the level of both discourse and practice. The dominant discourse, originating in modernization theory, adheres to a vision of linear development in terms of economic growth within the framework of global capitalism and neoliberal policies (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 21). As a result, development praxis is determined by the division into developed and ‘underdeveloped’ countries, with the latter being defined as deficient (Kapoor, 2008, p. 40–42). These deficiencies, e.g., in knowledge, capacity, and technology, are supposed to be compensated by technical assistance of the developed countries (Kapoor, 2008, pp. 20–21). This work is a critical attempt to engage with the objective of making visible alternative conceptions of development as it is done in, e.g., dependency theory and post-developmentalism (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, pp. 46–47).

Empowerment

This work is informed by a power-critical conception of empowerment, thereby recognizing it as a process, in contrast to an endpoint and taking it beyond the individual to the political level (Ledwith, 2020; Rappaport et al., 2010). This conceptualization emphasizes active subjects as opposed to passive recipients of empowerment as well as the need to tackle structural dimensions, which condition individual realities, in order to overcome inequality.

Global North and global South

Using the term pair global North and global South is an attempt to refer to different political positions within a global context without reproducing normatively charged terms

such as 'developing countries' or 'third world' (glokal e.V., 2012, p. 4). Within the global context, the global South describes a disadvantaged position in society, politics, and economy, whereas the global North takes a privileged position (glokal e.V. 2012, p. 4). This division is rooted in the differing experiences in the framework of colonialism as the beneficial colonizers on the one hand and the exploited colonized on the other (glokal e.V., 2012, p. 4).

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is understood as a global system whose character and effects are structural (Roig, 2021, p. 46). Although patriarchy is associated with male domination, the destructive effects that the constant subtle degradation of femininity has on both women and men are being recognized. In this sense, overcoming patriarchy benefits all humanity in terms of peaceful coexistence by allowing everyone to give room to what is considered feminine in our world system, such as emotionality, caring, empathy, intuition, love, affection, humility, compassion and vulnerability (Roig, 2021, p. 73). With this appreciation of women and femininity comes a loss of patriarchal power. Therefore, it is argued that gender equality can only be achieved by addressing the root causes of patriarchy (Roig, 2021, p. 63).

Peace and conflict

Peace and conflict are understood as relational and structural. Lederach (1997), an important contributor to understanding conflict as more than physical violence affirms that the building of peace “encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships” (p. 20). Thus, the basis of a conflict lies in relationships that have been impaired (Barnes, 2002, p. 12). Correspondingly, strategies that aim to construct peace along this concept focus on the building and maintaining of relationships. In Lederach's (1997) words: “relationship is the basis of conflict and its long-term solution” (p. 26). This is in line with Galtung's concept of peace. According to Galtung, (1964), who decisively shaped the concept of positive peace, sustainable peace requires more than the mere absence of direct violence. The latter would be synonymous with negative peace. Positive peace, in contrast to negative peace, additionally includes the absence of cultural and structural violence.

Queer and queering

The term queer in the sense of ‘strange’ or ‘weird’ was originally used pejoratively to refer to people with non-heteronormative sexual orientation and gender identity but has since been re-signified as an affirmative self-designation (Babka & Posselt, 2016, p. 83). Queer has unfolded theoretically within the framework of queer theory, studies, and politics (Babka & Posselt, 2016, p. 84), sharing the concern of a critique and analysis of ‘normalization’ as well as supposedly homogenous and stable identities and identity politics based on them. Beyond the theoretical reflection of non-heteronormative sexual practices and non-binary gender identities, queer theory focuses on different categories of social injustice at once, e.g., sexuality as a structural dimension of the social, political, and cultural (Villa, 2021, p. 99) and seeks empowering approaches (Babka, 2019, p. 38). Queer as a strategy implies keeping both identity terms and political terms open (Villa, 2012, p. 105). *Queering* a political term, such as empowerment and accountability, consequently, implies the constant struggle for its conceptual meaning, that is, ambiguity set in perpetuity (Villa, 2012, p. 105).

Race

The term race refers to a historical, socio-political construct. Even if biological human races do not exist, their perception as such still affects power relations on a global and individual level. For this reason, this dimension of human existence must be addressed. Demands to abandon the use of the term ‘race’ indicate that this category is still interpreted biologically, as opposed to it being a socio-political construct (Roig, 2021, pp. 34-36).

West/western and modern/modernity

Within de- and postcolonial studies, ‘Western’ refers to a historically evolved form of society, not a geographical unit (Coronil, 1996). The ‘West’ is characterized by industrialization, secularization, capitalism, and urbanism, in short, everything associated with ‘modernity’ (Quijano, 2019)

Women/men

Women and men are understood as historical and socio-political binary constructions as opposed to biological categories (Roig, 2021, p. 14).

Positioning

Kronsbein (2021) emphasizes the relevance of an intensive, permanent self-reflexivity and critical positioning for a decolonial research practice (pp. 83, 98). However, as she, like Spivak, notes this aspiration repeatedly faces its limits. We are precisely, Spivak (1990) argues in the wake of Derrida, part of the structures we criticize and can thus only speak the language of the object that is being criticized (p. 135). From that viewpoint, the use of the terms such as ‘underdeveloped’ or ‘primitive’ and the division into global North and South in this work need critical consideration. Thereby, on the one hand, normatively charged terms and dehumanizing narratives are reproduced. On the other hand, picking up these terms to reveal dominant narratives in order to deconstruct them is necessary. “So, as Derrida says, [deconstruction] falls prey to its own critique, *in a certain way* [sic]” (Spivak, 1990, p. 135). In this context, Spivak fundamentally questions the possibility of developing non-white, non-Eurocentric, non-androcentric theoretical frameworks (Nandi 2012, p. 124). Yet the severity and complexity of today's global crises requires responsible scholarship as well as a diversity of perspectives among policymakers and practitioners in interdisciplinary fields such as those of development and peacebuilding to deepen the search for ‘truth’ (McCandless, 2021, p. 143).

Along these lines, this master's thesis can be seen as an attempt to intervene in a hegemonic narrative about peace, development, empowerment, and accountability. Graham Huggan (2013) refers to the common modus operandi of postcolonial theories as an intervention “[...] into Europe's Eurocentric narratives and related amnesia in order to transform hegemonic structures” (p. 12). Intervening in this sense means identifying and naming an unquestioned normality in political and academic frameworks. María do Mar Castro Varela and Nikita Dhawan refer to this as political positioning, which implies reflecting that “critical intervention always asks who is asking what question from what position” (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2003, p. 280). This raises the question of the possibilities and limitations of reflecting on the author's role as a white cis-gendered¹ person with reference to topics such as decolonization and development. While this position can be seen as a fundamental point of criticism, critical self-reflection should not lead to paralysis (Schöneberg & Ziai, 2021, p. 17). Rather, personal practical experience in development cooperation together with the insights into discourses and entry points for

¹ Cis = not trans

reconstructive action within the discipline should be put to productive use (Schöneberg & Ziai, 2021, p. 17).

Accordingly, the theoretical reflection elaborated in this work is the result of the author's practical experience with civil society organizations (CSOs) since 2014 and ultimately with the German development cooperation (GIZ) in Colombia. The starting point are the research findings in the context of developing a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT)²-inclusive gender strategy for the GIZ's program "Consolidation of Peace in Colombia - ProPaz II". Roughly summarized, an assessment of the needs of the LGBT population in the context of transitional justice processes revealed that socioeconomic barriers and a continuum of bias-motivated violence are the greatest impediment to participation in peacebuilding. However, the root causes of socioeconomic inequalities and bias-motivated violence are not addressed within ProPaz II, nor is the interconnectedness of poverty and conflict at the structural level, as that is beyond the program's mandate. Thus, this work, although of course within an academic framework, has emerged from the author's personal motivation and offers a platform to question personal ideas and practical experience as well as to explore possibilities for alternative action. Therefore, the points of view expressed are the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official position of institutions, organizations and individuals that contributed to this work.

² According to Oettler (2019) 'LGBT' is the most frequently used acronym to represent non-heteronormative and non-cis-gendered people in Colombia (p. 5). However, the National Geographic (2021) states: "As society's understanding, recognition, and inclusion of diverse sexual identities and gender expressions has grown, so has its acronym". Along these lines and measured against the definition of the global North, the abbreviated acronym 'LGBT' in Colombia may suggest that the country is 'backward' in terms of understanding, recognition, and inclusion of non-heteronormative gender identities. Contrarily to this assumption, people in Colombia with non-heteronormative SOGIESC partly reject the acronym 'LGBT'. Activists in Meta, for example, also refuse to be labelled as LGBT 'community' while recognizing their diversity, differences and also disagreements. The self-designation 'Población Diversa', the Diverse Population, emerged from the debate on the definition (GIZ 2020a; 2020b, p. 47). This illustrates the necessity of always starting from the situational plurality of gender and sexuality. Therefore, this work is not limited to the use of a single term when referring to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, but the choice of terms is adapted to the context.

1 Introduction

Dayana, a Black transgender woman, died at the age of 26 in Sur de Bolívar, Colombia, by a bullet fired by the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC). Before she died, Dayana had expressed in a few sentences that she did not approve of the AUC being in control over her community (Caribe Afirmativo, 2022, p. 121-126),³ thereby demonstrating her resistance against patriarchal authority. Was this the reason why she had to die?

The reasons for the femicide committed against Dayana are complex and raises a number of questions: was her non-heteronormative gender identity and sexual orientation the reason for her death, as well as the village community's indifference to the murder (Caribe Afirmativo, 2022, p. 122)? Do the reasons lie in Colombia's armed conflict,⁴ which has lasted for more than six decades, and the resulting normalization of violence? How did her skin color affect the crime? Gisell Chambueta, also a Black transgender woman, tells that she experiences a range of discrimination because of her race, which comes to a head when her counterparts perceive her gender identity (Caribe Afirmativo, 2022, p. 78). Both Dayana's and Gisell's experiences highlight how expressions of patriarchy, sexism, racism, homo- and transphobia intersect with a violent outcome. Yet, these examples are not isolated cases, but their structural character allows conclusions to be drawn about the current constitution of the world.

As in Colombia, in fragile,⁵ conflict- and violence-affected settings (FCVAS), the vulnerability of people with non-heteronormative sexual orientation, gender identity, expression and sex characteristics (SOGIESC) is exacerbated (Bouvier, 2016, p. 19; Hagen, 2020, p. 2). According to the Escola de Cultura de Pau (ECP, 2022) 18 of the worldwide 32 reported armed conflicts take place in countries with medium, high, or very high levels of gender discrimination (p. 12). While reasons for armed conflict are diverse and complex

³ Caribe Afirmativo is one of the leading grassroots NGOs in Colombia putting pressure on the government in order to visibilize the violence LGBT people face due to the armed conflict as well as the persistent discrimination and prejudices in society (Maier, 2016, p. 30). Such queer organizations are vital to supplying support services where governments do abandon those marginalized because of their non-heteronormative SOGIESC (Hagen, 2020, p. 1-2).

⁴ Despite a signed peace agreement between the Colombian Government and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) in 2016, armed conflict is on the rise. The International Committee of the Red Cross (CICR, 2022, p. 2) identified six active armed conflicts in Colombia in 2022. The armed conflict in Colombia continued to escalate in 2021, and higher levels of violence, with an increase compared to the previous year, were reported (ECP, 2022, p. 27).

⁵ 'Fragility' refers to on the state's lack of capacity, will and/or legitimacy to fulfil expected functions in a given area, including keeping and building trustworthy relations with society (McCandless, 2021, p. 133).

and war mostly emerges out of an interplay of various factors,⁶ Hagen (2020, p. 1) argues, that patriarchal power relations are main drivers of wars and gender-based violence (GBV). Further, there is a convergence between FCVAS and poverty – the World Bank (2020a) predicts for 85 % of the world's extreme poor to live in these contexts by 2030 (p. 1). Taking these facts into consideration and along with viewing conflict as relational, this work focuses on its structural causes as violence is often “embedded in the political and economic organization of our world” (Farmer et al. 2006, p. 1686). Empirical evidence supports the notion of structural violence⁷ as an underlying factor of violent conflict, giving reason to regard it as a root cause for direct violence⁸ (Evans, 2016, pp. 4-5). One point of criticism of peacebuilding efforts is a narrowed view on conflict conceiving the violence it entails as solely direct (Evans, 2016, pp. 2-3). Following Johan Galtung (1964), who decisively shaped the concept of *positive peace*, the connection between structural violence and conflict and, conversely, the transformation of forms of structural violence leading to peace is evident.

1.1 State of research, research subject, interest, and questions

Research has found that gender discrimination is a key expression of inequalities leading to destabilized social relations (Baranyi & Powell, 2005) and GBV is considered pre-cursor to the outbreak of conflict (OECD, 2016, p. 25). Conversely, contexts with more balanced gender relations are less likely to initiate or escalate interstate (Hudson et al, 2012), and civil conflict (Caprioli, 2005). Wright (2016) argues that “[t]he importance of applying a gender lens to all efforts to prevent and resolve violent conflict and build sustainable peace is widely recognized, though often not adequately implemented”, partly due to the narrow understanding of gender, which equates it with women. While there is strong evidence of the impact of women's equality on successful peacebuilding (Gizelis, 2018, p. 5; Paffenholz, 2015; UN, 2015; Wanis-St. John & Kew, 2008), little is known about the causal mechanisms of LGBT-equality and sustainable peace (Cox, 2021, p. 9; Gizelis, 2018, p. 7; Hagen, 2020, p. 3). However, Cox (2021) argues that “[i]t also seems likely that approaches to peace that specifically include LGBTQIA+ persons and interests within violent

⁶ In examining the root causes of conflict, Stewart (2002) notes that the assumption that the division along ethnic, geographic, or religious lines alone are the cause of conflict is misguided and "diverts attention from important underlying political factors" (p. 342). Engagement in violent conflict only occurs when identity issues are accompanied or exacerbated by broader inequalities, particularly in the distribution of political and economic resources (Stewart, 2002, p. 343).

⁷ Structural violence is inherent in the system and manifests in unequal power relations (Galtung, 1975, p. 11).

⁸ Direct violence, physical or psychological, is carried out from one person directly to another (Galtung, 1969, p. 169).

communities would, like approaches that include women, also be linked to the absence of conflict” (p. 2). In line with this, Gizelis (2018) claims that a larger data set on gender in peace is needed. In particular, there is a need to understand *why* and *how* holistic gender equality is linked to just and lasting peace (Cox, 2021, pp. 9–10). This work aims at providing a first step in broadening this understanding

Based on the above state of research, this thesis elaborates the hypothesis that equality for and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace. This hypothesis is addressed within this thesis through a two-part research question:

1. *Why* can equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contribute to more sustainable peace?
2. *How* can the equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contribute to more sustainable peace? That is, how can this be implemented in concrete practice.

Regarding the first part of the research question, concerning the *why*, the reasons for structural violence, in the form of GBV are discussed with reference to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC. This approach is based on the above outlined assumption that firstly, conflict results out of structural root causes of inequalities which express themselves through forms of violence such as GBV. Secondly, an effect of structural violence is the constriction of agency of those who suffer from it. Structural violence may reproduce the conditions under which it occurs by limiting the potential of empowerment and keeping those who have historically suffered from it in a state of constraint. Therefore, these forms of violence must be named and deconstructed to take preventive and transformative action. From these conditions results the second epistemological interest of this thesis, which is related to the question of the *how*.

This second part of the research question is addressed within the disciplines of development and peacebuilding with reference to the concepts of empowerment and accountability (E&A). The interest of knowledge lies in exploring the role of international development cooperation agencies for empowering people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in peacebuilding on the one hand, and for transforming peace and development imaginaries by the empowerment queer people on the other hand. To this end a transnational conceptualization of accountability with a focus on development

cooperation (DC) agencies is elaborated. This approach is supported by the thesis that the limitations of nation states with regard to global power structures do not provide a sufficient framework for internationally operating actors. DC programs for peacebuilding that address SDG 5: “Gender Equality” and SDG 16: “Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions” form part of a complex network, composed by transnational actors, capital, labor, providers, and markets, as well as NGOs and multilateral agencies (Loomba et al., 2005, p. 2). The question remains open to what extent these programs have an empowering or rather destructive effect within this network, because neither peacebuilding nor development initiatives operate inside a vacuum of power.

In order to address the power structures at play within the disciplines of peacebuilding and development, their nexus points are being identified by applying a de- and postcolonial as well as queer perspective. De- and postcolonial critique on development has been articulated since the beginning of the 1990s.⁹ In the field of peace and conflict studies, 9-11 and the following so called ‘war on terror’ raised questions among US intellectuals concerning the causes and consequences of the terrorist attacks, illuminating them through a de- and postcolonial lens and challenging the Eurocentric,¹⁰ colonial and racist gazes that oftentimes inform peacebuilding imaginaries.¹¹ There are also, albeit few, critical evaluations of the nexus of peacebuilding and development from a de- and postcolonial perspective.¹² Both disciplines have also been illuminated and criticized through a queer lens at the level of discourse and practice, though in isolation from each other.¹³ The endeavor of filling this void of reference in de- and postcolonial as well as queer theory with regard to the peacebuilding–development nexus (PDN) is based on the following reasoning.

As stated by the United Nations, peacebuilding includes a set of political, humanitarian, development and human rights programs, as well as mechanisms to prevent the emergence, resurgence, or persistence of armed conflict (UN, 2010, pp. 8–9). As this definition shows, the vision of peace and development – “normative interdisciplinary

⁹ See for example Bendix, 2018; Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Escobar, 1995; Esteva & Prakash, 1998; Kerner, 1999; Kothari, 2005; Ndlovu–Gatsheni, 2013; Rahnema, 1997; Sachs, 1993; Ziai, 2016; Schöneberg & Ziai, 2021, p. 7

¹⁰ Eurocentrism in Quijano’s (2000, p. 343) definition is closely connected to the production of rational knowledge “[...] of those educated under the hegemony of world capitalism” (Lugones, 2008, p. 3) since the XVII century.

¹¹ See for example Barkawi & Laffey, 2006; Butler, 2004; Härtling, 2006; Park, 2020; Spivak, 2004b

¹² See for example Colvin 2008; McCandless 2021

¹³ see for example Duggan, 2012; Hagen, 2020, 2017, 2016; Klapeer, 2021; Kapoor, 2015; Maddison & Shepherd, 2014; Maier, 2019

enterprise[s]” (McCandless, 2021, p. 143) – are linked in many ways: following this logic, without development, there is no peace; without peace, no development. While Colvin (p. 412) claims in 2008 that the two disciplines, in theory and in practice, have been quite disconnected from one another, McCandless (2021, p. 132) points out the growing academic programs, policies and practices integrating the peacebuilding-development nexus (PDN) nowadays. The growing international relevance of the nexus is reflected, for example, in Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16: “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development [...]” of the 2030 Agenda. SDG 16 is deployed broadly in the sustainable development agenda and is seen as an outcome and enabler for all SDGs (McCandless, 2021, p. 141). Postcolonial voices criticize the SDGs for being anchored in a Eurocentric development thinking that reproduces the “imperial way of life” (Brand & Wissen, 2017, author’s translation)¹⁴ based on the appropriation of cheap resources and labor in other countries (Lepenies & Sondermann, 2017; Sachs, 2018). Considering this, the embedding of peacebuilding and development projects in the 2030 Agenda shows that both are deeply intertwined by common political logics and visions (Colvin, 2008, p. 412). Consequently, de- and postcolonialism allow to illuminate the power dynamics at play in the definitions of the terms while queer theory puts a special emphasis on these power dynamics regarding gender.

1.2 Objectives, methodology and content structure

From the epistemological interest of this work, which is connected to the overall questions, results a threefold objective:

1. Revealing in a deconstructive process how GBV with regard to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC emerges, is justified, and maintained with the aim to take action for prevention and transformation of underlying logics.
2. Developing an approach to the gendered and racialized subject as agent of change in order to gain access to the concept and possibilities of empowerment.
3. Exploring for possibilities to decolonize the praxis of the PDN through E&A by shifting the discourse on accountability with regard to international DC agencies and uncovering alternative meanings of peace and development.

In the pursuit of these objectives, it is argued that interdisciplinary research is needed in order to address increasingly complex global issues such as those of armed conflict,

¹⁴ “Imperiale Lebensweisen“ (Brand & Wissen, 2017).

socio-economic inequalities and GBV. For this reason, this work draws on various theories and different disciplines. An attempt is being made to enrich them by identifying nexus points in order to find answers to the question of how sustainable peace can be achieved.

Accordingly, in chapter two, a synthesis of de- and postcolonial as well as queer theory is being developed. In this way, firstly, efforts will be made to illuminate how GBV emerges, is maintained, and justified by discourses on gender, which were initially produced in the colonial period and then reproduced and naturalized in the praxis of the PDN. Secondly, in order to gain access to possibilities of empowerment in the following section, an approach to the gendered and racialized subject as agent of change is being developed. In chapter three, in an interim conclusion, the preliminary findings that resulted from the process in chapter two will be applied to the overreaching research question of *why* the equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC can contribute to more sustainable peace. Thereby, first statements on the established hypothesis that equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace are made. Further, within this chapter, the move is made from the *why* to *how* sustainable peace can be achieved in praxis by reaching equality for and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC. To this end the author draws on the concepts of empowerment and accountability. In chapter four, the second part of the overreaching research question on the *how* is concretised by applying the before established theoretical synthesis to the peacebuilding-development nexus in order to search for possibilities of a decolonial praxis. Chapter five encompasses the empirical investigation, drawing on the case of Colombia and the GIZ's program "Consolidation of Peace in Colombia - ProPaz II". By applying qualitative research, it is intended to uncover alternative meanings of peace and development and shed a new light on the relationship between them as well as to explore possibilities for operationalizing a decolonial praxis. Final considerations on the research questions are possible by the empirical and theoretical synthesis in chapter six, by discussing whether the hypotheses established by theoretical analysis are confirmed by empirical evidence or whether there are deviations. Here, practical implications towards a decolonial praxis in the PDN are presented in the form of recommendations and an outlook for future research is provided. This is followed by the conclusion in chapter seven.

2 De- and postcolonial-queer theory

The central aim of both postcolonial and queer theory is to detach sexuality, sexual orientation, skin color, and cultural identity from their supposedly natural basis and to make them visible as cultural products wholly permeated by power relations. (Babka, 2019, p. 39, author's translation)¹⁵

In this work the concepts of *gender*, *queer*, *de- and/or postcolonial* are conflated. They form the theoretical focal point and at the same time the place of transdisciplinary, intersectional perspectivization (Babka, 2019, p. 11). The underlying assumption is that analyses of sexism as a power relation are always interdependent with colonial racism and imperialism. Consequently, postcolonial and gender studies cannot be separated but instead must be conceptualized together (Hornscheidt, 2012, p. 217). Accordingly, for queering E&A with the pursuit of a decolonial praxis in the PDN, a symbiosis of de- and postcolonial as well as queer theory is being developed. To begin with, it is argued that de- and postcolonial as well as queer theories have essential characteristics in common, suitable to be a fruitful ground for further theoretical evolution.

De- and postcolonial studies, under a broad understanding of the term, focus on the socio-historical interconnections between the countries of the global South and the global North (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 331, 201, p. 12). The different influences within the theoretical frameworks hold in common the notion that the hierarchies of race, gender, class, sex, and other factors that structure the relationship between colonizer and colonized persist beyond the confines of formal colonialism. Postcolonial theory was established within Western academy by, e.g., contributors like Homi Bhabba, Gayatri Spivak and Edward W. Said during the 1980s (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 25, 2015, pp. 12-13; Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 203). Within decolonial approaches (Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2019) the narrow regional and timely focus of these scholars on Asia and a few Arab and African geographic areas is criticized (Castro Varela & Dhawan 2021, p. 331). As Rodriguez Iglesias (2020) concisely describes, referring to the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group (1994):

Decolonialism situates the critique of persisting colonialism in the Latin American context, where former Spanish colonies gained independence from Spain in the nineteenth century, and 'the resulting postcolonial nation-states were ruled predominantly by white criollos who developed internal colonial regimes with respect to the Indians, the slaves of African descent, the mestizo or mulatto peasantry, and the nascent proletariats'. (p. 203)

¹⁵ „Zentrales Ziel sowohl der postkolonialen als auch der Queertheorie ist es, Sexualität, sexuelle Orientierung, Hautfarbe und kulturelle Identität von ihrer vermeintlich natürlichen Grundlage loszulösen und sie als ganz und gar von Machtverhältnissen durchsetztes, kulturelles Produkt sichtbar zu machen“ (Babka, 2019, p. 39).

Hence, a decolonizing process aims at dismantling these power structures and to create spaces for alternatives (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 204). Regarding the tensions among the proponents of differing trends, Castro Varela and Dhawan (2020, pp. 25-26, 338) acknowledge the variety of methodological approaches within postcolonial and decolonial theory and they plead for cooperation with the common aim of decolonization instead of a competition of dissonant voices.

Queer studies have emerged from gay and lesbian studies and are often seen as one part of or even as an evolution of gender studies (Babka 2019, pp. 38-39). They turn out to be essential approaches inside postcolonial theory formation (Babka, 2019, p. 33). One crucial aspect of postcolonial feminist theory development within gender and queer studies is the critique of postcolonial theory itself. Foremost criticized is the lack of a gender perspective with the attempt to raise awareness of the gendered history of colonialism and its impact on women to the present day as well as the critique of universal, euro- and ethnocentric tendencies of feminism until the 1970s and 1980s (Babka, 2019, pp. 34-35).¹⁶

Both, queer and postcolonial studies evolved from poststructuralist theory formation in the wake of Jacques Derrida (Babka, 2019, p.18; Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 26). Following his idea that “social meaning is constructed discursively through language” (Richmond, 2008, p. 455), poststructuralism rejects any ultimate core that grounds reality, thus opening ways for change and discontinuities in social dynamics (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 201). In this reading, the term *queer* itself cannot be conclusively defined, because that would mean excluding or rejecting something (Villa 2012, p. 105). Poststructuralist approaches uncover the naturalization of dominant narratives and instead ground the way for alternative, until then marginalized knowledges, truth, and meanings (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 202). With postcolonial and queer theory having their origin in this common source, the conceptualization of identity and the subject are central issues in the deconstructive constituted areas of study (Babka, 2019, p. 39). Consequently, the individual is perceived as a product of a symbolic-discursive praxis (Babka, 2019, p. 39) and is characterized by the hybridity of its identity. In consequence, the concept of identity and gender are dynamic, and fluid while the subject represents the prism, which,

¹⁶ Since the 1960s, *Black feminism* with representatives like Angela Davis, bell hooks, Audre Lorde and Kimberle Crenshaw has a strong content connection with postcolonial feminism. They oppose racism, sexism, and the oppression of marginalized communities by bringing into focus the longstanding political, economic, and cultural effects of colonialism on non-white, non-western women and by highlighting the neglect of difference among women within feminist theory (Babka, 2019, pp. 34-35).

unifies the spectrum of class, race, gender, and sexual orientation, among others (Babka, 2019, p. 39; Crenshaw, 1989). These elements are analyzed against the background of existing power relations (Babka, 2019, p. 39).

In line with this, as an analytical framework in order to grasp the complexity of phenomena, such as sexism and racism, the concept of *intersectionality* is relevant for this work. The categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, ability, ethnicity, and age, among others, are seen as interconnected and mutually influencing (Hill Collins & Bilage, 2020, p. 2). This understanding allows for examining how power relations shape social relations and everyday individual experiences (Hill Collins & Bilage, 2020, p. 2). Hybrid identities located at the various intersections of systems of inequality and oppression thus emerge from a legal and discursive vacuum and become visible (Roig, 2021, p. 76). Beyond empowerment at the individual level, the concept of intersectionality releases enormous potential at the political-structural level (Roig, 2021, p. 76). An intersectional approach means: "fighting discrimination within discrimination, making inequalities visible within inequalities, and *empowering* [sic] minorities within minorities" (Roig, 2021, p. 16, author's translation).¹⁷ Accordingly, taking on a transdisciplinary and power-critical epistemological perspective and recognizing the interrelatedness and reciprocal relationship of inequality and privilege, the central aim of queer and postcolonial studies is to formulate empowering strategies (Babka, 2017, p. 109). Yet, empowerment from a queer position does not mean to assimilate the marginalized, suppressed, or silenced by the hegemonic discourses into the existing normality, but is primarily concerned with problematizing normality itself (Villa, 2012, p. 105).

With respect to gender, peacebuilding and development, poststructuralist approaches such as queer and de- and postcolonial theory, question "[...] the truths, the narratives and the laws of nature contained in the discipline[s] as universal, uncontestable, and static" (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 202). This allows to criticize the practice of peacebuilding and development by revealing how dominant narratives within the disciplines are reproduced and materialized through concrete political actions and programs, structuring international relations in which Western ideas and modern patterns of thought¹⁸ are constructed as natural and superior. On that note,

¹⁷ "Diskriminierung innerhalb von Diskriminierung bekämpfen, Ungleichheiten innerhalb von Ungleichheiten sichtbar machen, und Minderheiten innerhalb von Minderheiten *empowern* [sic]" (Roig, 2021, p. 16).

poststructuralism can be understood as a self-reflexive turn within Western academia, since it originated here, challenging key ideas – such as modernity and liberalism – that hold up the asymmetrical relation between the global North and South (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 202). Within the peacebuilding and development discourse, de- and postcolonial as well as queer theory thus allow to address the changes at the margins and bring them into the center, which makes discontinuities possible as the hardened boundaries between center and periphery dissolve.

As mentioned above, postcolonial, and queer studies are not to be seen as “monolithical theory buildings” (Babka, 2019, p. 51). In fact, they are informed by a variety of dissonant voices (Babka, 2019, p. 33; Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, pp. 23-28, 330-338). Yet, by subverting binary opposition structures, contributors jointly challenge the status quo. This is not limited to identity-building normative orders such as heterosexuality/homosexuality or man/woman (Babka, 2019, p. 18) but also concerning global power relations expressed in the division of the world in center/periphery (Babka, 2019, p. 47) or modern/backward, which ultimately are not detached to the development of personal identities. However, the rejection of unification and norming (Babka, 2019, p. 33; Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 26) in theory and practice, allows the creation of open and hybrid spaces (Babka, 2019, p. 39), where the impossible becomes imaginable. This is what Emilia Roig (2012) sums up as “theories of liberation” (p. 24, author’s translation).¹⁹

Having established this solid theoretical basis on commonalities, the author builds on selected proponents of de- and/or postcolonial as well as queer theory. Since this work aims to shift the discourse on E&A in peacebuilding and development, *agency*, in the sense of political capacity to act, is considered crucial to accessing E&A concepts. Placing the relationship between the subject and power in the center of the analysis is characteristic of discourse-theoretical approaches (Ludwig, 2012, p. 105). In the following, the goal is to look for ways in which different approaches to conceptualizing the subject and power can cross-fertilize to build on an empowering definition of agency. Along these lines, this work is not concerned with an either-or of competing approaches, such as those of de- and postcolonial studies, but with seeking and strengthening ways of supplementation and cooperation.

¹⁹ „Theorien der Befreiung“ (Roig, 2021, p. 24).

2.1 Agency and power

In terms of agency, the Enlightenment gave rise to the idea of an autonomous subject in the form of the bourgeois, white, heterosexual man (Meißner, 2010, p. 9). Freed from all mental and physical dependencies, the latter, as an enlightened actor, can act in a self-determined and rational manner (Meißner, 2010, pp. 9-10). He is at the same time addressee as well as executor of his own empowerment (Meißner, 2010, p. 9). The issue of this Eurocentric-patriarchal universalization of a particular autonomous subjectivity as general-human has been pointed out by feminist and postcolonial scholars (Meißner, 2010, pp. 9-10). It results in the reproduction of hierarchies and exclusions (Meißner, 2010, p. 9). From a de- and postcolonial-queer perspective, which is inhabiting a poststructuralist theory edifice, no general statements about the nature of human beings are possible (Meißner, 2010, p. 11). Subjectivity is determined via an ensemble of social power relations and the subject's entanglement within them (Meißner, 2010, pp. 10-11). Following Foucault (2005), power and subject are interdependent - the subject is a product of power relations and at the same time produces them itself. Foucault's genealogy of power, in contrast to the until then repressive understanding of power, emphasizes its productive characteristics (Dzudzek, Kunze, & Wullweber, 2012, p. 11). Perceiving power as a fluid and dynamic relation between individuals and groups beyond agency and structure and a *positive-sum view* of power are necessary to pave the way for empowerment processes. According to VeneKlasen and Miller (2002), a positive-sum view of power contains the three dimensions of *power with*, in the sense of finding common ground among different interests to collectively transform conflict and build equitable relationships, *power to*, in the sense of the individuals' strength to take action for transformability and lastly *power within*. Power within is the enabling dimension for the former two dimensions of power as it has to do with the individuals' recognition of self-worth- and knowledge. This conception is opposed to *power over*, the understanding of power as 'taking it away from someone to then give it to someone else or taking over the power'. This is referred to as the *zero-sum view of power*. It bares the risk of the oppressed becoming the oppressor when gaining power in leadership positions (p. 55). This conception allows the shifting of power relations without entailing new cycles of oppression, bearing in mind that what might be empowering to one person might lead to the disempowerment of another.

Consequently, the starting point of analysis in this work is not the individual but the

structures that produce the heterosexual binary subject (Meißner, 2010, p. 11). It is argued that these structures are determined by the *colonial matrix of power* (Quijano, 2019).

2.2 Gender within the colonial matrix of power

Gender is of central importance when it comes to establishing access to empowerment through agency. This is because the term has evolved conceptually since its introduction for the purpose of opposing biological sex (Babka, 2019, p. 38). Gender is now understood as decisive dimension for the individual's possibility of participation in certain discourses and its positioning within them (Babka, 2019, p. 38).

However, as current incidents show, there is a scientific dispute about the binary or non-binary nature of gender. For instance, the lecture by biologist Marie-Luise Vollbrecht, in which she argues in favor of the thesis of binary sex, caused a strong headwind from leftist students of law, which accuse her of transphobia (Deutschlandfunk, 2022). While Vollbrecht argues for the clean division between gender and sex, whereby there would only be two for the latter, that is, masculine and feminine, there exist opposing standpoints within queer theory. Judith Butler (1990, p. 8), considered to be an important proponent or even one of the founders of queer theory in western academics (Jagose, 2001, p. 108) argues that "sex by definition, will be shown to have been gender all along". Accordingly, Hirschauer (1991, p. 101) argues that the cultural reality of the subject cannot be derived from differences in biological sex. This is because biological sex only exists in the context of a reality that has been preconstructed in binary terms. These authors share the idea that biological sex is in fact as culturally and discursively constructed as gender, the latter being perceived as a set of internalized symbols psychically and discursively inscribed in the body, thus shaping the individuals' perceptions of its own identity and cultural reality.

María Lugones (2008), from a decolonial perspective and with reference to Michael J. Horswell (2003), also argues that gender is a powerful fiction (Lugones, 2008, p. 12). Horswell makes use of the term "third gender" to break with the sex and gender bipolarity (Lugones, 2008, p. 11). By this he does not mean, that there are three genders, but points out the existence of other possible combinations than those within the binary (Lugones, 2008, p. 11). To this end he refers to the documentation of third gender existence in about one hundred North American societies (Horswell, 2003, p. 27). De- and postcolonial theory help to understand how the claimed preconstructed binary social and cultural reality mentioned above came about by observing closely the power dimensions

associated with colonialism. Comprehending the position of gender in societies before colonization is central to revealing the scope and operation of binary gender norms imposed during the colonial period to the present day. To achieve this visualization, Lugones (2008) elaborates *the colonial/modern gender system* by linking the two analytical frameworks of intersectionality and Anibal Quijano's (2019) *coloniality of power*:

The colonial matrix of power keeps on operating in post-colonial²⁰ environments through its influence, among others, on the habitus of the individual and knowledge production (Quijano 2000a, 2019). The two axes of 'coloniality of power' and 'modernity' are central concepts to the colonial matrix of power. According to Quijano the construction of race is the main pillar sustaining the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000b, p. 1). The imposed classification and hierarchization of the planet's population gave rise to new (geo)cultural identities. 'European', 'Asian', 'African' and 'Indian' in this sense are cultural identities, which, in descending order, determine the value of a human being or call his or her humanity into question altogether. The coloniality of power is displayed in the dichotomous racial and geographical division of humanity and the planet into the 'superior' and 'inferior', 'rational', and 'irrational', 'civilized' and 'primitive', 'modern' and 'traditional', 'center' and 'periphery' and so on (Lugones, 2008, p. 8). What is to be expressed through the axis of coloniality in consequence is the materialization of this classification, as it permeates all areas of human existence and is manifested in social and global power relations (Quijano, 2000, p. 342). What Quijano defines as the second axis, namely modernity, is "the fusing of the experiences of colonialism and coloniality with the necessities of capitalism, creating a specific universe of intersubjective relations of domination under a Eurocentered hegemony" (Quijano, 2000a, p. 343). According to Quijano (2000b), all social power relations are organized around these two axes, in struggles over "the four basic areas of social existence [...]: 1) labor [...]; 2) sex [...]; 3) collective authority [...]; 4) subjectivity/intersubjectivity, [their] resources and products " (Quijano, 2000b, p. 1, author's translation).²¹ Hence, the categories of sex/gender can be found in the disputes over "sexual access, its recourses and products", which are organized around the axes of coloniality and modernity (Lugones, 2008, p. 2). Lugones

²⁰ Post-colonial is not synonymous with postcolonial. While the latter, in the context of postcolonial theory as outlined in chapter two is concerned with the continuing effects of colonization across time and geographic regions on individual and global power relations, post-colonial refers to a condition after the formal end of administrative colonialism.

²¹ "Las cuatro áreas básicas de la existencia social [...]: 1) el trabajo [...]; 2) el sexo [...]; 3) la autoridad colectiva [...]; 4) la subjetividad/intersubjetividad, sus recursos y sus productos" (Quijano 200b, p.1).

(2008, p. 4) frames Quijano's approach of the two 'structural axes' in terms of intersectionality as it "[...] shows gender as constituted by and constituting the coloniality of power. In that sense, there is no gender/race separability in Quijano's model" (Lugones, 2008, p. 4).

By taking on the task of reconceptualizing the logic of these intersections, Lugones (2008, p. 2) reveals the heterosexual and patriarchal gender arrangements historically carried by the given framework of coloniality/modernity. Lugones (2008) criticizes Quijano for his narrow and overly biologized account of gender, as he thereby accepts the heteronormative character as given instead of putting it into question. Thus, she expands Quijano's approach, preserving the concept of coloniality of power but adding Oyéronké Oyewù mí's (1997) and Paula Gunn Allen's ([1986] 1992) perspectives on gender. That way, the outreach of Lugones' colonial/modern gender system "[...] into the construction of collective authority, all aspects of the relation between capital and labor, and the construction of knowledge" (Lugones, 2008, p. 16) becomes visible.

Doing so, the changes that colonization brought about in the organization of sex and gender become visible and it is possible to question how, for example, dimorphism serves Eurocentred global capitalist exploitation (Lugones, 2008, p. 7). Having said this, Gunn Allen, among others, points out the positive recognition of 'third gender' and homosexuality in many pre-colonial societies which were matriarchal and Campuzano (2009, p. 84) explains how colonial control systems prohibited cross-dressing and homosexuality to maximize the indigenous labor force in agricultural production. Further, Paula Gunn Allen and Oyéronké Oyewù mí show, that this imposed oppressive gender system did a lot more than the control of reproduction. They illustrate how the overturning of pre-colonial egalitarian gender concepts which did not rest on biology resulted in the subordination of women (Lugones, 2008, p. 7). Their argumentation illustrates, that "[...] gender differentials were introduced where there were none" (Lugones, 2008, p. 7). Oyewù mí consequently defines "[...] gender as introduced by the West as a tool of domination that designates two binarily opposed and hierarchical social categories" (Lugones, 2008, p. 8). The category 'woman' is constructed in relation to the category 'men', the norm. Oyewù mí (1997) describes the introduction of the category woman, "defined by their anatomy, and subordinated to men in all situations" (p. 124), as a constitutive element for the establishment and at the same time the first achievement of the patriarchal colonial state.

This point is where proponents of queer theory come in again to bridge the gap between complex theoretical considerations and concrete political practice. Queer is, in Jagose (2001, p. 165) words, "a place of constant becoming", thus not an identity, but serves, as in this case, to critically reflect on the violence that comes with identities and identity politics. In that sense, Butler (1990, p. 8), along with Gayatri Spivak (1993, p. 132), rejects the essentialist conceptualization of the category 'women' and other identity building categories. This does not mean to reject and deny them entirely, but to detach them from their traditional meaning, which is tied to the coloniality of power and the degradation of feminized people. This rejection opens the possibility of resignification (Butler, 1993, p. 48). Furthermore, the colonial power matrix illustrates the need to consider sexuality as a distinct yet interconnected, context-specific dimension of people's realities in relation to gender, race, class, and ability (Hagen, 2020, p. 3). Kraß (2003) describes the "deconstruction of heterosexual identity" (p. 27) as another fundamental characteristic of queer theory. In that sense, Butler neglects the correlation between sex, gender, and sexuality. This means that there is no necessary coherence between a feminine body, a feminine gender, and heterosexual desires (Babka, 2019, p. 37).

Yet, with the problematics tied to essentialist vocabular such as 'woman' or 'man' in mind, political practice illustrates the relevance of applying a *strategic essentialism* to promote agency. "[...] strategic essentialism accepts that essentialist categories of human identity should be criticized but emphasizes that one cannot avoid such categories at times in order to make sense of the social and political world" (Morton, 2003, p. 75). Strategic essentialism is one way to create agency. As a political strategy it is suited to be applied to the policy and practice of peacebuilding and development cooperation, due to the essentialist tendencies within the disciplines (outlined in chapter 4). Here, the tension between essentialist and anti-essentialist approaches become evident and demand for strategic action. Queer politics thus does not mean to stop advocating in the name of women, but that political actions based on essential identity categories must be critically and constantly reflected (Villa, 2012, p. 106). This means contextualizing and situating essentialist categories by examining, for example, the following aspects: Which women? At what time and in which historical context (Nandi, 2012, p. 124)? Yet, Kempf (2016) illustrates the problem related with strategic essentialism due to the difficulty in practice of reaching a balance between the utility of essentialist categories and their deconstruction. It is questionable whether a deconstruction of gender norms in gender programs in the sense of breaking down colonial patriarchal structures is possible, or

whether the topic is treated superficially. Especially when the success of empowerment efforts is measured focusing on numbers, in the framework of the *Aid-Effectiveness-Debate*,²² little is known about the actual depth of deconstruction processes. However, in order to achieve structural change, it is necessary to reach to the root of the problem.

Facing that, Butler suggests a genealogy of women which promotes political action in alliances as an alternative to strategic essentialism (Kempf, 2016, p. 76). In practice, in these coalitions people act together based on overlapping and indirect connections, yet consciously acknowledging and explicitly addressing their differences (Stone, 2004, pp. 89-91). In contrast to strategic essentialism, acting on behalf of a collective identity is not possible, yet agency is ensured because diversity and the lack of a common identity are explicitly and productively used for political action (Stone, 2004, p. 94). As mentioned before, it is not about 'an either or' of approaches. While strategic essentialism might be more suitable on the level of planning, programming, monitoring, and evaluating peacebuilding programs, this approach can be supplemented by Butler's proposal in the implementation of concrete practices. A practical example of this is indicated in this work in a footnote on page IX.

2.3 Subalternity

Gayatri C. Spivak together with Edward W. Said and Homi K. Bhabha are considered the "Holy Trinity" (Young, 1995, p. 163) of postcolonial theory (Babka, 2019, p. 43; Castro Varela & Dhawan 2020; Nandi, 2012, p. 121; Ziai, 2010, p. 402). In contrast to Said, Spivak focuses on possibilities of resistance against dominant regimes of order and representation (Babka, 2019, p. 43). Together with Bhabha, both share the approach of constructing the postcolonial structures as productive and enabling (Babka, 2019, p. 43; Spivak, 1996, p. 19). Bhabha and Spivak, in contrast to Said, perceive the 'colonized' as active subjects and agents (Babka, 2019, p. 43; Nandi, 2012, p. 123; Sieber, 2012, p. 99). Spivak herself stands out for her critical interventions regarding issues of gender relations, social hierarchies, and global-economic relations of exploitation (Babka, 2019, p. 43; Nandi, 2012, p. 121). She essentially contributes to the gendered extension of Marxist theories and the work of her colleagues Said and Bhabha, focusing primarily on the subject position of female

²² Wagner (2017) refers to the example of the UNDP (co-) promoted DaO (Delivering as one) initiative to illustrate the dilemma of the Aid Effectiveness-Debate: "[i]nfluenced significantly by the Aid-Effectiveness Debate, the DaO process is intended to improve the visibility and effectiveness of UN development efforts by means of results-based management, uniform implementation, and a stronger focus on national needs; but without recourse to human rights" (p. 414-415).

subalterns who are affected by both economic and gender marginalization (Babka, 2019, p. 44).²³

As a critical ally of the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG), she participates in the productive evolution of Antonio Gramsci's concept of subalternity (Babka, 2019, p. 43; Nandi, 2012, p. 122). As subaltern, Spivak considers women from the Global South, who experience multiple disadvantages and discrimination and are not able or not allowed to speak for themselves (Babka, 2019, p. 44; Spivak, 2008, p. 127). The question asked with the title of her well-known and controversially discussed essay "Can the Subaltern speak?" is a rhetorical one and her answer to it is "no" (Nandi, 2012, p. 123; Spivak, 2008, p. 106). This - as already stated and clearly pointed above out by Spivak - is not due to passive characteristics of subaltern subjects (Nandi, 2012, p. 123). The subaltern can speak, in the sense of being able to articulate themselves in some way, they can mostly talk (Spivak, 2008, p. 123). However, in order to fulfil the act of speaking, a second condition is crucial: to find one's voice in the sense of being heard (Nandi, 2012, p. 123; Spivak, 2008, p. 127).

According to Spivak, it is the prevailing essentialist discourses, shaped by epistemological regimes, that impede the act of speaking, which includes a counterpart of being heard (Nandi, 2012, pp. 123-124). In line with this, agency can only evolve where discourses are (re-)produced (Villa, 2012, p. 99). Accordingly, Roig (2021) states: "[t]he end of oppression, as utopian as it may sound, is nothing more than a shift in consciousness: toward all of us being seen, heard, and respected - not just a few". (p. 13, author's translation)²⁴

2.4 Discourse

In this work, a discourse-theoretical approach is applied that is not reduced to the semantic aspects of the spoken word and written text. The concept of discourse is broadened to include all social phenomena. A theorization of discourse, including all social structures, as also advocated by Derrida, was significantly refined by Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Laclau 1990, 1996, 2005). The assumption underlying such an understanding is that "[...] meaning is not given, but only generated in the social process through the interaction of social actors" (Dzudzek, Kunze & Wullweber, 2012, p. 12, author's translation).²⁵ The ways in which certain interpretations dominate others and

²³ For this reason, the focus will be on Spivak's and approach to agency without discussing Said's Bhabha's nonetheless fundamental contribution to the postcolonial discipline.

²⁴ Das Ende der Unterdrückung, so utopisch es klingen mag, ist nichts anderes als ein Bewusstseinswandel: hin dazu, dass wir alle gesehen, gehört und geachtet werden - nicht nur einige wenige" (Roig, 2021, p. 13).

²⁵ "[...] Bedeutung nicht gegeben ist, sondern im sozialen Prozess durch die Interaktion gesellschaftlicher

become 'valid truth' and which meanings are marginalized will be explained in the following with reference to firstly, the connection between knowledge and power and secondly, Gramsci's theory of hegemony.

Discourses are carriers of knowledge. Certain elements of knowledge prevail and are privileged, others are marginalized or completely suppressed and discarded (Wullweber, 2012, p. 40). Which knowledge becomes dominant knowledge, and which becomes suppressed is determined by power. Being subaltern in Spivak's (1996) definition as "cut off the lies of mobility in a colonized country" (p. 288) consequently means being excluded from the production of knowledge (Babka, 2019, p. 45). This intrinsic interconnectedness of the production of knowledge with positions of power is what Sandra Harding and Donna Haraway refer to as *situated knowledges* (Haraway, 1988). Foucault (1995, p. 156) refers to this *power-knowledge-formation* as the essential constituent of discourses. Discourses, in turn, are the constituents of our thinking and acting (Wullweber, 2012, p. 40). In this sense, discourses are power, not only because of the nature of their inherent mechanisms of exclusion of meanings, but also because of their impact. Based on their impact on thinking and acting, situative reality is constituted on valid knowledge.

The alleged universalism and objectivity aligned with valid knowledge can only come about by erasing all those perspectives that do not conform the dominant narrative (Roig, 2021, p. 78). This process is described by the Portuguese Sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos as *Epistemicide: the killing of knowledge systems* (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 47; Roig, 2021, pp. 107-108). Consequently Santos (2008, p. ix) claims that there is no social justice without *cognitive justice*. Within de- and postcolonial studies, the nexus of knowledge production and imperialism as well as the destruction of precolonial knowledge are problematized (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 47). Rodriguez Iglesias (2020) outlines how the racial classification of humanity was translated into knowledge, placing "Eurocentric and modern scientific knowledge [as] superior and more advanced than that of the considered 'primitive, uncivilized and barbarian' [sic] colonial subjects" (p. 204). The colonial difference was materializing and

[...] naturalized to the point that many colonial subjects internalized – as well as instrumentalized – the modern imaginary in their beings, for instance, aspiring to whitening by scaling up in the social ladder, rejecting their languages, knowledges, cultures and practices, and accommodating to the dispositive of power established during the colony and reproduced after independence. (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 204).

Thus, decolonization of the mind and in practice, is associated with an epistemic change

Akteure generiert" (Dzudzek, Kunze & Wullweber, 2012, p. 12).

(Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 47). Concerning the peacebuilding and development practice, this requires - rather than prioritizing white, male, Eurocentric thinkers - to include the totality of the world's diverse knowledge systems into university curricula: those of indigenous peoples and marginalized, minoritized ethnic groups as well as those excluded based on gender, class, or sexuality (Roig, 2021, pp. 107-108). The masculine character of the knowledge ethos becomes particularly evident when the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1603) proclaims the "Masculine Birth of Time" in the century of Enlightenment (Roig, 2021, p. 109). The dawn of this masculine age, Roig (2021, p. 109) argues, is marked by the death of the feminine era. Gunn Allen ([1986] 1992) also points out the gendered construction of knowledge in modernity. She does this by emphasizing the egalitarian, gynocratic organization of many Native American tribes. The authorization of all tribal activities was guided by the spiritual belief in a primary plural female potency of the universe (Gunn Allen [1986] 1992, p. 26), which implies "[...] a very different intersubjectivity from within which knowledge is produced than that of the coloniality of knowledge in modernity" (Lugones, 2008, p. 9). The latter was, in the framework of Christianity, one supreme male being. Allen considers this replacement as decisive for the transformation from egalitarian and gynocratic to hierarchical and patriarchal and consequently the subduing of tribes and related knowledge (Gunn Allen [1986] 1992, pp. 41-42).

What comes about as valid knowledge under the gendered conditions of the colonial matrix of power is not to be considered as true knowledge, which in turn in line with Foucault (1992, p. 32), does not exist. Valid knowledge is rather the result of continuous disputes over interpretation (Wullweber, 2012, p. 40). Or in other words, struggles over hegemony.

2.5 Heteronormative hegemony

According to Gramsci,²⁶ struggles over hegemony take place in three spaces: the civil, the political and the economy (Wullweber, 2012, p. 33). Different from what this distinction suggests, both civil society and political society are political in their nature (Wullweber,

²⁶ To illustrate "[...] how exactly statehood is constituted or how social groups achieve and secure their rule in the state" (Wullweber, 2012, p. 32), Gramsci introduces the concept of the integral state. He divides the state into civil society and political society. Civil society is constituted by an ensemble of private institutions, such as family, associations, churches, newspapers amongst others, which are considered part of the private sphere. The political society forms the state and is composed by institutional ensemble of the government, parliament, law, bureaucracy, police and military (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 247-249).

2012, p. 33). Gramsci considers civil society, not the state, to be the center of social contention and historical development (Wullweber, 2012, p. 32). For Gramsci, civil society is part of the 'superstructure', and the state is thus the instrument of domination of the leading social group (Wullweber, 2012, p. 32). To succeed in gaining state power, the social groups' hegemonic transformation into the state is necessary to secure its power (Wullweber, 2012, p. 33). This occurs when a particularity becomes universal within an alliance of dominant groups. This means that political-economic as well as intellectual-moral interests and views are accepted as universally valid. The prerequisite is that the hegemonic group becomes aware of its interests and is willing to compromise and make concessions to other social groups in a process of negotiation. Interests that cannot be integrated are suppressed or excluded by force. A successfully established hegemony, or in Gramsci's words "a historical bloc" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 366) is achieved with a stable social situation in which the interests of the alliance of dominant social groups are recognized as general interests (Wullweber, 2012, p. 33) to the point that they become naturalized.

It is apparent that - although violence and repression can be and are used - if necessary, hegemony is formerly constituted through consent and sometimes even the inclusion of subaltern voices by concessions. Criticism and demands of subaltern social groups are thus - to a certain extent - part of hegemony (Ludwig, 2012, p. 114). Yet, access to these processes of articulation is not equally distributed in society, but embedded in power relations (Ludwig, 2012, p. 117). This has consequences for the initial conditions under which actors participate in discourses. While socially recognized actors have starting advantages, marginalized groups first must gain a voice (Ludwig, 2012, pp. 117-118). Power in the sense of hegemony thus is not limited to and distinct from force and law but mainly maintained by approval of the majority society. The more this consent is based on an actual conviction of the people, in the heart and the mind, the more powerful is a hegemony. This condition is important to understand socially accepted and systematic GBV against LGBT people (see chapter 2.5). How exactly this legitimization occurs is explained in the following by outlining the extension of Gramsci's concept of hegemony as *heteronormative hegemony*. Following Stuart Hall's approach (1989, p. 58), Gramsci's theory of hegemony needs to be taken out of its historical context (Ludwig, 2012, pp. 111-112). The concept of hegemony, which emerged in the context of Gramsci's critique of economism and is narrowed to class relations, needs to be opened to make it useful for de- and postcolonial-queer subject theory (Dhawan, Engel & Castro Varela, 2011; Habermann, 2008; Ludwig, 2012, p. 122; Spivak, 1988).

In *Bodies that matter*, Butler (1993, p. xii) suggests replacing the notion of *heterosexual matrix* with *heterosexual hegemony* without implementing this herself. Ludwig (2012, p. 116) makes the blank space in Butler's and Gramsci's works fruitful by connecting the two approaches to explain how a power formation turning subjects into binary gendered ones becomes valid. Applying a hegemony-theoretical and poststructuralist deconstruction of the gendered subject, Ludwig (2012, p. 106) makes 'being-a woman' and 'being-a man' visible as an effect of a power formation. She refers to this power formation as *heteronormative hegemony* (Ludwig, 2012, p. 106).

About Butler's power-theoretical conceptualization of the heterosexual matrix, Ludwig (2012, p. 110) foremost criticizes the rigid understanding of power, which places the law in the center. According to Ludwig (2012, pp. 110-111), grasping the impact of the heterosexual matrix exclusively imposed by legal power makes it impossible to explain the power of heteronormativity beyond such a juridical justification. Further, Ludwig (2012) criticizes Butler for failing to "[...] connect the respective historically concrete shaping of the heterosexual matrix with social disputes and struggles" (p. 111, author's translation).²⁷ As described above, power does not act (solely) by coercion, but is decisively built on negotiation processes, consent, and consensus. Within a heteronormative hegemony, statements that are considered consensual are, according to Roig (2021), for example: „[m]en and women* [sic] are born as such, the differences between the two sexes are genetically programmed [...]" (p. 14, author's translation).²⁸ Further, genitals are naturally symbols of either a male or female body, just as sexual desire is naturally heterosexual (Ludwig, 2012, pp. 116-117). These statements acquire power through the consent of the majority of a society and thus become normality. Within a hegemony, violence, including state violence, against those who deviate from the norm is considered legitimate (Ludwig 2012, p. 121). State violence in turn can only be legitimated if it is based on the consent of broad segments of society. These conditions are crucial to understand how gender-based violence becomes possible in a society. Since these perceptions about sexuality and gender are naturalized, associated forms of violence are hardly accessible and become invisible within the majority society.

²⁷ "[...] die jeweils historisch-konkrete Auseinandersetzung der heterosexuellen Matrix mit gesellschaftlichen Auseinandersetzungen und Kämpfen in Verbindung zu bringen" (Ludwig, 2012, p. 111).

²⁸ "Männer und Frauen* [sic] werden als solche geboren, die Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Geschlechtern sind genetisch vorprogrammiert [...]" (Roig, 2021, p. 14).

In the following, a definition of gendered violence is developed by applying de- and postcolonial theory which further provides insight into how heteronormative hegemony originates and persists.

2.6 Gender-based violence

Violence is complex and diffuse, can take on different forms of expression and is therefore sometimes more and sometimes less visible. A distinction is mostly made between physical, psychological, and structural violence (Peters, 2020, p. 11). The everyday understanding of violence is often associated with physical violence (Peters, 2020, pp. 11-12). The consequences of physical violence, in the form of personal injuries, damage and destruction, are visible (Peters, 2020, p. 12). In terms of visibility, Galtung (1969, p. 169) refers to physical violence as violence against the body, which he distinguishes from violence against the soul, the latter being psychological. Galtung (1969) extends this typology of violence with the introduction of structural violence. He argues for it as structural because this kind of violence is inherent in the system and manifests in unequal power relations (Galtung, 1975, p. 11). Structural violence enables the expression of the violence inherent in existing social inequalities, power relations, hierarchies, and classifications (Peters, 2020, p. 13). Social structures and systems such as racism and sexism are inherently violent and physical violence is often an expression of structural violence (Butler, 2020, p. 12). Here, it is essential to understand the connection between the act of physical violence and the structure or system (Butler, 2020, p. 12). In this sense, violence must be recognized as a continuum in which different forms can intersect and by which people can be affected in multiple ways.

The silent and invisible patterns of racism and sexism shape the political and public discourse on what is considered violence and what is not (Butler, 2020, p. 133). Within the colonial matrix of power, “[...] some leave hardly a trace - the absolutely unburdenable life whose loss is no loss” (Butler, 2020, p. 96). Concerned with the question of what makes a grievable life and which life is considered worth protecting (Butler, 2020, p. 133), Butler (2020) argues that life must be considered from a historical perspective (p. 96). Consequently, life gains or loses its value depending on the given framework (Butler, 2020, p. 96). Grievability and protection, she argues, are only granted to those who are within the category of a human being whereby systems of oppression define who is granted humanity and how the concept of humanity is delimited (Butler, 2020, p. 134).

Not being seen, not being heard, is unbearable. Because it questions our humanity. People who are neither seen nor heard, who are not believed, are subjected to many forms of

violence - including murder. They are victims of an oppression that for centuries has dehumanized most people on this earth, making them invisible, voiceless and expendable. This oppression occurs, in short, first, by constructing and asserting 'nature-given' differences; second, by then placing these differences into a hierarchy that defines the value of life, grants access to rights, and influences levels of empathy; and third, through the powerful narrative that we all deserve our place in this hierarchy. The lower the level in the hierarchy, the less visibility, hearing, and empathy are granted. (Roig, 2020, p. 13, author's translation)²⁹

As the above quotation shows, contemporary forms of violence are in many cases directly linked to the racialized hierarchization of the world's population within the colonial matrix of power. Since the colonial matrix of power, a system of oppression, is characterized as a complex belief system that still permeates every aspect of human existence, violence must necessarily be understood as structural. Colonial practices and forms of violence were legitimized through the dehumanization of the colonized, an effect that persists to this day. This dehumanization was based on categories constructed as biological, innate, and immutable (Roig, 2021, p. 13). While white Europeans were elevated to the upper part of the hierarchy, indigenous peoples and African slaves were constructed as the 'other' at the bottom (Rodriguez 2020, p. 204). In addition to the category race, sexuality and gender are other categories that serve dehumanization alongside the alleged need to discipline the 'barbaric', 'unnatural' or 'animalistic' sexuality, as well as the absence of gender binary in indigenous populations (Loomba, 1998, pp. 151-172; McClintock, 1995, pp. 21-23; Stoler, 2002, pp. 41-111). In the words of Maddison and Shepherd (2014):

[a] postcolonial theory of global politics is one that attends to the multiple forms of violence and injustice perpetrated in and through colonial practices and the ways in which the identities of both coloniser and colonised are constituted through their engagement with each other. These identities are relationally constituted but not constituted as equals; multiple idea(l)s concerning gender, sexuality, race and class intersect to privilege the minority of power-holders at the expense of the majority world. (p. 9)

Through the discourse on race and sexuality, the colonized were constructed as 'inferior', 'primitive', and 'uncivilized'. This ideology of justification was decisive, as under these conditions, slavery and other forms of colonial violence was not inhuman as colonized people were denied their humanity (Miles, 1991, pp. 38-40). Mbembe (2001) also shows,

²⁹ "Nicht gesehen zu werden, nicht gehört zu werden, ist unerträglich. Weil es unsere Menschlichkeit in Frage stellt. Menschen, die weder gesehen noch gehört werden, denen nicht geglaubt wird, sind vielen Formen von Gewalt ausgesetzt - bis hin zum Mord. Sie sind Opfer einer Unterdrückung, die die Mehrheit der Menschen auf dieser Erde über Jahrhunderte hinweg entmenschlicht, sie unsichtbar, stimmlos und entbehrlich macht. Diese Unterdrückung geschieht, kurz gesagt, erstens, indem „naturegegebene“ Differenzen konstruiert und behauptet werden; zweitens, indem diese Differenzen dann in eine Hierarchie eingeordnet werden, die den Wert des Lebens definiert, den Zugang zu Rechten einräumt und das Niveau der Empathie beeinflusst; und drittens durch das machtvolle Narrativ, dass wir alle unseren Platz in dieser Hierarchie verdienen. Je niedriger die Stufe in der Hierarchie, desto weniger Sichtbarkeit, Gehör und Empathie werden gewährt" (Roig 2021: 13).

colonial violence would not have been possible without the exclusion of many from the category of a 'human being' and later citizenship. This exclusion as a consequence of and precondition for colonization has had a profound impact on the western way of thinking until today (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, pp. 33-34), legitimizing legalized land-grabbing as well as the exploitation of resources and knowledge (Mignolo, 2000, p.29). Fanon (2004) also exposes the devaluation of the subjectivity of the colonized. According to Emilia Roig (2021, p. 292) this objectification not only of people, but also of animals and nature is necessary to tolerate and legitimize the suffering to which they are subjected.

Those marginalized because of their non-heteronormative SOGIESC may experience economic, political, and social insecurities (Hagen, 2020, p. 1). Physical and sexual forms of violence in everyday life emanates from a range of actors such as “[...] security forces, ideologically motivated groups, other citizens or even from their own families and communities” (Myrntinen & Daigle, 2017, p. 17). Particularly at risk are activists who openly advocate for the rights of LGBT people (Hagen, 2020, p. 2). Another aspect that increases the likelihood of experiencing multiple violence is intersectional identities, where sexuality, race, class, and ability overlap (Hagen, 2020, p. 3). “For example, trans women are at risk of compounded violence as a result of the intersection of homophobia, economic insecurity, and sexual harassment they are likely to face” (Hagen, 2020, p. 3). In FCVAS, the vulnerability of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC is exacerbated (Hagen, 2020, p. 2). This is also reflected in the UN Women report about gender and peacebuilding in Colombia, recognizing the impacts of war on LGBT individuals (Bouvier, 2016, p. 19). As shown, this is due to their perception as legitimate targets of violence (Duggan, 2012), arising from their dehumanization described above.

Roig (2021) relies on empathy, in the sense of a connection to this suffering in order to overcome oppression (p. 292). Picking up the issue of empathy raised by Roig (2021), Baaz and Stern (2013) shade light on the suffering of the perpetrator, in this case the soldier who rapes (p. 13). By feeling empathy and caring for the perpetrator though without losing sight of the victims, the narrative on the motives of GBV within armed conflicts is expanded. Addressing the motives for violence against feminized people from the perpetrator's perspective, on the one hand provides a gateway to address the deep-rooted causes of homophobia, transphobia, racism, sexism, and so on. On the other hand, it becomes apparent that this violence is not always an expression of ideology but arises from a socio-economic necessity. In areas where joining armed groups is one (of the few)

sources of income, perpetrators are compelled to act without intrinsic consent. The question of who is a perpetrator or a victim, or whether the perpetrator is not also a victim of the system, appears in a different light when the structural causes of the violent act are illuminated. Beyond that, the question is raised of what caring for perpetrators entails for themselves, for victims, and for society (Baaz & Stern, 2013, p. 13). This approach is in no way intended to trivialize the acts of GBV, nor to disregard individual responsibility. Rather, it is intended to make the interconnectedness of conflict, poverty, and violence against SOGIESC people visible. This idea is picked up again in chapter 5.2.1, when arguing for the selection of interview partners.

3 Interim conclusion – Moving from *why* to *how*

The previous section was an intent to establish an enabling account of the racialized and gendered subject in order to gain access to possibilities for empowerment in the following section. With this aim, the author started from Foucault's genealogy of power and draws on Butler's and Lugones' perspective on gender as well as Spivak's strategic essentialism and Butler's genealogy of women. Further, through a de- and postcolonial-queer lens and applying a non-heteronormative account of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, it was revealed how gendered-based violence emerged, is justified, and maintained. These efforts were designed to address the overarching research question of *why* equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to sustainable peace.

On the foundation of the synthesis of de-, postcolonial, and queer theory and its employment to the concepts of gender, agency, and power, three preliminary findings can be outlined on why the equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to sustainable peace:

1. Inequality and exclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC finds its most powerful expression in the continuum of violence experienced by the individuals affected, ranging from personal to structural forms of violence. Forms of GBV can be considered as secondary violence in terms that they are symptomatic for racist and sexist structures from which they emerge. Deconstructing GBV from a queer and de- and postcolonial perspective allows to uncover these structures and destabilize their naturalized status quo.
2. The post-colonial patriarchal structures identified as central to the occurrence of GBV are directly linked to the causes and emergence of war. Breaking down these structures to achieve greater equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC means, conversely, creating structures for a more peaceful society.
3. When approaching peace as positive peace, overcoming structural violence is key to achieving sustainability. The inequality of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC is only one expression of a wholly violent system based on the exclusion of the gendered and racialized 'other'. Nevertheless, the equality of these people implies questioning the entire logic and modus operandi of this system of oppression and shaking its fundamental pillars.

The focus then shifts from answering the question *why* equality for people with non-

heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace to *how* this can be achieved. To this end, the concepts of empowerment and accountability provide the point of departure for the task of decolonizing the relationship between peacebuilding and development.

3.1 Empowerment

As outlined in chapter two, a central concern of this work towards a decolonial praxis in peacebuilding and development is to gain access to the concept of empowerment by approaching the ‘subaltern’ subject as agent of change despite the restrictions determined by society.

Empowerment, Roig (2021, pp. 319-321) states, can only be successful as a community-based process. By stating this, she ties in with the critique of the constitution of the empowerment concept as an individualistic category. Hoffmann et al. (2018) criticize the individualistic and apolitical exploitation of the empowerment concept. The reduction of empowerment to self-determination and self-empowerment bears the risk that “[...] those practices which, as expressions of masked social power relations, produce and cement exclusion in the first place, remain uncovered” (p. 10, author’s translation).³⁰ Social problems of exclusion are thus declared to be a personal matter of self-empowerment (Hoffmann et al., 2018, p. 11). Individualizing social problems and transferring them from the structural to the individual level, as Lemke (2007, p. 57) points out, is symptomatic for Neoliberalism. However, autonomy and agency interdepend on each other and on the individual reality of life. Power is the core concept of empowerment and a critical analysis of power in a post-colonial world must adopt a global perspective (Hoffmann et al., 2018, pp. 10-11). Latin American liberation pedagogy (Dussel, 1989; Freire, 2000) provides valuable impulses to focus on the conditions underlying the possibilities of liberation (Hoffmann et al., 2018, p. 12). In the debate of the South, the critique of the status quo from the perspective of the oppressed is essential for the idea of empowerment, which is understood as part of a decolonization process (see Dussel, 1989, Mbembe, 2017; Mignolo, 2015; Quijano, 2019). Such a conceptual understanding was already advocated by the feminist South-South network DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) in 1985 (Habermann, 2012, p. 25). In terms of intersectionality, inequalities are not only related to gender, but also to race and class (Habermann, 2012, p. 25). The

³⁰ “[...] sodass jene Praxen, die als Ausdruck sich maskierender gesellschaftlicher Machtverhältnisse den Ausschluss erst hervorbringen und zementieren, unreflektiert bleiben“ (Hoffmann et al, 2018, p. 10).

simultaneous fight against these categories is seen as closely linked to the eradication of poverty and violence as the idea of development was to equality and peace:

This vision, which explicitly opposed the integration of women from the South into the given development process oriented towards the West, became – propagated by World Bank staff member Carolin Moser in the early 1990s – exactly that: A strategy on how these women could empower themselves through inclusion in the world market. (Habermann, 2012, p. 25, author's translation)³¹

The above example of discourse on empowerment shows, that there are wide-ranging consequences for political practice so that not only the mode of expression but also the content is becoming compatible with the hegemonic discourse determined by Neoliberalism. With reference to Spivak's concept of subalternity (chapter 2.3) and Gramsci's concepts of hegemony (chapter 2.5), there are certain limitations existing for bottom-up empowerment processes. Subaltern voices, such as those of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, are not heard in the participatory processes of society. Such groups' approval is not of significance for maintaining the status quo, which is constructed in heteronormative terms. Consequently, there is not any need for concessions toward populations outside the norm. Furthermore, within the gendered colonial matrix of power and the related colonization of mind, subaltern subjects themselves are caught up in the hegemonial discourse preventing them from questioning normality. Finally, and perhaps most relevant is what they would have to say in order to dissolve their subaltern position – and thus the social structure creating their position – lies beyond the hegemonic reality. It is not compatible with this reality as it contains a dimension beyond what exists and thus endangers the consensually agreed social power relations of the entire historical bloc (Habermann, 2012, pp. 24-25). Thus, empowerment processes under these circumstances are always ambiguous. Subaltern voices somehow must be assimilated and translated into the hegemonic discourse to find a voice. In the case of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, this has happened to such an extent that activists from the global South have adopted the LGBT vocabulary and human rights framing of the global North (Oettler, 2019, p. 18). This in turn leads to the result that many people do not feel addressed by LGBT policies and practices as they do not identify as lesbian or gay within their own socio-cultural context. Suggestions on how to counteract these dynamics in the sense of a decolonizing practice are revealed by the empirical survey (chapter 6.4).

³¹ "Aus dieser Vision, die sich explizit gegen eine Integration von Frauen des Südens in den gegebenen, am Westen ausgerichteten Entwicklungsprozess wandte, wurde – propagiert durch die Weltbankmitarbeiterin Carolin Moser Anfang der 1990er Jahre – genau dies: Eine Strategie, wie diese Frauen sich durch die Einbeziehung in den Weltmarkt ermächtigen könnten" (Habermann, 2012, p. 25).

Yet - despite or even out of these highly ambiguous conditions - arises the aspiration not to remain in the status-quo of a reality marked by sexism, homo-, transphobia and racism. To this end Wullweber's (2012) reading of Laclau is introduced. Here Gramsci's concept of hegemony is understood in terms of *a logic of the political* (Wullweber, 2012, pp. 34-35). This approach allows empowerment by *reactivation* in the sense of remembering the political roots of hardened social contexts. As will be shown, reactivation becomes a turning point for transformation.

Empowerment through reactivation

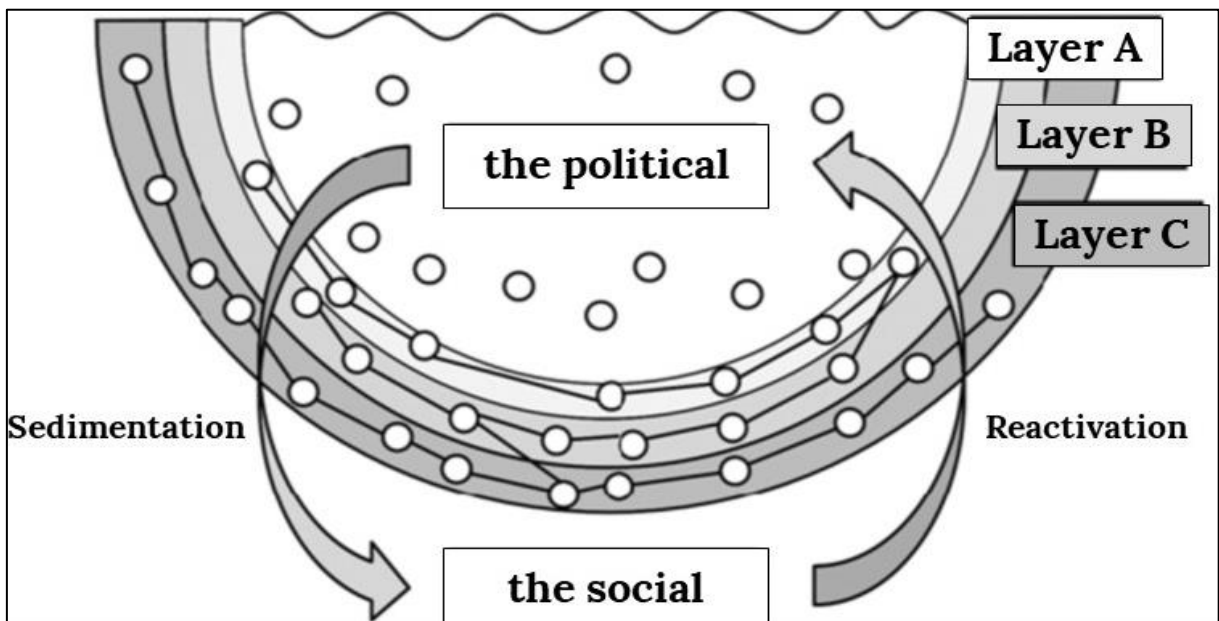


Figure 1: 'Layer model' Sedimentation and Reactivation (Wullweber, 2012, p. 36, translated by the author)

According to Laclau (1990, p. 34-35), the political and the social spheres are separate ones. The political is constructed as constitutive of the social and distinguished from concrete political practice by placing the first in front of the second in the sense of an ontological category (Wullweber, 2012, p. 35). The social subsumes all social relations and identities that have become solidified and generalized at a certain point in time in a certain place and are considered as non-negotiable, i.e., apolitical, as well as remaining unquestioned or in other words, naturalized. The political and the social are, according to Laclau, not opposed to the discursive but rather constituted as discursively. The social in the sense of solidified practice is associated with what is described as the discourse. Inside of hegemonic discourses, the political roots of hegemonic actions and associated institutionalized values, norms and rules are not present in people's minds at a certain moment and space. The process of certain actions and relations becoming hegemonic and privileged, whereas others are marginalized and (violently) suppressed has been termed by Laclau (1990) as *sedimentation* (p. 34). The counteracting mechanism is termed as

reactivation (Laclau, 1990, p. 34). In this work it is argued that the possibility of reactivation is fundamental for paving the way for political empowerment processes.

Sedimentation and reactivation are dynamic processes, and the political is characterized by fluid transitions. The social – in form of social institutions – bears the difficulty of being relatively stable (Wullweber, 2012, p. 36). Nevertheless, in any space-time structure, social structures of varying degrees of fixity can be found and shifts in meaning are also possible where power structures are deeply inscribed in forms of knowledge and everyday actions (Wullweber, 2012, p. 38). Transformation processes offer the opportunity to recall forgotten alternatives, for example binary gender identities, and thus bringing them into the dimension of the political. This reactivation in the form of a process of an increasing awareness of the political and historical origin of social actions takes place in the sense of a deconstruction in Derrida's understanding (Wullweber, 2012, p. 37). For a complete deconstruction, however, several layers of sedimentation must be broken by conflictual disputes (Wullweber, 2012, p. 38):

With increasing violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGISEC, a (neo)liberal turn in western international politics (Weerawardhana, 2018, p. 122) and the protracted struggles and achievements of social movements,³² LGBT rights (top sedimentary layer) have been repoliticized, even though they are currently facing a global backlash. The critique of heteronormative forms of social organization (middle sedimentary layer) resonates in some areas and spatial social structures, while in others it leads to resistance. In some places, for example, there is a tendency towards legalizing marriage for everybody (Roig, 2021, p. 17), while in others homosexuality is increasingly criminalized. However, critique of structural and historical causes of discrimination against and violence towards people with non-heteronormative SOGISEC (lowest sedimentary layer), which is a reality of life even where the law formally states otherwise, is rarely formulated, and practiced. This work aims at contributing to break through the top sedimentary layers, which lie protectively in front of the structural causes, to challenge the latter. Thus, poststructuralist and de- and postcolonial theory can contribute to deconstruct violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC.

Against the background of the interdependence of successful empowerment from

³² See for example Stonewall Riots 1969 in the USA, which were marked by massive police violence. BIPOC Transgender women like Marscha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera are considered key actors for the LGBT rights movements (Roig, 2021, p. 18).

processes both at the individual and political level, in other words by impulses from *within* and *outside* as displayed above, the author's concept of accountability is introduced in the following.

3.2 Accountability

The Action for Empowerment and Accountability Research program (A4EA)³³ defines accountability as “[a] process for holding individual actors or organisations [sic] to account for their actions. Accountability requires transparency, answerability, and enforceability between decision makers and citizens (Rocha Menocal/Sharma 2008)” (Green, 2017, p. 9). Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind, that the terms ‘empowerment’ and ‘accountability’ need to be understood contextually (Joshi, 2019, p. 5). Further, accountability and empowerment processes must be distinguished while taking into consideration the complexity of the relationship between them (Joshi, 2019, p. 1, 3). As recent findings within the A4EA research program show, against the odd, in FCVAS “[e]mpowerment gains might be achieved without gaining accountability, and though less likely institutional responsiveness might not lead to any empowerment” (Joshi, 2019, p. 3). However, the A4EA research program focuses on accountability in terms of national governments in the countries affected by FCV being held accountable for their actions by citizens. External actors are assigned the role of supporting processes for “social and political action towards empowerment and accountability” (Christie & Burge, 2017). With the aim of decolonizing the practice of peacebuilding and development, in this work, a different meaning is associated with accountability. In a post-colonial globalized world, a transnational perspective on accountability is needed. The author argues that governments of the global North need to be taken into responsibility for forms of structural gender-based violence, such as racism and sexism being drivers of armed conflict and socio-economic inequality (Schirch, 2004, pp. 21-24). One way this can be done in practice is by governmental aid organizations involved in peacebuilding with the aim of development. Expanding the time horizon for addressing the root causes of GBV, socio-economic inequality, and conflict in peacebuilding programs brings colonial issues into focus. This might shift the narrative of the ‘generous’ global North providing development assistance towards a global North taking responsibility for historically established injustices. In terms of violence against people with non-heteronormative

³³ The A4EA investigates on empowerment and accountability in spaces characterized by shrinking civic space, strong legacies of authoritarianism, violence and repression as well as fragmented forms of authority.

SOGIESC, this requires to make transparent the coloniality of gender in a deconstructive process, as described above in chapter 2.2.

The idea of shifting the narrative on accountability emerges partly from the decolonial discourse within German development politics education. The latter can be, to some extent, considered as a self-critical element of German development cooperation. Here, the global North is held accountable of global socio-economic inequalities and asymmetric power relations linking it to colonialism. This approach to accountability is also aligned with the demands of decolonial activists calling for reparations instead of development aid. For the purpose of shifting the narrative on accountability, the author will selectively draw on social accountability as one of eleven forms of accountability identified by Kroeschell (2012 quoted in Green, 2017, p. 10). It is argued to fit best in terms of who claims it, who gives it, over what, where, how and what for. Social accountability is demanded by social actors such as CSOs and social movements that make, among other things, identity claims by mass mobilization or social audits. The addressees to be held accountable are the state, the private sector, but also aid organizations aiming at, among others, empowering people (Green, 2017, p. 10). In the following, the theses set out above are supported by three main arguments.

Firstly, and as a precondition for the two following arguments, the countries of the global North must transparently acknowledge their share of responsibility for historically grown injustice and be held accountable for them. Only by recognizing collective responsibility structural changes can take place. The author, due to the case selection in chapter 5.1, makes here reference to Germany. Germany's involvement in colonialism, including the transatlantic slave trade and other entrepreneurial projects, is profound and complex and cannot be elaborated at this point due to the brevity of this paper.³⁴ It must be mentioned, however, that contrarily to the prevailing discourse that downplays German colonialism by comparing it to that of England, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, Germany was in fact very much involved in colonial practices. One aspect that is to be highlighted here is the legitimization strategy of colonialism. This refers to the racialized and gendered categorization of humanity. Roig (2021) argues that numerous evidence exists for scientific racism, eugenics and social Darwinism having their origins in western liberal arts (pp. 118-119). During Enlightenment Immanuel Kant claimed white supremacy: “Humanity is at its greatest perfection in the race of the white man. The yellow I[-word]

³⁴ However, details can be looked up, for example, in Terkessidis (2021).

have already a low talent. The N[-word] are far lower, and lowest is a part of the American native peoples" (Malter, 1990, p. 457, author's translation).³⁵ Hegel further stated: "Under N[-word] it happens that the consciousness has not even attained the intuition of any kind of objectivity ... the N[-word] is man as a beast" (quoted in Roig, 2021, p. 110 author's translation).³⁶ These are only few examples of how western philosophy has been used to morally legitimize the 'civilizing mission' which falls together with the use of violence as Nandi (2012) illustrates: "If, in the opinion of intellectuals, the 'primitives' have no moral power of judgement, then it is necessary to bring it to them, to influence them politically, if necessary also militarily, in order to turn them into 'whole human beings' (p. 127, author's translation).³⁷

Secondly, governments of the global North must be taken into responsibility for reproducing colonial narratives of western superiority by LGBT-inclusive policies. Promoting LGBT rights again encourages western sexual exceptionalism by creating a new dualism of a superior sphere in the global North where LGBT rights exist and the 'backwardly' sphere of the global South where LGBT rights are violated. This narrative of *homonationalism* (Puar, 2007, pp. 1–3) again justifies interventions. It forms the counter-image to the legitimization of the 'civilization' of colonized people in the colonial era based on their 'promiscuous' and 'perverse' sexuality that did not fit into the binary Western model. Exposing this, the necessity of employing a de- and postcolonial-queer perspective to comprehend how power and violence operate globally on a political level becomes evident (Hagen, 2020, p. 1). It becomes visible, that the justification for interventions of bilateral and multilateral actors in the name of peace and development goes beyond the international community's 'Responsibility to Protect' and so-called 'humanitarian interventions' (Peters, 2020, p. 14).

Finally, it is argued that international development agencies need to be held accountable for upholding the imbalanced status quo of social and political relationships rather than transforming them by their lack of attention to colonial continuities, authority and violence in development programs and peace initiatives (Fernández & Guerra, 2020, p. 1;

³⁵ "Die Menschheit ist in ihrer größten Vollkommenheit in der Rasse der Weißen. Die gelben Indianer haben schon ein geringes Talent. Die N[-Wort] sind weit tiefer, und am tiefsten steht ein Teil der amerikanischen Völkerschaften" (Malter, 1990, p. 457)

³⁶ "Unter N[-Wort] ist es so, dass das Bewusstsein nicht einmal die Intuition irgendeiner Art von Objektivität erlang hat ... der N[-Wort] ist der Mensch als Bestie" (quoted in Roig, 2021, p. 110).

³⁷ "Wenn die 'Primitiven' nach Meinung von Gelehrten keine moralische Urteilskraft besitzen, dann muss man ihnen diese doch nahe bringen, politisch, zur Not auch militärisch, auf sie einwirken, um sie zu 'ganzen Menschen' zu machen."

Maddison & Shepherd, 2014). In chapter 4.5, the maintenance of GBV by the prevailing heteronormative framing of international politics is analyzed more in detail.

Nonetheless, this work raises the question of *how* - in a highly contradictory process - structures of peacebuilding and development as well as resources and discourses can be inverted for a decolonizing praxis. Applying a strategy of decolonization from *within*, it should be taken into consideration that the fundamental step of amplifying the voices of subaltern subjects in peace and development processes needs to be supported by additional actors in order to be heard. This refers to peacebuilders and development workers, as they are in a position assigning them both the knowledge that is considered to be 'legitimate' and the resources necessary to translate this knowledge into political praxis (Fernández & Guerra, 2020, p. 10). They can contribute to a decolonial praxis from within by practicing constant self-criticism against the backdrop of colonial history and their attachment to its continuities in everyday practices. This is precisely what Spivak (2004) refers to when she calls for using human rights as *enabling violation* and *acknowledging complicity* (p. 524). Ilan Kapoor (2004) also makes the acknowledgment of complicity to the foundation of a *hyper-self-reflexive development* (p. 641). In that sense Klappeer (2021) summarizes what applies to the description above:

LGBTIQ*-inclusive development strategies and programs must [...] be considered 'violative' in any case, but allow gains in financial, political, and cultural resources for particular struggles. According to Spivak, it is consequently, a matter of working to minimize this 'violation' - in this case, for example, by destabilizing established colonial-racist presuppositions about sexuality and gender or providing 'violation-minimizing' support for LGBTIQ* or (sexual) human rights projects and struggles in the so-called 'partner countries'. (p. 117, author's translation)³⁸

In the following, it will be shown how this approach can be implemented by applying the theoretical synthesis developed in the previous section to the PDN.

³⁸ "LGBTIQ*-inklusive Entwicklungsstrategien und -programme müssen daher [...] als 'gewaltvoll' gelten, ermöglichen aber einen Zugewinn an finanziellen, politischen und kulturellen Ressourcen für bestimmte Kämpfe. Nach Spivak gehe es folglich darum, sich für eine Minimierung dieser 'Verletzung' einzusetzen - in diesem Fall z.B. durch eine Destabilisierung von etablierten kolonial-rassistischen Vorannahmen über Sexualität und Geschlecht oder eine 'verletzungsminimierende' Förderung von LGBTIQ* oder (sexuellen) Menschenrechtsprojekten und Kämpfen in den sogenannten 'Partnerländern'" (Klappeer, 2021, p. 117).

4 Mapping the nexus of peacebuilding and development

This chapter examines the PDN from a de- and postcolonial-queer perspective. For this purpose, initially, the added value that arises when the theoretical synthesis of the first section of this work will be applied to the concepts of peacebuilding and development is demonstrated (chapter 4.1). In a second step, these two central concepts are looked at more profoundly in isolation from one another with the theoretical basis in mind (chapter 4.2). On this basis, their nexus points are subsequently explicitly identified (chapter 4.3). These are then subjected to a critical evaluation (chapter 4.4) in order to provide inspiration for a reconceptualization of the relationship between peacebuilding and development in a final step, departing from the tensions identified before (chapter 4.7). Furthermore, the analysis of the positioning of gender regarding people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC within the PDN (chapter 4.5) provides critical incentives for reimagining the relation of peacebuilding and development with the aim of decolonizing practice (chapter 4.6).

Accordingly, analyzing the PDN from a de- and postcolonial-queer perspective is relevant to the interest of knowledge as well as the overarching research question of this work in three ways. Firstly, decolonizing practice within PBN necessarily requires uncovering operational colonial power structures within the disciplines. Second, incorporating queer perspectives contributes to decolonizing practice by allowing for alternative interpretations of peacebuilding and development built on experiences of socio-economic inequality and exclusion based on intersectional identity. Finally, by exploring realistic alternatives within the hegemonic praxis, it is demonstrated how in concrete terms the equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC can contribute to a more sustainable peace.

4.1 Applying the theoretical synthesis

As explained in chapter 2.5, a hegemonic practice implies the domination of a specific meaning by the exclusion of others. Consequently, discourses become naturalized until a point where they are considered to be common sense as will be shown in the case of liberal peace and development. As Gramsci's theory of hegemony implies, a particular definition of peace and development is temporally fixed by a particular class, gender, and race perspective by those holding the required resources in the form of support, people, privileges, power, money, etc. What is even more important from a political viewpoint though, as illustrated in chapter 3.1, is the recognition that laying down a meaning within

discourses is only temporary and always undergoing change. Thus, approaching the concept of peacebuilding and development through poststructuralist discourse theory allows to question the naturalization associated with it. The poststructuralist ability to explore the multiplicity of meanings of peace and development is consistent with its anti-essentialist and anti-fundamentalist approach. In line with this, the instability of those discourses will be highlighted by pointing out the violence and repression materialized in hegemonic operations by means of concrete practices of exclusion. As argued in chapter 2.4, discourses on meaning move beyond the spoken word and are materialized by concrete practices. For peacebuilding and development this concerns the definition and implementation of policies and agreements as well as the definition of success in peacebuilding and development processes and so forth (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 205). Yet as the merely temporal establishment of meanings implies, a shift in signification and the plurality in worldviews, being and feeling also allows counterhegemonic dynamics in peacebuilding and development discourse and practice (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 205). Power relations, not only in form of oppression but also in form of appropriation and resistance can thus become visible as transformative force of the same (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 203). Without romanticizing ‘local’ narratives and knowledge as superior and recognizing the complex power dynamics at the grass-roots level, through a de- and postcolonial approach other meanings of peace and development are revealed (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 213). At the same time, the supposed universal signification of the terms and their associated practices are put into question, opening the space to alternatives (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 213)

4.2 Approaching central concepts

The definition of peacebuilding and development is a matter of considerable discussion. For peacebuilding, Gizelis (2018) considers the lack of “consensus on key concepts such as the definition of peace [...] itself” (p. 7) as one of the main challenges for peacebuilding scholars. In contrast to this and against the background of the theoretical considerations outlined above, it is not the aim to find an ultimate definition of key terms, but rather to lay emphasis on their openness and hybridity. Therefore, the approach to central concepts in this work is conducted with contextual awareness and within the framework of its historical circumstances.

4.2.1 *Peace, peacebuilding, and transitional justice*

The interdependences of peacebuilding and development to tackle complex issues were

already recognized in 1992 within the United Nation's Agenda for Peace, stating that both fields will unlikely achieve success separately (McCandless, 2021, p. 132). Despite the 1992 Agenda for Peace considering socio-economic inequalities and oppressive political structures (Benavides Vanegas, 2010), the liberal approach to peace promoted by the international community within this agenda is subject to criticism. With reference to Richmond (2008, pp. 8-14), Rodriguez Iglesias (2020) critically defines liberal peace as follows:

Liberal peace is seen as a hegemonic articulation that reproduces the coloniality of power that is still present in the global Western-modern system, and that currently essentializes capitalism, neoliberalism, and security of the nation-state as its trident. Defined as a top-down intervention, mainly imposed by liberal institutions of the international system, liberal peace is based on the idea that liberal democracy, economic development, individual human rights, global governance, rule of law, and neoliberal free markets ensure social progress, stability, and security as part of the matrix of peace. (p. 206)

This criticism is reflected in the limited achievements of the international peace agenda and cases of war reversion such as those of Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya thus illustrating the ineffectiveness as well as problematic nature of external intervention as a means of conflict solution (Peters, 2020, p. 14). Further it is argued that the liberal peace paradigm overlooks the fact that the root causes of conflict are very often based on colonial footprints. At the same time, other forms of conflict transformation, which provide the possibility of addressing the causes of conflict rooted in colonialism, have gained popularity. Those apply to dealing with the violence of the past and possibilities for social reconciliation after violent conflicts in the framework of *transitional justice* (Peters, 2020, p. 14). Transitional justice is peacebuilding as peacebuilding further refers to a set of activities "aimed at promoting peace and overcoming violence in a society" during or after conflict (Berghof Foundation, 2012, p. 62). In this sense:

[...] 'transitional justice' [...] comprises the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempts to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses, in order to ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation. These may include both judicial and non-judicial mechanisms, with differing levels of international involvement (or none at all) and individual prosecutions, reparations, truth-seeking, institutional reform, vetting and dismissals, or a combination thereof. (UN Security Council, 2004, p. 4)

Yet, Maddison and Shepherd (2014) argue that "[...] the remedies available under the transitional justice framework are rarely applied to the violence and historical injustice that are inherent to settler colonialism" (p. 1). Hugo van der Merwe (2009, p. 117) terms transitional justice as superficial as it, dazzled by the ravages of visible forms of violence, does not focus on the basic nature of an exploitative system. Consequently, it fails to meet the twin ambition of sustainable development due to its abstraction of the socio-

economic causes of conflict (Peters, 2020, pp. 22-23). Conversely, for sustainable development and peace, peace processes must also be accompanied by transformation processes that focus on the social conditions of peace and address the problem of extreme social inequalities (Evans, 2016). Whether DC programs can contribute to transformation processes will be further discussed in view of the dominant interpretation of the 'development' term, which is described below.

4.2.2 *Development*

Development, as well as peace, are widely and controversially debated terms, and their praxis is fraught with ambivalence. Even within de- and postcolonial perspectives, there is no consensus on how to deal with the concept of development. While development is partly seen as the only possibility for a decolonization of the global South, any form of development is rejected within anti-development positions (Castro Varela & Dhawan 2020, p. 96). As the quote below illustrates, however, a differentiated examination of the concept of development and the practices associated with it - in contrast to its general rejection - is necessary in order not to romanticize the interests of vulnerable groups (Kapoor, 2008, pp. 51-52).

Social organizations are not against development, this is how the FARC and the government have seen us, and it is not that, but we want it to be a development according to our realities. When our approaches are not taken into account, the projects fail because it is not the will of the community. (Interviewee³⁹ quoted in Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 215)

The categorical rejection of development within the anti-development positions might be connected to the fact that the term, due to its naturalization by liberal discourses, is automatically linked to capitalist growth characterized by exploitation (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 96). However, in essence, the supposed categorical rejection of development merely rejects the liberal approach to the concept of development. The latter is characterized by "[...] economic growth, progress, and efficiency, as well as the free development of the individual, which is to be safeguarded by democracy and the administration of justice" (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 20, author's translation).⁴⁰ In these characteristics, the direct link to the trident of the idea of liberal peace, as outlined above in the quotation from Rodriguez Iglesias (2020, p. 206), becomes visible. This narrative finds its origins in the theory of modernization, which has dominated Western

³⁹ Representative of COCOMACIA, Black community council of the Middle Atrato River.

⁴⁰ „[...] Wirtschaftswachstum, Fortschritt und Effizienz sowie die freie Entfaltung des Individuums, die durch Demokratie und Rechtsprechung abgesichert werden soll“ (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 20).

development policy since the 1950s (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 21). Within this framework, a linear conception of development is presented (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 21) Linked to the legacy of colonialism, the countries and people of the global South were placed at the lower end of the development scale and were considered as 'underdeveloped'. Supported by the West, they were supposed to move closer to the final point of the development scale, where the countries of the global North are located (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 45). The global South was thus assigned the role of catching up and imitating the model of the global North in terms of economy, culture, language, social norms, customs, and traditions (Cooper, 2012, p. 197; Roig, 2021, p. 104). Later, the ideas of the theory of modernization have been radicalized by neoliberal approaches from the 1970s onwards. These set themselves apart from "[...] theory of modernization by rejecting state intervention in the economy [...]" (Schmidt & Schröder 2016: 25). So-called Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)⁴¹ were introduced in the 1980s to enforce global competitive capitalism with free markets as the goal of development (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 27). In addition to the implementation of SAPs, development cooperation was involved in the consolidation of neoliberal policies within the framework of the Washington Consensus, which became the official guiding principle of donor countries (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 27). The results of these neoliberal policies, which can be observed today, led to the dissolution of the welfare state, the disempowerment of trade unions and the growing global social inequality and dependence of the global South on the global North (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 28). Furthermore, the devastating effects of the climate crises caused by Western development models and the negative consequences of neoliberal development policies on the global South described above are evident.

The Eurocentric assumptions contained in the theory of modernization and liberal politics were exposed in the 1960s through dependency theories (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979) and continue to be criticized in many other de- and postcolonial approaches such as those of post-development.⁴² Despite all this, as well as the revision of theories of modernization

⁴¹ These are directed at indebted states and the tasks to be fulfilled are oriented towards the neoliberal guidelines described (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016 p. 27).

⁴² Regarding the link between postcolonial theory and post-development approaches, the latter can be understood as a postcolonial critique of development policy and its underlying worldview (Schöneberg & Ziai, 2021, p. 11). Proponents of this approach provide crucial inspiration for reinterpreting development, parting from an interest in cultural difference and local knowledge, coupled with a critical attitude toward the universalization of established science as the only valid form of knowledge, the advocacy of locally rooted, pluralistic grassroots movements, and a critique toward economic growth (Escobar, 1995, pp. 215-216, 226, 58-61).

since the 1970s, "[...] Eurocentric-modernist, growth-oriented development conceptions remain popular approaches [...]" (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 24, author's translation).⁴³ Due to the power of multilateral organizations, these turn out to be the approaches to development with the highest level of funding (Colvin, 2008, p. 418). As mentioned before and will be now shown in detail, the same is true for peacebuilding efforts, as liberal peace discourses are based on liberal accounts of development and vice versa.

4.3 Making connections

Looking at the historical connections, the ideas of development and peacebuilding presented above cannot be considered in isolation from the political constitution of the 'world' in relation to the East-West conflict. In his inaugural speech, former US-President Truman (1949) firmly rejected communism and promised support to the 'freedom-loving' in the form of integration into the capitalist system (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 21). This is important for the analysis of the relationship between peacebuilding and development because the end of the Cold War represents the historical crossroads between the two, further institutionalizing liberal ideas deeply rooted in colonialism (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, pp. 206, 209). At the intersection of the Cold War and formal decolonization is where proponents of post-development approaches locate the origin of the development discourse (Esteva, 1993; Rahnema, 1997). According to these scholars, development discourse allowed the promise of freedom and prosperity for the formerly colonized, while at the same time ensuring their attachment to a capitalist economy under the colonial division of labor and perpetuating the imaginary of the progressive West and the underdeveloped rest of the world (Esteva, 1993; Rahnema 1997). Similarly, the idea of liberal peace emerged in the course of the Cold War under the guiding principle that democracies would not go to war with each other (Miklian, 2014, p. 1). Accordingly, Peters (2020, pp. 21-22) with reference to Chandler (2010) and Paris (2010) like Rodriguez Iglesias (2020, p. 206) describes three pillars of the elite-centered paradigm of liberal peace as first, the promotion of a liberal representative democracy with stable state institutions, second, the protection of human rights on an individual level and, finally, market-orientated development processes. Similarly, Colvin (2008) points out three central intersections of transitional justice and development by examining their tensions and commonalities. He first points out their nation-state centered orientation (Colvin, 2008,

⁴³ "[...] bleiben eurozentrisch-modernistische, wachstumsorientierte Entwicklungskonzeptionen auch heute noch populäre Zugänge [...]" (Schmidt & Schröder, 2016, p. 24).

p. 416). Then, Colvin (2008, p. 416) argues that both, transitional justice, and development share a logic of modernization and Eurocentrism, promoting discourses of responsibility, transparency, and accountability, and combining a rationalist and technocratic approach with a utopian vision of the future. Lastly, Colvin (2008, p. 419) points out the asymmetrical relationship between the 'dispensers' and the 'recipients' of the 'bounty' of human rights, development, and peacebuilding efforts.

The nexus points that have been identified in this section of - first, liberal democracy; second, market orientated economy with the associated development in the form of economic growth; third, the role of outside experts as 'dispensers' of human rights; and fourth, the umbrella concept of the nation-state; as well as fifth, rationalist and technocratic approaches in peacebuilding and development - are subjected to a critical evaluation in the subsequent chapter.

4.4 Critical evaluation

According to the analysis of the connections between peacebuilding and development in the chapter above, critical scholars argue that a transformation of societies along Western liberal lines inspired by the theory of modernization is at the core of liberal peacebuilding efforts. Based on this assertion, and since the development discourse finds its origins in the theory of modernization, this is the nexus where the link between peacebuilding and development is most evident. Yet, the idea that achieving lasting peace depends primarily on the implementation of first, liberal democracy and second, a market-oriented economy can be easily put into question when contrasted with reality: Latin America, for example, experienced numerous successful transitions from authoritarianism to democracy in the 1980s and 1990s. Nevertheless, democratization has not been able to reduce violence. On the contrary, in many countries, violence has increased afterwards (Peters, 2020, 19). The OECD (2016) also recognizes the correlation between political transitions towards democracy and the rise of violence (p. 38). This happens when structural inequalities are not overcome and express themselves in participatory processes where marginalized groups are competing over "who sits at the table" and "who gets what" (OECD, 2016, p. 38). Consequently, it is argued that the occurrence of violence is rooted in extreme social inequalities and deprivation (Cotte Poveda, 2011; Enamorado et al., 2016).

Another important point to unmask the illusion of liberal peace is the fact that - as a third aspect - development in terms of economic growth has been proven not to axiomatically

reduce conflict. While there is consensus that violent conflict exacerbates poverty and disproportionately affects vulnerable populations, there is growing evidence that wealth is in no way guarantee of peace (UN-WB, 2018, p. xix). Contrarily, development in these terms is not conflict free (Stedman, 1995). Rather, the upsurge of violence in the aftermath of conflict is often linked up with patterns of fast economic growth and accumulation (Ahearne, 2009; Selby, 2008). This is due to the fact, that many economic reforms, such as SAPs, are coupled to financial advantages of the global North and therefore enhance the reliance of the South (Pugh, 2005; Pugh, Cooper, & Turner, 2008). These austerity-oriented development policies implemented across Latin America and Africa has increased poverty and inequality in many contexts (Cheru, 2002). Economic reforms implemented without regard for local economies and alternative development projects prevent local initiatives from receiving financial resources and instead undermine them by liberal economics (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 208). On the other hand, war can have a positive impact on economic growth (Fukuda-Parr et al., 2008) due to the actors profiting from conflicts because of particular interests and thus spoiling peace processes (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 208).

Regarding the asymmetrical relationships within peacebuilding and development as well as the problem coming along with external top-down interventions, Vivienne Jabri (2016, pp. 154-155) draws attention to – as a fourth aspect – the role of peace and development practitioners, when ‘seeking to make the world a better place’, “[...] they do not emerge from a social vacuum [...]”. Rather they share common political commitments, cultural histories, and social-economic positions (Colvin, 2008, p. 415). In that way, practitioners having to be object of critical observation, represent another nexus point as they carry Eurocentric notions of what peace and development is and about how a political community should function, in line with Western liberal ideals of statehood (Fernández & Guerra 2020, p. 4).

Regarding the latter, it is argued that the legitimacy of – as the fifth argument – the post-colonial nation-state also needs to be subject to a critical evaluation, because here the connection between GBV, conflict, and colonialism on one hand as well as the profound links between the history of state formation and the ownership of economic resources and power on the other, becomes clear. This statement is based on the following reasoning: peacebuilding initiatives target countries affected by FCV. Fragile contexts are associated with higher rates of violence, including homicide, terrorism, and social and

gender-based violence (OECD, 2016, p. 25). Further, in the last 30 years, conflict has occurred in 70% of fragile states (McCandless, 2021, p. 133). Fragility in turn is linked to colonialism: alleged fragile states themselves show strong overlaps with a historical mapping of colonialism (McCandless, 2021, p. 133). This raises the question whether sustainable peace and development are possible under the conditions of persisting of the post-colonial nation-state with historically established political elites in positions of power. In that context, Scully (2009) points “to ways in which Africans saw the colonial and post-colonial state as rapacious and illegitimate” and raises the question of “[w]hat good work can transitional justice do when it works within a framework of law and the state that intrinsically does not have much legitimacy?” (p. 40). The limitations and possibilities for sustainable peace and development tied to this issue are further discussed in chapter five and six by means of the selected case study.

Ultimately, the issue that comes with rationalist and technocratic approaches in peacebuilding and development efforts is addressed. These approaches imply that issues of socio-economic inequality and conflict are defined as ‘development problems’ that, as argued within the dominant discourse, result from a lack of capital, knowledge, and technology. Since, following this logic, the global North holds these resources, these ‘development problems’ can be solved by its support to compensate for the deficiency of the global South. Apart from the Eurocentric connotation of this line of thought, it is problematic that issues of socio-economic inequality and conflict are abstracted and depoliticized. As a result of ignoring power structures at play, these are neither included in the discussion nor addressed in any other way. By implication, neither the political elites nor the mechanisms of the capitalist economic system that produces poverty and conflict are questioned or touched upon (Schöneberg & Ziai, 2021, p. 8). By operating within the existing logic of the status quo, post-developmentalists claim about development and - in this case also peacebuilding efforts - reproducing the colonial matrix of power are reinforced.

The fact that unquestioned liberal development projects and peace work are mutually beneficial to the Western understanding of the state, the individual, and the world in its current conditions with its prevailing economic and political models, shows how the two endeavors are mutually dependent and reinforcing. To break out of this vicious circle, reproducing exclusion and inequality, the following section maps the position of gender regarding people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in peacebuilding and development

theory and praxis. The intention is firstly, to make exclusion visible and secondly, to explore how the inclusion of a queer perspective affects the possibilities of an alternative conceptual interpretation of peace and development.

4.5 Gender within the peacebuilding-development nexus

In the construction of the global South as 'underdeveloped', the dimensions of gender and sexuality play a prominent role, as sexuality and non-binary gender norms of the colonized have been equally constructed as 'uncivilized' and 'underdeveloped' (Escobar, 1995). In this context, Ilan Kapoor notes that the 'perversion' of the global South "helped to discursively construct the 'Third World' (Kapoor, 2015, p. 1615). By analyzing the interconnectedness of constructions of race, sexuality, and gender, it becomes clear that the idea of the West's sexual exceptionalism is a fundamental component of the construction of Western supremacy in terms of rationality, knowledge, progress, and modernity (Klapeer, 2021, p. 107). The irony here is that the narrative of Western sexual exceptionalism in current development and peacebuilding discourses exists in an inverted form compared to the narrative of the colonial era. Previously, Western exceptionalism rested on the sexuality of the colonized, which was constructed as perverse and did not fit into the heteronormative framework upheld by Christianity. Now indices of violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC are used by international aid agencies as an indicator of underdevelopment (Klapeer, 2021, p. 108), which in turn again justifies interventions based on Western sexual exceptionalism. The role of Western states in relation to their interventions in the global South in terms of sexuality and gender constructions, being considered indicators of development status has thus changed: from punisher of the 'promiscuous' sexuality of the colonized to role model and protector of LGBT rights. What has not changed, regardless of the scenarios, is the construction of the Western position as the superior one as well as the fact that the previously described former role and responsibility of the global North for the construction of heteronormativity and binarity remains unreflected. Accordingly, Klapeer (2021, pp. 107-108) argues that ideas of development as economic growth, market orientation and efficiency themselves have heteronormative implications. In this context, she points to the heteronational- and normative notions of a 'natural' gender difference, of the (nuclear) family and of the gendered division of labor according to the Western model, which explicitly or implicitly have been determining development and peace agendas and interventions until the 1990s.

The following section will show that this assertion has not lost any of its present relevance. In this context, Hagen (2020, p. 3, 2017, p. 4, 2016) points out the prevailing heteronormative framing of international politics assuming that women are heterosexual and cis-gender. These assumptions lead to the invisibilization of queer realities in scholarship and policies (Hagen, 2020, p. 3). The exclusion of LGBT perspectives become evident through the missing reference to LGBT people when revising the reports, manuals, tools, and resolutions on peacebuilding of the leading institutions. While LGBT people in some cases are barely mentioned in the margin, in most they miss out completely and 'gender' seems to equate with 'women' (Hagen, 2016, p. 320). Due to this mostly binary conceptualization of gender in peace and development efforts, gender mainstreaming has been limited to the inclusion of cis-gendered women (Hagen, 2020, p. 3). Although the inclusion of women is of great importance it is not - under these premises - the same as ensuring an intersectional gender perspective. Donors' LGBT-inclusive policies for peacebuilding and development work have not been able to change much about this so far, as there is a great gap between policy and practice (Hagen, 2017, p. 4). What reveals to be most problematic for grasping queer perspectives and experiences is "[...] when LGBTI people are treated as a separate and discrete third category next to 'men' or 'women': adding a third category for LGBT individuals as if they are outside of the categories 'men' and 'women' is inadequate for many reasons, not least because of the simple fact that most LGBT individuals identify as either men or women" (Hagen, 2017, p. 3). Consequently, in the framework of data gathering, for example, within transitional justice processes, having to decide between being a woman or being a lesbian by ticking a box leads in many cases to the erasure of a victim's sexuality and of the victimizing experiences related to sexual orientation and gender identity. In the following the previously stated will be emphasized using the example of the landmark Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the UN Resolution 1325 and 1820 as well as National Action Plans (NAPs) promoted by the UN.

CEDAW was passed by the UN in 1979 and "is the only international human rights treaty specifically addressing the rights of women" (Cox, 2021, p. 2). In 2000, Resolution 1325 was passed by the UN Security Council. Gizelis (2018, p. 3) describes it as "[...] the first official document that requested the protection of women during and after conflict in particular from sexual and gender-based violence, supported their participation in peace negotiations, and recommended the mainstreaming of policies to promote the interests of women". This was followed in 2008 by UNSCR Resolution 1820, "[...] which recognized

sexual violence as a specific tactic in war, required the agency to monitor it, and called for relevant actors to end and prevent the practice” (Cox, 2021, p. 7). A main point of criticism are the binary gender concepts and the essentialist use of ‘men’ and ‘women’ perpetrated within these international human rights policies. By these means the very structural violence they seek to eradicate is executed and maintained. “The CEDAW refers exclusively to women, while UNSCR 1325 and 1820 seem to equate ‘gender’ with ‘women’ and make no mention of masculinity, femininity, or LGBTQIA+ persons [...]” (Cox, 2021, p. 10).⁴⁴ Yet, Rosenblum argues, that “[w]omen's lives’ cannot be improved until being a ‘woman’ or a ‘man,’ or for that matter one of the many other sexes that exist, means less in terms of social, legal and political standing” (Rosenblum, 2011, p. 104). For this means he recommends to adopt the Yogyakarta Principles which address international human rights standards for understanding and recognizing the diverse violations affecting people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC (Cox, 2021, p. 8).

Despite these international policies, on the national level some western donor states have adopted policies and action plans for their LGBT-inclusive development agendas.⁴⁵ The GIZ, in line with the “LGBTI Inclusion Strategy” of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ, 2017), is increasingly promoting LGBT participation in development. This can be assumed as positive at the first gaze, but the difficulties arise immediately. Firstly, the Universal Periodic Review of the United Nations reviewed SOGIESC issues in 2016 and noted that there is a “discrepancy between the growing consensus among courts and human rights mechanisms for a SOGIESC approach to human rights on the one hand and the slow international political progress towards the protection of LGBTI persons on the other” (ARC International, IBA, & ILGA, 2016, p. 99). In other words, international agencies are promoting LGBT rights as a topping in already established programs while there is no global framework to safeguard the rights of LGBT people, especially in conflict zones. Nor is there a general human rights treaty addressing the rights of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in particular. Security is marked

⁴⁴ Another point of criticism regarding the ineffectiveness of these international policies for achieving sustainable peace is, that they remain relatively unenforceable (Cox, 2021, pp. 8-9) due to their state-centered character and focus on high-level peacebuilding. The responsibility for implementation relies on the state through the elaboration of National Action Plans (NAPs). NAPs were meant to complement international law as “[s]trategic, long-term programs of activity – addressing the underlying causes of violence against women and strengthening the systems that respond to it [...]”. Cox (2021, p. 9) classifies these as a top-down approach and points out that less than half of all UN member states have adopted NAPs due to the missing incentive for implementing and reporting on progress. In contrast to this, local approaches have proven to be more effective for achieving sustainable peace (Cox, 2021, p. 9).

⁴⁵ Among these are Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany, and the UK on the national level as well as the EU and World Bank as international development actors (Klapeer, 2021, p. 110).

by white privilege and the particular needs of target groups due to intersectional identities such as in the case of LGBT people are often not considered when designing development cooperation programs. In this regard, when calling for participation in transitional justice processes amid an active armed conflict as in the case of Colombia, simultaneously security and protection strategies must be provided.

How it comes to light, in order to prevent and resolve violent conflict and build sustainable peace, far more is needed than including a paragraph on sexual and gender-based violence into development initiatives for peacebuilding (Wright, 2016). Applying a queer gender lens to conflict analysis means widening the often binary conceptualization of gender which focuses mainly on women and girls and leaves a gap in understanding how conflict affects people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC and which role they play as conflict actors or peacemakers (Wright, 2016). Fundamentally, however, there is a need to broaden the way gender is included in conflict analysis. With gender being at play for comprehending the impacts of conflict, it is often not considered when analyzing the conflict drivers or the motives of conflict-fueling behaviors (Wright, 2016). Yet, this is of great relevance, because gender and sexuality are important dimensions of power dynamics within peacebuilding and development (Hagen, 2020, p. 1). In the following chapter, the second part of the overarching research question of *how* equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace is addressed in detail. Under the guiding question of inclusion, the limits, and possibilities of a decolonial praxis in the PDN are explored. It is argued that a comprehensive inclusion of LGBT perspectives is needed, as opposed to the current fragmentary inclusion due firstly, to the gap between policy and practice and secondly, to a lack of awareness and knowledge of the needs of LGBT people in peacebuilding and development.

4.6 Inclusion for a decolonial peacebuilding-development praxis nexus

As witnessed by the expansive use of the concept in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and other major policy documents,⁴⁶ inclusion is considered crucial for achieving sustainable peace and development (McCandless, 2021, p. 140). Along these lines, McCandless (2021, p. 234) identifies inclusion as a new nexus paradigm of peacebuilding and development. Inclusive peace agreements and political settlements, particularly with the involvement of civil society increase chances for success in

⁴⁶ see: UN twin Resolutions 70/262 (UN General Assembly, 2016) and 2282 (UN Security Council, 2016), New Deal (OECD, 2021), World Bank's (2020b) FCV Strategy

sustainable peacebuilding (Cox, 2021; Gizelis, 2018; Paffenholz, 2015; UN, 2015; Wanis-St. John & Kew, 2008). Bringing a gender perspective to peace work, that acknowledges how people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC experience conflict, seek security and work for peace offers possibilities for intersectional feminist collaborations to confront patriarchal violence, being the main driver of war (Evans & Lépinard, 2019). This is because, when LGBT individuals are given the opportunity to participate in peacebuilding, they offer new ways of understanding peace and development as well as building post-conflict societies informed by queer reality of life perspectives (Hagen, 2020, pp. 1-2).

On the contrary, exclusion drives conflict (UN-WB, 2018, p. xxii), particularly where asymmetrical inequalities between identity groups exist (Stewart, 2008). Those group inequalities fueling conflict are further exacerbated by economic growth policies as those promoted within liberal development (Kanbur, 2007). In this sense, Rodriguez Iglesias (2020) shows how efforts to achieve inclusion within liberal policies, such as those enshrined in the 2030 Agenda, are doomed to fail because they do “[...] not overcome the coloniality of power and the exclusion of the others [...]” (p. 199) based on race, sexuality, and gender, among others. On the contrary, she argues that liberal peace “[...] reproduces the colonial difference of the racialized subject” (p. 211) by imprinting the project of modernity into the periphery. This, she claims, is because the “[...] project of liberal peacebuilding has been used by national elites to perpetuate a political, economic, and social status quo [...]” (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 206). In summary, she argues, that a liberal approach is inherently exclusive and can never fully include subaltern claims, because it reproduces the coloniality of power which is based on the “[...] exclusion of the other, be it [...] by race, class, or gender” (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 217). Given the power of international multilateral actors in setting dominant agendas and the hegemonic status of the liberal paradigm, the possibility of transformation from such a perspective appears to be limited or even futile.

McCandless (2021, p. 141), on the other hand, provides greater scope for agency. He argues that success of inclusion efforts decisively relies on the quality of inclusion. The latter, as considered in development research, depends on the political context, societal expectations as well as the method and structure of participation (Painter, 2002). As described in chapter 2.5, in line with Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, political agreements are more sustainable when social actors influence agreements and their implementation (McCandless, 2021, p. 141). Yet, civil society itself is fragmented and permeated by power

relations, struggling for limited resources to achieve the interest of a particular social group. These may vary widely even within, when essentialized, homogenous presented interest as those of 'women' or the 'LGBT community'. A Black transgender woman from the rural area of the global South, where armed actors are at the forefront clearly has other interests and necessities than a white gay man, living in the capital with access to education and formal employment. Consequently, inclusive processes and governance may not necessarily lead to inclusive outcomes in peacebuilding when, for example, particular groups become spoilers (McCandless, 2021, p. 141). So, besides finding a common ground parting form and acknowledging diversity in being and interests, retaining a critical, autonomous voice to achieve transformative change, remains a challenge for civil society (McCandless, 2021, p. 141). The difficulty in sustaining critical voices is due to the epistemological gap, existing between those in power positions and those in subaltern positions (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 208). When the later talk about development within the hegemonic liberal discourse, they are likely not to use the same framework, which makes it difficult for them to be heard (see chapter 2.3). In order to be heard, they will adapt their interests to the common vocabulary used in the hegemonic discourse. LGBT organizations in Colombia, for example, primarily use the framework of individual human rights to be able to engage in the national and international peace agenda (Oettler, 2019, p. 18). This assimilation of subaltern voices into the hegemonic discourse of peacebuilding and development carries the risk that alternative perspectives and transformative potential are lost. Then again, when harnessing the potential of their role as critical partners in processes controlled by governments and international actors (McCandless, 2021, p. 141), civil society might be able to transform the system from *within*. Yet, this alone will not be sufficient, and systems need to be transformed simultaneously from those in positions of power for significant change to occur. Transformative forces must therefore act simultaneously from *within* and from *outside*. For this to happen, there needs to be a consistent focus on changing those systems and structures that foster and reinforce inequality and poverty (McCandless, 2021, p. 143). In that sense, the nexus paradigm of peacebuilding and development of *global and national system transformation* identified by McCandless (2021) is considered key in this work:

[The PDN nexus] success relies upon a marriage with the transformation agenda underlying global and national system transformation; prevention and sustainability cannot be achieved without addressing structural causes and drivers of conflict, fragility, and crisis. Addressing fragility and building peaceful states will not be feasible without system transformation. (p. 143)

In the following, ways are shown how a system transformation might be possible in praxis

despite, even within, or through the engagement with and the permeation of existing hegemonic structures.

4.7 Exploring for alternatives

The tensions in practice which arise from the shared logics within the disciplines of peacebuilding and development can be made productive in the sense of a moment of reflection. To the end of reconsidering the relationship between peacebuilding and development towards a decolonial praxis, the focus shifts from the commonalities to their divergences. While in transitional justice the focus is on the individual (or 'collective persons'), the past and the event, development is future-orientated, aimed at the generic collective and at the structural level (Colvin, 2008, p. 418). As the analysis on the development discourse in chapter 4.2.2 shows and Colvin (2008, p. 418) points out, despite counterhegemonic efforts, the dominant paradigm is framed within 'the market' and 'economy'. Therefore, development initiatives aim to transform the material world, rather than the legal, social, or spiritual (Colvin, 2008, p. 418). From a de- and postcolonial standpoint, these tensions appear because of the way in which the Western episteme has divided the world – "into law and economy, into self and other, into state and citizen, into the transcendent and the material" (Colvin, 2008, p. 419). This division is reflected in a polarization within societies in transitional states seeking development in terms of economic growth. There are those who do not identify with the transitional justice project and instead demand jobs, health care, education, and economic growth. While the other side is composed of aggrieved individuals and communities demanding recognition and reparations for their suffering. At first glance, these framings seem incompatible, and instead of a common project, there is a struggle for limited financial resources. In this context, Colvin (2008) raises the question of "[h]ow does one speak in the same conversation, within a common discourse, about torture and capacity building, about disappearances and job creation?" (p. 418). Against the background of the analysis within the colonial power matrix undertaken in this work, the answer to this question seems obvious. And this is precisely the turning point at which the difficulties associated with the commonalities in peacebuilding and development praxis, as well as with their theoretical contrasts can be made productive. The answer is that it is possible to talk about these issues in a common discourse that focuses on the structural causes of economic poverty and conflict and the asymmetrical power relations at local, national, and global levels that disadvantage the many and favor the few based on race, sexuality, gender, ability, and so on.

In line with the argumentation above, overcoming exclusion in the PDN will be possible, when shifting from the predominant liberal paradigm focusing on high-level players such as the United Nations, international NGOs, and western scholarship, to a much wider range of actors (Cox, 2021, pp. 1-2; Philpott & Powers, 2010, p. 4). In search of alternative forms of development, the author first introduces Martha Nussbaum's interpretation of Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (CA) and then, in the following chapter 4.7.1, establishes the parallels between this figure of thought as normative basis for the concept of *buen vivir*. Nussbaum (2007) defines the CA as follows:

[I] have attempted to defend the use, for political purposes, and as a basis for constitutional thought, of a list of ten 'Central Human Capabilities,' including Life, Bodily Health, Bodily Integrity, the Development and Expression of Senses, Imagination and Thought, Emotional Health, Practical Reason, Affiliation (both personal and political), Relationships with Other Species and the World of Nature, Play, and Control over One's Environment (both material and social). (p. 21)

The CA differs from the international human rights (HR) standards. Again, the point here is not to favor one approach over the other, but to look for ways to optimize and complement both. It is argued that international HR have a key blind spot that can be filled by the CA. Firstly, some of the components of the ten capabilities listed by Nussbaum can also be found in international HR. These are based on the principles of justice, participation, and democracy as a compelling normative component. Nussbaum's ten capabilities listed above have been used to concretize these principles in the form of a minimum consensus, but they can be expanded flexibly and with sensitivity to the context in which they are applied. What is crucial for the distinction between CA and international HR standards is that the holistic and liberal view of human beings with regard to physical, mental, and spiritual well-being is extended by a consideration of the prevailing socio-economic conditions. Consequently, unlike in the case of HR, it is not assumed that every human being can claim equal rights only because he or she holds equal rights. The tensions between being right holders and the actual possibility of claiming rights from an intersectional standpoint are countered within CA by looking at external realization possibilities, i.e. available resources and capabilities, so that a person can do what is necessary for a 'good life'. The responsibility for creating enabling contextual conditions is thereby placed on politics. The capability approach bridges contradictions by combining a liberal view of human beings with a social view of society. In terms of empowerment and agency, it strives for an active and independent subject and at the same time calls for society to provide access and opportunities for realization so that the subject can freely choose the way of life that suits the individual in line with the normative

consensus outlined above.

4.7.1 *Buen vivir*

Elements of Sen's and Nussbaums' CA can be found within the concept of *buen vivir*. *Buen vivir*, as Rodriguez Iglesias (2020, p. 215) argues, can be understood as an alternative form of development. It is a model of society with origins in Latin America which promotes the harmonic co-existence of people and nature as well as between people (Peters, 2020, p. 22). In line with this, linear growth is rejected and drawing on indigenous traditions, food sovereignty, self-governance and the defense of the territory are at the center (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 215). Especially in post-colonial countries affected by conflict and fragility, ethnic, rural and peasant communities have experienced abandonment and were displaced by force since the establishment of the nation-state. This is exacerbated in cases where people have intersectional identities and diverse SOIGESC. Moreover, experiences of rejecting their identities themselves in order to scale up the ladder of categorized human beings make them seek for peace reaching far beyond a negative definition of peace in the sense of putting an end to armed conflict only by signing peace agreements and disarmament. Peace for people with experiences of exclusion based on race, sexuality, gender and so on, means overcoming structural causes of conflict, which requires the truth to be told. “[F]or the Afro-descendant people, peace means the recognition of their rights, of healing through history [...]” (Interviewee⁴⁷ quoted in Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 216). In line with this, ethnic people in Colombia have created an Inter-Ethnic Commission of Peace in order to decolonize the Truth Commission and “[...] to show the country how slavery and serfdom of blacks and indigenous have marked what they are today” (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 216). Only recently, the 28th of June 2022, the Colombian Truth Commission (CEV) has launched its final report (CEV, 2022). Relevant results regarding the effects of colonialism on exclusion based on race but also gender, sexuality, are further illustrated in chapter 5.1.1.

According to Schirch (2004, pp. 21-21) the contextual complexity of conflicts must be analyzed by understanding them as secondary violence which, as argued in this work, partly aroused from forms of structural violence within the colonial matrix of power, such as sexism and racism. In order to understand the local context, justifications for these forms of violence must be uncovered as done in chapter 2.6. By presenting the concepts

⁴⁷ Afro leader of National conference of Afro-Colombian organizations (CNOA).

of truth commissions and transformative justice, the author points out ways of implementing the normative key ideas of the CA and *buen vivir* within hegemonic practices in the PDN aiming at transforming them from within. By exploring the causes of violence at the institutional level by truth commissions and the application of the concept of transformative justice, the associated knowledge gains legitimacy and becomes part of a society's 'body of thought' as valid knowledge. In this way, transformative processes are initiated both from subaltern positions 'at the bottom' as well as from high-level institutions.

4.7.2 *Transformative justice*

To implement the basic principles of the CA and *buen vivir* within the PDN, that is, for example, the realization of liberties and participation within a democracy, socio-economic inequalities must be overcome (Bundschuh, 2015, p. 20). Within the framework of the PDN, this can be achieved by truth commissions that not only focus on violations of civil and political rights, but also on economic, social, and cultural rights. With the support of these truth commission, as non-judicative element within the transitional justice approach, the roots of conflict and conflict-driving behavior can be addressed (Sott, 2017, p. 62). Laplante (2008, p. 352) argues that in this way it is possible to integrate a development paradigm into the peacebuilding debate going beyond economic growth.

Lambourne (2009, p. 37) criticizes common approaches to transitional justice and instead introduces the concept of transformative justice, arguing that this type of justice would contribute to more sustainable peace (Lambourne, 2009, p. 45). Agreeing with this, Evans (2016) argues "[...] that existing models of transitional justice are not adequate for addressing structural violence [...]" (p. 2). Within transitional justice, civil and political rights are addressed but structural forms of violence and social inequalities along identity lines are ignored. Transformative justice - in turn - provides a platform for "transformative change that emphasizes local agency and resources, the prioritization of process rather than preconceived outcomes and the challenging of unequal and intersecting power relationships and structures of exclusion at both the local and the global level" (Gready & Robins, 2014, p. 340).

Accordingly, "[transformative justice] emerges in the need to address structural violence and socioeconomic rights issues that precipitate and are produced and reproduced by

conflict” (Evans, 2016, p. 9). However, with a view to *la longue durée*,⁴⁸ it will not be possible to replace current hegemonic peacebuilding and development praxis with an alternative overnight.

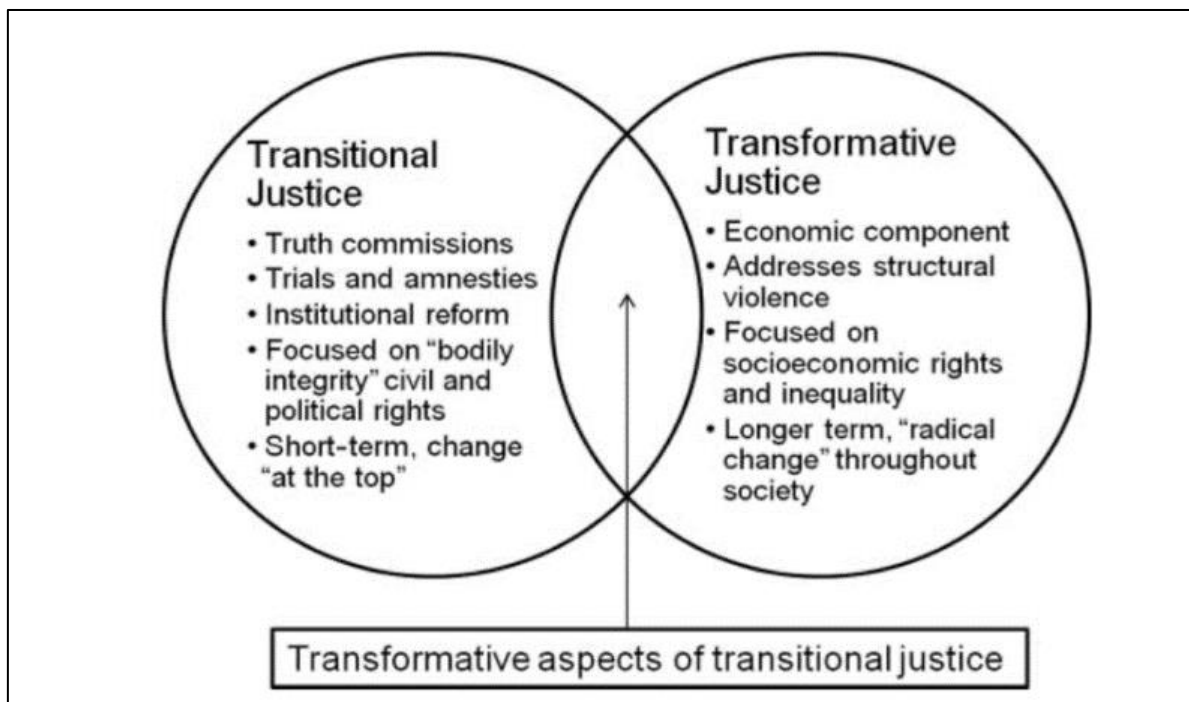


Figure 2: Relation between transformative justice and transitional justice (Evans, 2016, p. 8).

As the diagram above illustrates, the dominant transitional justice model can be broadened to include a transformative character of justice. A transformative justice approach would take up socio-economic rights as a key to addressing and preventing conflict (Evans, 2016). In that sense, transformative justice can deliver remedies being available within the transitional justice approach by addressing forms of structural violence inherent in settler colonialism in order to transform future social relations. In concrete terms, truth commissions could deepen global discussions about economic structures in current times, particularly in cases where exclusion because of socio-economic injustices are causes and drivers of conflict. In terms of the development paradigm contained therein, liberal ideas of growth are automatically questioned in this way and development appears in the light of justice.

In the following section, the theoretical assumptions presented are further examined by means of a qualitative research process.

⁴⁸ *La longue durée*, the long duration, was introduced by historian Fernand Braudel to describe events that take place almost imperceptibly over a long period of time, such as slowly changing relationships between people and the world.

5 Empirical survey

Rodriguez Iglesias (2020) deconstructs through decolonial thought and discourse theory the core elements of liberal peace in order to reveal the matrix of power sustaining it. That way it becomes clear, how other meanings surrounding liberal peace which are mentioned above are naturalized. Again, among these, there are discourses on, for example, democracy and development. As mentioned in chapter 4.1, all these terms can have different meanings depending on the context in which they are used. When used linked to liberal peace, as depicted before, development takes the form of economic growth. This meaning may change, as will be shown by the empirical survey, when development is interpreted within a specific context of local peace (Rodriguez Iglesias, 2020, pp. 206-207). As with peace and development, the same applies to the other two key concepts of empowerment and accountability presented in this work. On the one hand, the empirical survey aims at uncovering alternative views on the topics by observing them in isolation. On the other hand, by exploring for connections, a new light is shed on the relationship between them. Furthermore, to give an answer to *why* equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace, the reasons for GBV given by the interviewees are investigated. Based on these reasons given, the theoretical and empirical synthesis in chapter six that follows this chapter will permit conclusions on the underlying structures, i.e., the colonial matrix of power. It will thus become apparent whether the hypotheses established by the theoretical analysis are confirmed by empirical evidence or whether there are deviations. Bringing these questions into the focus allows further reconsideration about *how* operationalizing empowerment and accountability with respect to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC can serve for decolonizing the politics and practices of peacebuilding and development. Before going into detail about the research process and the results, the reasons for the country-specific case selection are explained by critically observing the relationship between the 'donor' and the 'partner' country in the following chapter.

5.1 Country-specific case selection

By the empirical survey and by drawing on the example of the GIZ's program "Consolidation of Peace in Colombia - ProPaz II", it is examined to what extent DC programs have an empowering or destructive effect. Drawing on the concepts of E&A, it is discussed whether in this concrete case DC is reproducing Western imperialism, as claimed by proponents of de- and postcolonial theory. In contrast, the program's

potential to transform global power relations is considered. The ProPaz II program and Colombia as a case study are considered appropriate for analysis based on the following reasoning. On the one hand, the relationship between the bilateral partners Germany and Colombia is based on a historically grown power imbalance linked to the colonial era. On the other hand, the gender perspective as well as the perception of gender as non-binary and fluid plays an important role both in the German DC program (BMZ, 2017) and in the Colombian peace agreement of 2016 between the government and the FARC-EP (Acuerdo Final, 2016, pp. 126, 131). However, what applies in theory in the form of gender strategies in the program work of development cooperation and peacebuilding agreements can be contrasted with reality. With regard to the latter, the following section will first discuss the situation of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in the Colombian peace process before considering the relationship between Germany and Colombia under historical and economic aspects. As far as this second part is concerned, this paper can certainly not do justice to the complexity of the relations between the two countries and only a few points that are considered relevant for the purpose of this work will be discussed.

5.1.1 *Colombia: LGBT people between peace and war*

After more than six decades of armed conflict, Colombia has been engaged in a process of transitional justice since 2016 after signing a peace agreement between the country's government and its largest guerrilla group, the FARC-EP. In the international discourse, the Colombian peace agreement of 2016 is celebrated as a positive and emblematic example of mainstreaming women's and LGBT rights. LGBT population is recognized by the Victims' Law of 2011 as well as by the Final Version of the Colombian Peace Agreement (Acuerdo Final, 2016, pp. 126, 131). Yet, the implementation of the gender measures from the perspective of LGBT women continues without positive progress (GPAZ, 2021, p. 69). Furthermore, the risk of receiving death threats is five times higher for LGBT people compared to those who identify as cis-gender heterosexuals (Maier, 2019, p. 2). Meanwhile half of the measures destined to the protection of LGBT leaders still fail to be implemented (GPAZ, 2021, p. 69). Moreover, the systematic crimes committed against LGBT people in the context of the armed conflict have not ended by signing the peace agreement in 2016. Colombia Diversa⁴⁹ (2021, p. 4; UN General Assembly, 2020), on the

⁴⁹ Colombia Diversa is an NGO that has been advocating since 2004 for the human rights of LGBT people, conducting strategic litigation and research. Together with Caribe Afirmativo it is one of the leading grassroots NGOs addressing SOGIESC issues in Colombia.

contrary, points out the year 2020 - linked to the pandemic context - as being the year with the highest levels of police violence, homicides, and threats against LGBT people. According to the Registro Único de Víctimas (RUV, 2022), among the 9.328.449 victims of the armed conflict, 4,492 are people with non-heteronormative gender identity and sexual orientation (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021). Of the 11,608,952 acts of violence registered in the RUV, 7,955 were directed against LGBT persons (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021). This shows that affected persons face multiple experiences of violence. The most frequently recorded crimes against LGBT persons include 3,879 cases of forced displacement, 1,326 cases of death threats, and 521 cases of sexual violence (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021). Yet, these figures are likely to include a high number of unreported cases (Colombia Diversa, 2017, p. 13; Hagen, 2017, p. 5; GIZ, 2020a, p. 22; World Bank, 2020a, p. 23). Reasons for the lack of data include, among others, the LGBT population's lack of trust in state institutions due to experiences of institutional violence, impunity and revictimization (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021; Colombia Diversa, 2017, p. 23). Particularly in the case of sexualized violence, it must be assumed that the data set is incomplete, as is made clear in the reports submitted to the Truth Commission (CEV) and Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) by grassroots organizations (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021). According to these reports, sexualized violence is used by armed actors strategically and in the form of 'conversion therapy' against LGBT people (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021).

The Truth Commission (CEV, 2022), in the final and most recent report of June 28th in 2022 from a historical perspective has revealed how these forms of violence emerge, are justified, and maintained as well as how they relate to the persistence of the armed conflict in Colombia based on the construction of the *enemigo interno*, the enemy within:

Racism, classism, and the hacienda model have left forms of discrimination with deep traces in our culture. In the colony, a system of hierarchies or castes was established. Under the economic model of the hacienda, the idea was installed that certain populations were inferior to others because of their race, gender, and cultural traditions. This justified their submission, their exploitation, the abuse of their bodies and, in countless cases, their murder. As historian Jorge Orlando Melo says: 'Thus arose the first image of the 'enemy' in the history of what is now Colombia, associated with the black or indigenous 'rebel', who did not obey a violently imposed authority and, therefore, ended up being pointed out as the guilty party of the very violence that was exercised on him'. The inversion of guilt has been a widespread phenomenon in the social and political culture of Colombia. Something that exerted a profound influence on the dynamics of the war, extending suspicion on identities, behaviors, or differences [...]. This, in turn, has meant that any struggle for the defense and dignity of the rights of excluded sectors is seen as a threat to the *status quo* [sic] of a society based on categories that segregate and privilege at the same time. Racism and classism, but also patriarchy [...] have generated accumulated damages in those who have historically lived under these orders without their humanity and equality being recognized. As a result, violence against them has become naturalized and justified [...]. **[A]s long as the cultural and**

structural base that feeds confrontation remains intact, it will not be possible to build lasting peace, as the vicious cycles of violence will remain active. (pp. 661-663, author's emphasize and translation)⁵⁰

Precisely for this reason, bottom-up projects aim at subverting the status quo of the nation-state and at the same time gain space within it, for example through identity projects as in the case of LGBT persons (Rodríguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 212). In this context, it seems obvious that different grassroots organizations have worked for peace, not only in the sense of putting end to armed conflict but of overcoming the long-standing exclusion and oppression with its roots in colonialism (Rodríguez Iglesias, 2020, p. 217). At the same time, this last aspect raised in the above quote of the truth commission, of observing the distinct dimensions of human life through a cultural lens is a central point of critique concerning Colombia's transitional justice process. As was shown, structurally, transitional justice processes are always designed in a way that privileges certain groups and narratives at the expense of others (Hinton, 2010, p. 14). A central demand in the context of the Colombian transitional justice process is therefore to increasingly address socio-historical dynamics (Aranguren, 2012). Sott (2017, p. 13) argues that transitional justice processes need to go far beyond ensuring minimum democratic standards, enforcing international law, judicial processing of human rights violations, and memorialization policies, as in this way they cannot contribute to overcoming violent conflict by addressing its root causes. Rather, a comprehensive social transformation of society is required for the transitional justice process in Colombia to break out of the boundaries of the colonial matrix of power, where Western values such as liberal democracy, the rule of law and human rights are presented as universal and alternative positions, as those of plurinationalism, are excluded (Sott, 2017, p. 15). In the following, by

⁵⁰ "El racismo, el clasismo y el modelo de la hacienda han dejado formas de discriminación con huellas profundas en nuestra cultura. En la colonia se instauró un sistema de jerarquías o castas. Bajo el modelo económico de la hacienda se instaló la idea de que ciertas poblaciones eran inferiores a otras por su raza, género y tradiciones culturales. Lo que justificaba su sumisión, su explotación, la sevicia en contra de sus cuerpos y, en innumerables casos, su asesinato. Como dice el historiador Jorge Orlando Melo: «Así surgió la primera imagen del "enemigo" en la historia de lo que hoy es Colombia, asociada al negro o al indígena "rebelde", que no acataba una autoridad violentamente impuesta y, por ello, terminaba siendo señalado como el culpable de la violencia misma que se ejercía sobre él». La inversión de la culpa ha sido un fenómeno muy difundido en la cultura social y política de Colombia. Algo que ejercía una profunda influencia en las dinámicas de la guerra, extendiendo la sospecha sobre identidades, comportamientos o diferencias [...] Eso, a su vez, ha implicado que toda lucha por la defensa y dignidad de los derechos de los sectores excluidos sea vista como una amenaza al *statu quo* de una sociedad basada en esas categorías que segregan y privilegian al mismo tiempo. El racismo y el clasismo, pero también el patriarcado [...] han generado daños acumulados en quienes han vivido históricamente bajo estos órdenes sin ser reconocida su humanidad e igualdad. Por ello, la violencia en su contra se ha naturalizado y justificado [...] **[M]ientras se mantenga intacta la base cultural y estructural que alimenta la confrontación, no será posible construir una paz duradera, pues los ciclos viciosos de la violencia permanecerán activos**" (CEV 2022, pp. 661-663, author's emphasize).

presenting the inclusion of LGBT perspectives as part of the ProPaz II project as well as through the subsequent empirical study, it will be examined to what extent German development cooperation can contribute to bring alternative perspectives out of invisibility.

5.1.2 *Bilateral relations: Germany and Colombia*

Within the final version of the peace agreement (Acuerdo Final, 2016, p. 216; GIZ, 2019, p. 1) the federal Republic of Germany was explicitly asked to assist Colombia's transitional justice process. The argumentation for this support is based on Germany's experiences on their own *Geschichtsaufarbeitung* und *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. These specific terms in German language, which as Timothy Garton Ash (1998) argues, do not exist in English language, indicate "[...] that this is something of a German specialty". Yet Germany's success in "[...] 'treating' the past, 'working over' the past, 'confronting' it, 'coping, dealing or coming to terms with' it; even 'overcoming' the past" (p. 35) can be viewed critically due to fragmentary denazification within and outside of government structures in the course of the Nuremberg Trials and an associated current right-wing shift in society (Katapult, 2022). Accordingly, Buckley-Zistel and Oettler (2011) state:

In the postwar period, when the Nuremberg Trials and subsequent trials (or amnesties) were conducted, the German debate about coming to terms with the Nazi regime paradoxically owed its epistemic content primarily to the factual rejection of active dealing with it. (p. 22, author's translation)⁵¹

However, Colombia is a bilateral partner of German DC with a focus on civil society peacebuilding (Auswärtiges Amt, 2022).⁵² Noteworthy in the context of German peacebuilding efforts is the structure-building character which the disbursement of these development cooperation funds is tied to. On the one hand, according to the German government, the institutional and structural reforms are intended to contribute to the long-term effectiveness and sustainability of the Colombian state's measures to mitigate the causes and consequences of conflict. Accordingly, the federal government's answer to a parliamentary question submitted by the Green Party can be read as follows:

The largest financial contribution to supporting the peace process in Colombia is provided

⁵¹ "In der Nachkriegszeit, als die Nürnberger Prozesse und nachfolgende Gerichtsverfahren (bzw. Amnestien) durchgeführt wurden, verdankte die bundesdeutsche Diskussion um eine Aufarbeitung des NS-Regimes ihren epistemischen Gehalt paradoxerweise vor allem der faktischen Ablehnung einer aktiven Bearbeitung" (Buckley-Zistel & Oettler, 2011, p. 22).

⁵² In the context of policy coherence and conflicting economic and development policy interests, a critical aspect is that Germany simultaneously supplies weapons to Colombia. Even though this is a country characterized by violence and conflict which thus does not meet the rule-of-law requirements for arms exports (Wagner, 2017, p. 430).

by the German government in the form of low-interest loans for the multi-phase "Sector Reform Program Peace Agenda". Here, loan funds from financial cooperation are only disbursed if previously agreed institutional and structural reforms have been demonstrably implemented by the Colombian partner institutions. (Deutscher Bundestag, 2021, p. 7, author's translation)⁵³

On the other hand, this circumstance fuels the arguments of de- and postcolonial voices, according to which the project of modernity is reproduced in the periphery by liberal peacebuilding. What Latin American sociologists explored in the 1960s as part of the dependency theory affirms itself in the relationship between unequal partners: Germany, as part of the "free world", according to Guido Westerwelle (Dilger, 2011, p. 11), rushes in to assist 'underdeveloped' Colombia under moral pretensions. During his visit in 2011, Westerwelle pointed out the country's attractiveness as a business location and described Colombia as one of the most stable democracies in Latin America in need of support from the 'free world' (Dilger, 2011, p. 11). To mention only two relevant aspects at this point, Germany is considered the most important EU importer in Colombia (Dilger, 2011, p.10; Statista, 2022b). In addition, Colombia has been one of the largest hard coal suppliers for German coal-fired power plants since 2011, supplying E.ON, RWE, EnBW and Vattenfall, among others (Bundesregierung, 2022; Dilger, 2011, p. 10; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). According to Dilger (2011) within this relationship, the elites of the addressed country form the intermediaries for the continuous exploitation by the industrialized countries of the North. The foundations for this bilateral relation between the two North-South countries, can be traced back to the 16th century and the Spanish colonization of Latin America with the involvement of Germany (Dilger 2011, p. 10). First diplomatic relations were established between Colombia and the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck, initiated by 'enterpreneuring' Germans (Dilger, 2011, p. 10). Against this historical background increased commitment to development policy destined at liberal peacebuilding should not be considered in isolation from Germany's foreign economic interests in Colombia.

These circumstances suggest that the program "Consolidation of Peace in Colombia - ProPaz II" likewise operates within the colonial matrix of power. Nevertheless, focusing on strengthening the recognition of victims' rights in the context of the implementation

⁵³ "Den größten finanziellen Beitrag zur Unterstützung des Friedensprozesses in Kolumbien stellt die Bundesregierung in Form von zinsverbilligten Darlehen für das mehrphasige „Sektorreformprogramm Friedensagenda“ zur Verfügung. Hierbei werden die Darlehensmittel aus der finanziellen Zusammenarbeit nur ausgezahlt, wenn zuvor vereinbarte institutionelle und strukturelle Reformen von den kolumbianischen Partnerinstitutionen nachweislich umgesetzt wurden“ (Deutscher Bundestag, 2021, p. 7)

of the peace agreement (GIZ, 2022, p. 1), it has the potential to break down these structures from within. In this context, it is also worth emphasizing the “precise consideration of the needs of the respective target groups” (GIZ, 2022, p. 2). However, this only applies as long as these needs are defined within the mandate of the program, whereas aspects of socio-economic justice are not considered. Rather the mandate includes firstly the participation of victims in truth, justice, and reparation processes, secondly inter-institutional articulation and coordination and lastly, offering innovative dialogue in the context of collective experiences of victims (GIZ, 2022, p. 2). These efforts which jointly aim at facilitating the participation of victims in peacebuilding from an intercultural, interethnic, local and gender sensitive perspective are crucial for including alternative points of view and shifting dominant narratives within peacebuilding processes. Yet, they choke with reality. In Colombia, one of the most socially unequal countries in the world according to the Gini-Index (Statista, 2022a) where more than 21 million people live in poverty and 7.4 million in extreme poverty (DANE, 2022), participation is privilege. In addition to economic barriers to participation in peace processes, increased violence against human rights defenders particularly prevents people with intersectional identities from engaging in the project of peace (Menig & Dietz, 2020, pp. 71-72). ProPaz II cannot provide answers to the crucial questions of socio-economic justice and security for human rights defenders. Nevertheless, the question remains in what ways the program can contribute to a decolonializing praxis in peace and development cooperation within the limitations of its mandate. The following empirical study explores how this can be done by empowerment and accountability for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, which, in line with the reasoning of this thesis, contributes to more sustainable peace.

5.2 Research design and method

A qualitative research methodology was selected as this allows an explorative process (Flick, 2011, p. 12). This approach is chosen with respect to the thin data available on the two-parted research question of *why* and *how* equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace. Moreover, a qualitative approach allows to understand individual perspectives and perceptions of different actors. In line with a discursive approach, the focus is on the subjectivity of experiences and meanings (Flick, 2007, pp. 1-2). Against the background of theoretical considerations, field access is considered crucial for reaching and making visible subaltern perspectives. To this end, the research process was accompanied by a six-week field research in

Colombia. The table in appendix 1 provides an overview of the research design, which is presented in detail in the subsequent chapters.

5.2.1 *Data collection method*

In this chapter, the research process is described in terms of sampling, data collection method, construction of guiding questions, field access, and conducting the interviews.

Semi-structured guided expert interviews were chosen as survey method and a purposive sampling method was applied. The term 'expert' is defined here following the open concept of Gläser and Laudel (2010, p. 12), whereby expert status is not tied to an academic career or professional background. An exclusionary definition, as used by Meuser and Nagel (1991, pp. 442-445), is problematic given the privileges associated with access to education and thus to the labor market, as well as the knowledge that is considered valid. Thus, according to the definition used in this paper, people can also be considered experts of their own reality of life without any need to provide a specific degree or professional background. The selection of participants using intersectional criteria aimed at obtaining a representative sample to illustrate from different perspectives *why* and *how* equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace. Yet of course this research cannot give fully account on the multiplicity of existing meanings connected to the topics. Among the participants were one up to three actors of three different stakeholder groups being involved in the praxis of peacebuilding and development as well as armed conflict. In consequence, a total of five interviews with six interviewees were conducted.

The first stakeholder group (A) consists of activists with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, who are involved in peacebuilding activities in the context of transitional justice processes in Colombia. Concerning the dimension of empowerment, it is crucial for gaining an insight of what empowerment and accountability means to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in a post-colonial environment affected by violence and conflict. In part, participants in this stakeholder group are victims of the armed conflict because of their non-heteronormative SOGIESC. Furthermore, with respect to accountability the focus is - based on the reasoning in chapter 3.2 - on the countries of the global North. In this case the role of the GIZ's program for peace consolidation in Colombia, ProPaz II, is examined. Consequently, the second group of interest (B) consists of employees of the GIZ who, as argued within de- and postcolonial theory, by their

actions at the institutional level, consolidate and reproduce the colonial/modern gender system and thus contribute to the maintenance of structural violence against the population with non-heteronormative SOGIESC. The interest of knowledge lies on the one hand in how responsibility for violence against LGBT persons can be assumed by DC agencies. On the other hand, it is explored to what extent DC programs for peacebuilding can have an empowering effect. Consequently, in the spirit of a “hyper-self-reflexive development” (Kapoor, 2004, p. 641) and peacebuilding it is explored how external actors, such as the GIZ, can participate in the project of a decolonizing praxis in the frame of LGBT inclusion in peacebuilding as in the case of Colombia by the acknowledgement of complicity. Moreover, to grasp the full complexity of GBV, engaging with perpetrators is just as important as engaging with survivors of violence (Hagen, 2020, p. 2). As a consequence, the third interest group (C) includes an ex-combatant of an armed group which is involved in social cleansing activities against LGBT individuals in Colombia. The focus is on the reasons the interviewee gives for why violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC occurs in order “[...] to understand how [violence] becomes possible, even necessary, from the perspective of those who commit these acts” (Baaz, 2009; Baaz & Stern, 2013, pp. 13-14). The table in appendix 2 provides more detailed data on the interviewees.

Field access, especially to stakeholder groups A and B, was facilitated by professional contacts of the author established in a previous research project within the ASA program.⁵⁴ The first contact in the context of the interviews for the thesis was established via email in the case of stakeholder group A and via the telecommunication service WhatsApp in the case of stakeholder group B (see appendix 3). Access to stakeholder group C proved to be more difficult but was made possible by first initiating indirect communication through the author's personal network. To this end, the interviewee was identified by personal outreach within his community. Every contact required the mobilization of the researcher. Depending on their preferences, the interviewees were met partly in their private environment and partly in their working environment. Care was taken to ensure a safe environment for both the interviewees and the researcher. The geographic focus for conducting the interviews was on the cities of Cartagena and Barranquilla in the Caribbean region, as these regions are among those most affected by

⁵⁴ The ASA program is a non-profit development education and internship program run by Engagement Global gGmbH on behalf of the BMZ.

the armed conflict in Colombia (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021), as well as the political center and capital Bogotá.

As indicated by the aforementioned, the interviews were conducted in person and in Spanish language oriented on a semi-structured interview guide. With the exception of one interview, the interviews were conducted individually. In one interview, the interviewee spontaneously called in another person with expertise in decolonial issues to answer specific questions about decolonizing praxis. In the framework of the partly standardized interview, the survey questions and sequence were predetermined, the answer options were not. However, the given structure was approached in a dynamic manner. Thus, wording, sequence and emphasis were adopted flexibly depending on the persons social and academic background as well as their degree of involvement in and background knowledge of the topics. Given the fact that three different interest groups were interviewed, three different questionnaires were developed. These dealt with the same topics in terms of content. Merely the phrasing and framing was changed and based on the above argumentation, different emphasis were set. Moreover, for quality optimization, the structure and vocabulary of the questionnaire were improved subsequent to each interview and regular pretests were conducted. The respective final versions are included in appendix 4.

Both, the key concepts of this work and the research question formed the basis for structuring the questionnaires. These were developed, first, based on the key concepts of empowerment, accountability, peacebuilding, and development. Second, the two central research questions were used to structure the questionnaire. Consequently, the two aspects of *why* and *how* equality for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace each formed one big theme complex. Thereupon, the guiding questions, which themselves were clustered into the theme complexes of empowerment, accountability, peacebuilding, and development, were then assigned to the two major thematic blocks of *why* and *how*. In addition to explore for basic perspectives and experiences on these key topics, questions were asked to establish connections between the respective concepts. All interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of the interviewees and transcribed by the author (see appendix 5).

5.2.2 *Transcription*

For a decolonizing qualitative research process, González y González and Lincoln (2006) recommend processing the data in their original language. This way it is intended to counteract the eventual loss of meaning that already takes place when what is said by the subaltern is 'translated' by the researcher into the dominant discourse. Consequently, the richness of the material can more likely be preserved:

Because there is no 'formula' to translate culture, the collection of data in a local language, and the presentation of the analyses in a second language, becomes an important issue to consider. The presentation of data analyses and findings is a huge undertaking for any researcher who hopes to make certain that readers understand and make sense of data from foreign participants. (González y González, Lincoln 2006, p. 2)

Applying this suggestion, the interviews were described and maintained in the following evaluation process in Spanish without translating the transcripts. Only in chapter 5.3: "Findings", quotations are translated into English, indicating the original statement in the footnote as in other parts of the work. Furthermore, the author intentionally transcribed the interviews manually in order to make the process reflexively useful. In addition to González y González and Lincoln (2006), the author draws on the transcription guidelines of Dresing and Pehl (2015) as they allow for flexible adaptation according to the interest of knowledge. In this framework, dialects or slang were retained as means of expression of the interviewee. Word and sentence interruptions as well as mental leaps were also maintained in order to obtain hints about what is potentially 'unsayable'. Where the researcher's Spanish language skills and knowledge of socio-cultural backgrounds were not sufficient to adequately interpret dialects, slang and leaps of thought, a native speaker with a similar socio-cultural background as that of the interviewees was consulted for support on clarification. Interpunctuation was smoothed, which means that decisions on punctuation marks such as period and comma were made according to the criteria of intersubjective comprehensibility and readability. Anonymization was guaranteed as a precondition for conducting the interviews (see appendix 7). Therefore, the interviews are assigned to the respective stakeholders, i.e., 'Ax', 'Bx' and 'Cx', through abbreviations whereas the 'x' indicates the number of the interview. Within all interview transcripts, a distinction is made between Speaker 1, Speaker 2, and Speaker 3, with the researcher always being Speaker 1.

5.2.3 *Evaluation method*

As an evaluation method, a structuring content analysis was applied and for the purpose of this work, Mayring's (2015) approach is extended by Kuckartz (2016) to include the individual stakeholder's perspectives. In a structuring content analysis, specific aspects are highlighted by previously established codes. In consequence, this approach is more deductive compared to, e.g., a summarizing content analysis. Such an approach was selected because it allows to describe the material systematically with regard to the identified and selected aspects on basis of the theoretical considerations. In this context deductive main categories were predetermined corresponding to the strategy applied for structuring the questionnaires. Consequently, recourse was again made to the research questions and the four key concepts of the work. These topics are adopted as codes within the code system. Further, Mayring's (2015) approach allows to combine deductive and inductive coding. Inductive subcategories were developed throughout the coding process related to unprecedented topics brought in by the participants. The circular process of coding is visualized in appendix 6.1 for better understanding. The coding process described above ultimately resulted in the main categories (MC) and subcategories (SC) shown in appendix 6.3. An advantage of this evaluation method in the context of this work is that - based on the coding - it can be determined what is said and what is not. In addition, by complementing Mayring's (2015) approach with that of Kuckartz (2016), the concrete stakeholder cases can also be included into the analysis. Thus, case-related, it can be compared who states and who does not state particular aspects. This point is relevant with regard to the three different interest groups that were interviewed. At the end of the evaluation, statements can be made about how certain persons or groups of persons face the topics of empowerment, accountability, peacebuilding, and development. Another advantage is that intersubjective comprehensibility is facilitated due to the method of documentation recommended by Kuckartz (2016). The table in appendix 6.4 shows the scheme by which the data was analyzed. As usual in qualitative approaches, the sampling unit corresponds to the unit of analysis. Accordingly, 88 pages of transcribed data was analyzed with the software program MAXQDA (see appendix 8.1). The evaluation process as a whole was carried out following the model of Kuckartz (2016, p. 100) and can be looked up in the visualization included in appendix 6.2. Kuckartz (2016, pp. 117-121) differentiates between six possible forms of analysis. For the purpose of this work, three of them were applied. The reasons for this selection are explained in the following chapter.

5.3 Findings

One of the objectives of this work is to uncover alternative meanings of the subjects of empowerment, accountability, peacebuilding, and development, thereby reframing the relationship between them. In the case of the concepts of empowerment and accountability, the focus is on their respective interactions and their concrete operationalization in practice from the perspective of the respondents.

The findings on the main categories and the associated subcategories are presented in logical order under the guiding question of what is said or not said regarding a particular subject. Therefore, the first step is a category-based evaluation along the main categories according to Kuckartz (2016, p. 118). Secondly, in order to emphasize the relationship between main categories and subcategories, configurations between two or more categories are analyzed (Kuckartz, 2016, p. 120). Thus, statements can be made about how respondents relate, for example, the undertakings of development and peace, the emergence of poverty and conflict, the association of violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC with war, and, conversely, their equality and peace. Due to the small number of interviews, any general quantification of the results is provided. Only aspects that are particularly significant in terms of figures, for example, if a certain issue was mentioned by all or none of the interviewees, are included. In contrast, the evaluation is stakeholder case-oriented and focuses more closely on what is being said from which perspective. To this end, a third analytical strategy according to Kuckartz (2016, pp. 119–120) is applied allowing to identify the relationship between stakeholder groups and thematic statements. For example, what reasons a perpetrator gives for GBV in contrast to those that a victim gives.

5.3.1 *Gender-based violence*

To understand why equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC leads to more sustainable peace, participants were asked why they believed GBV occurs. This was done on the basis that firstly, the reasons allow conclusions to be drawn about underlying structures which are also considered to be structural causes of conflict and secondly, by uncovering the causes, it is possible to take preventative action.

GBV is perceived as an omnipresent and global phenomenon: "I would say this is never going to end [...] this is something that we're always confronted with wherever in the world we go" (A 1, #00:18:49#, author's translation; see also A 1, #00:20:55#, #00:23:08#;

B 2, #00:18:52#).⁵⁵ However, the specificities in FCVAS and especially in Colombia, where the armed conflict had arisen from the elimination of the 'other', the 'enemy within', are highlighted. GBV is seen as a reaction to the 'other' who threatens the social order (A 1, #00:18:49#; B 2, #00:18.52#), and consequently as a means to maintain the status quo. Consequently, one reason given for GBV is that gender diversity is associated with a loss of social control and a threat to the status quo (B 2, #00:18.52#). Furthermore, patriarchy is cited as the main cause, and femicide, social cleansing, murder, harassment, marginalization, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination are described as expressions and effects of GBV entailing financial, emotional, and psychological consequences and shaping "that person's life, that person's whole story" (A 1, #00:14:15#, #00:20:55#, #00:43:30#; B 1, #00:23:28). The root cause of GBV is located a long time ago (A 1, #00:39:06#; B 1, #00:28:06#). However, partly without naming a specific time period, but rather - by drawing parallels to racism - as "[...] natural in the human being" (B 1, #00:28:06#, author's translation).⁵⁶ At the same time, and in contrast to the latter statement, the same interviewee describes GBV as a cultural product and therefore transformable (B 1, #00:30:16#).

A 3 (#01:13:45#) and A 2 (#01:18:46#), on the other hand, directly link GBV to colonialism by using the concept of *bias-motivated violence* (BMV).⁵⁷ Following the interviewees' reasoning, GBV against LGBT people is bias motivated, which is why the term bias-motivated violence and not GBV is used (A 2, #00:47:48#). Accordingly, violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC is perpetrated because of the negative prejudices and stereotypes associated with the constructed 'other' (A 2, #00:47:48#). A 3 describes these as a product of the social order which was established in the colonial era based on a hegemonial discourse of hierarchy based on, among other categories, gender and sex, which legitimized the use of violence and exploitation. Moreover, A 3 argues that those who were not part of the upper hierarchy within the established order were cut off from the lines of power without being in possession of any rights. Such a social order, A 3 argues, continues to be legitimized by the descendants of former colonizers in positions of power within the nation-state (A 3, #01:13:45#). In this sense, A 3 notes that the colonial legacy persists and is expressed in bias-motivated violence (A 3, #01:36:50#). Hence,

⁵⁵ "Yo diría que esto nunca va a acabar [...] esto es algo que siempre nos los vamos a conseguir en cualquier parte del mundo en donde vayamos" (A 1, #00:18:49#).

⁵⁶ "[...] innato al ser humano" (B1, #00:28:06#).

⁵⁷ From this point the present work adapts to the use of this term.

violence is perpetrated on those bodies that are outside the binary norm of male and female and thus at the bottom of the hierarchy or outside the category of 'human' as a whole (A 3, #01:15:30#). As a result, A 3 sees the reason for prejudice-motivated violence in this social order, which is based on binary sex/gender categories and internalized throughout society as a valid truth.

Overall, it can be said that among both stakeholder groups A and B, with exception of A 1, there is an awareness of how colonialism has affected the construction of collective and personal identity in general and specifically in relation to gender (A 2, #00:19:59#; B 2, #00:07:24# - #00:14:16#, #00:45:36#). While A 2 observes “[...] that before the colonial settlement, there had not been any social orders that had this gender hierarchization and binarism” (A 2, #00:18:46, author’s translation),⁵⁸ B 2 further explains how the social orders established during colonization fueled armed conflict and GBV simultaneously:

Well, we come from the Spanish colonization where [...] I feel that this is where the issue of indigenous people being different begins and that is where society began to be built. So having traditions, having your own culture, having your own language, having your own clothing differently from that accepted by the Spanish colonizers made you different. And that was a symbol of rejection and poverty and of course of violence [...] And so we began to build ourselves as a Colombian society where the standards of tradition were shaped by the European culture [...] And then the armed actors came to the villages and said that anything that was different had no place here. And even more so if you are a person, for example, who uses to express your gender identity, a different clothing or one that does not match the norm of what is recognized as feminine or masculine, in other words, everything that is in between must be eliminated. (B 2, #00:07:52#-#00:09:06#, author’s translation)⁵⁹

Furthermore, the naturalization of violence (A 2, #01:06:48#) and structural impunity are presented as reasons for the maintenance of GBV (A 3, #01:36:50#). The latter, as A 3 argues, is because there are not any mechanisms and methodologies to include the aspects of SOGIESC into the investigation of violence and murder against LGBT people. In contrast to this, the interviewee argues that sexual orientation and gender identity are key aspects when it comes to bias-motivated violence (A 3, #01:36:50#). The need of this perspective is emphasized by the statement of A 2: “[...] there cannot be an understanding

⁵⁸ “[...] que antes de la llegada colonial pues no había como unos órdenes sociales que tuviera como esta jerarquización del género y también como este binarismo” (A 2, #00:18:46).

⁵⁹ “Bueno, nosotros venimos como de una colonización española donde [...] siento que ahí es donde empieza el tema de los indígenas eran diferentes y ahí se empezó a construir la sociedad. Entonces tener tradiciones, tener una cultura propia, tener un lenguaje propio, tener una vestimenta propia que no fuera la aceptada por los colonizadores españoles ya te hacía diferente. Y eso era símbolo de rechazo y de pobreza y por supuesto de violencia [...] Y así empezamos a construir nosotros como una sociedad colombiana donde lo tradicional venía formado por el tema europeo [...] Y después los actores armados llegan a los territorios y dicen todo lo que sea distinto no tiene opción aquí. Y más si eres una persona, por ejemplo, que utiliza para expresarse su identidad de género, una vestimenta distinta o que no está dentro de la norma de lo que se reconoce como femenino o masculino, o sea, todo lo que está en el intermedio hay que eliminarlo” (B 2, #00:07:52#-#00:09:06#).

of gender without LGBT people in it. There cannot be an understanding of how the violence of the armed conflict unfolded without LGBT people at the table” (A 2, #00:56:34#, author’s translation).⁶⁰

C 1 states that non-heteronormative SOGIESC - as a deviation from the cis-gendered norm - is considered as a “punishment of God” among armed groups (C 1, #00:01:04#). From this perspective, doing justice becomes necessary, whereas doing justice is associated with the use of violence (see chapter 5.3.5.1). Consequently, the use of bias-motivated violence is considered as doing justice and thereby legitimized (C 1, #00:23:21#). Further, it is described how the use of violence depends on the visibility of a persons’ SOGIESC. Violence is exercised on those that do not hide, but express their non-heteronormative SOGIESC (C 1, #00:02:29#). The latter, it is argued by the author, firstly, presents much more difficulty for transgender individuals compared to lesbian or gay people and secondly, fosters the inversion of guilt in the sense that people are made guilty for the violence they experience because of showing their SOGIESC. Facing this, the issue of intersectionality is addressed as an identified SC to the MC of GBV.

5.3.1.1 Intersectionality

According to B 1, bias-motivated violence is exacerbated in relation to transgender persons because their way of being "causes more resistance" compared to gay or lesbian people (B 1, #00:23:28#). In addition, the violence itself is seen as exacerbated because society at large has been heavily influenced by violence throughout six decades of armed conflict (B 1, #00:23:28#). Another point mentioned in relation to intersectionality is economic inequality, pointing out that most victims are poor (B 1, #01:00:36#). Furthermore, it is significant whether a person lives in an urban or a rural area. In this context, the great divide between these spheres, specifically in Colombia, is pointed out, with bias-motivated violence being even more prevalent in rural areas. According to B 2, this is the case, because the exercise of social control is facilitated in small village communities compared to large cities (B 2, #00:02:22#, #00:18:52#). Rural Colombia is further associated with the presence of armed actors and the absence of the state, which is another reason why bias-motivated violence is even more pronounced here (A 3, #01:24:35#). The latter is underscored by C 1’s distinction between "the world here" (in

⁶⁰ “[...] no puede haber un entendimiento del género sin las personas LGBT ahí no puede haber un entendimiento de cómo se desarrollaron las violencias del conflicto armado si no están las personas LGBT ahí” (A 2, #00:56:34#).

the city of Cartagena) and "the world there," a rural area where he belonged to an armed group, describing that "in the world here", non-heteronormative SOGIESC is more normalized and "there" - in this other world of violence - it is seen as "a punishment of God" (C 1, #00:21:35#). Furthermore, ethnicity is considered important for understanding bias-motivated violence (B 2, #00:02:22#). Accordingly, A 2 states that understanding how bodies have been sexualized in relation to race is important to comprehend gendered and bias-motivated violence on Black as opposed to white bodies (A 2, #00:54:53#). Overall, interviewees in stakeholder groups A and B agree that intersectionality - in terms of rural/urban, race, ethnicity, and class, alongside the spectrum of SOGIESC - is critical for understanding differentiated forms of violence. This is not because one experience of violence is more or less important than another, but because they are different (A 2, #00:53:56#).

5.3.1.2 Actors

On being asked to identify the actors they consider responsible for GBV, the interviewees name a range of state institutions including government officials as representatives of the same (A 1, #00:36:49#, #00:39:06#). It is stated that victimizing acts and acts of revictimization occur within legal institutions such as the transitional justice institutions and the state attorney when declaring victimizing acts (A 2, #00:04:40#, #00:43:44#). Furthermore, state security forces, especially the police are pointed out as perpetrators of bias-motivated violence: "[...] their main enemy is the police: 'they're going to touch us, they're going to beat us, they're going to rape us'" (B 2, #00:26:58#, author's translation).⁶¹ Moreover, the Catholic church as institution is pointed out several times (A 2, #00:49:29#, #00:12:14#; B 1, #00:26:53#; B 2, #00:14:16#) since in many cases they portray LGBT people as "the personification of the sin" (B 2, #00:16:52#) and therefore make use of torture and conversion therapy (B 1, #00:33:32). Similar is the case for armed actors, including both, paramilitary and guerrilla groups being accused of making strategically use of corrective rape (B 2, #00:16:52#, #00:24:57#).

5.3.1.3 Gender-conflict nexus

The interviewees were asked if they believed that there was any connection in the causes for armed conflict and the reasons for GBV and if so, to name these nexus points.

⁶¹ "[...] su enemigo principal es la policía: 'nos van a tocar, nos van a pegar, nos van a violar'" (B 2, #00:26:58#).

B 2 argues that “there are thousand connections” between GBV and conflict stating firstly, that both bias-motivated violence and armed conflict arise from the need of being in and possessing social control and power (B2, #00:44:13#). Further B 2 names individualism and not thinking of society as a collective which results in the 'other' being rejected and excluded (B2, #00:44:13#). This exclusion as illustrated by the assertion of B 1 has been radicalized within the framework of armed conflict: [...] the conflict has been a matter of extermination [...] not only of defeat, but of elimination. Better is the word ‘elimination’ of the enemy, right. Elimination of those who are different” (B 1, #01:02:45#, author’s translation).⁶² Furthermore, the construction of the 'other' implies the exclusion beyond the social on a political level. This is another reason why exclusion and bias-motivated violence are considered key for understanding armed conflict. Following A 2’s argumentation, political centers of power were established based on exclusionary practices while only including certain populations. By still holding these mechanisms in place, the status quo continues to be maintained. Simultaneously, the inaccessibility of the political system to other population groups is seen as one of the main reasons for the rise and maintenance of the armed conflict (A 2, #00:59:02#). Another related nexus point on the structural level is seen in the fact that both, GBV and conflict affects disproportionately populations which are historically affected by socio-economic inequalities such as discrimination, exclusion and poverty (B 1, #01:00:36#). At the same time, according to B 2, the intersections of these issues gave rise to the armed conflict in Colombia:

[...] the conflict in a country like Colombia has a social origin and a political origin that later got heavily mixed [...] with economic causes. But mainly this began as a social and political issue of the poor against the rich Spanish, against the Creoles, those who lived here in Colombia [...] and later joined the issue of the urban and rural areas and so forth. (B 2, #00:45:36#, author’s translation)⁶³

Consistent with the above, ‘exclusion’ was identified as a SC of the MC of GBV, and the links between GBV and conflict are illustrated below more in detail by presenting findings on exclusionary practices, as

“[...] exclusion implies eliminating difference in an abstract way and, therefore, making it invisible. In other words, to say that it does not exist. Or to eliminate it in a material way, that is, to put an end to what for us disturbs that social order” (A 3, #01:15:30#, author’s

⁶² “[...] el conflicto ha sido una cosa de exterminación [...] no solo derrota, sino de eliminación. Mejor es la palabra ‘eliminación’ al enemigo, no, a lo que es distinto” (B 1, #01:02:45#).

⁶³ “[...] el conflicto en un país como Colombia tiene un origen social y un origen político que después se mezcló muchísimo [...] con las causas económicas. Pero principalmente esto empezó como un tema social y político de pobres contra ricos españoles, contra criollos, que eran los que vivían aquí en Colombia [...] y después pues se unió el tema de ciudad y campo y así sucesivamente” (B 2, #00:45:36#).

translation).⁶⁴

5.3.1.4 Exclusion

A 2 describes how the presence of binary gender norms, stereotypes, and bias-motivated violence prior to the outbreak of armed conflict formed the basis for armed actors drawing on consent and social acceptance within communities when committing violent acts on LGBT people (A 2, #00:47:48#). A 1 affirms that the rejection of the 'other', which was already present in society and expressed in forms of GBV, has been radicalized by the practices of armed groups in terms of the magnitude of violence and its systematic nature (A 1, #00:18:49#, #00:23:08#; B 1, #01:02:45#; B 2, #00:04:01#, #00:09:06#). In that context B 1 calls for the recognition of the differential impact of the armed conflict on people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC because "[...] the conflict did not affect them in the same way" (B 1, #00:03:53#, author's translation).⁶⁵ This involves, for example, the use of sexual violence in the form of 'corrective rape' as a systematic weapon of war (B 1, #00:19:11#) and the invisibilization of these experiences (A 2, #00:07:09#). Accordingly, patriarchy and the violence that comes with the binary order within the former are identified as nexus point between GBV and conflict (B1, #00:14:04#, #00:23:28#).

C 1 says that he only hears about LGBT people within the framework of violent acts (#00:27:30#) and when he refers to LGBT individuals, he does not consider them as part of society in the sense that he differentiates between "our population" and "them" (C 1, #00:20:14# - #00:21:14#). Besides stating that he does not actively exclude LGBT individuals, C 1 also does not want to be associated with them by fearing of being accused himself of non-heteronormative SOGIESC when interacting with LGBT individuals (C 1, #00:23:21#). He further affirms that people know they must be decent with their SOGIESC when armed groups are present as the presence of armed groups is automatically connected with bias-motivated violence and GBV (C 1, #00:02:29#, #00:03:22#, #00:22:09#, #00:30:18#). Non-heteronormative SOGIESC is a taboo among and in the presence of armed groups which is not a new finding, yet what has to be emphasized is that not all members - as this specific case of C 1 shows - are conform with bias-motivated violence: "[...] why do they have to do that? [...] One tries to understand it, but I don't know why this happens" (C 1, #00:30:18#, author's translation).⁶⁶ Furthermore,

⁶⁴ „[...] exclusión implica eliminar la diferencia en un sentido abstracto y así invisibilizarla. Decir esto no existe. O eliminarlo en un sentido material y es acabar con lo que para nosotros perturba ese orden social“ (A 3, #01:15:30#).

⁶⁵ “[...] el conflicto no les afectó de la misma manera” (B 1, #00:03:53#)

⁶⁶ “[...] porque tienen que hacer eso. [...] Uno busca de buscarle la cabida, pero no sé lo que pasa” (C 1,

understanding patriarchy as a system that has devastating effects on both women and men, the focus shifts to the suffering and experiences of C 1. He affirms that his use of violence varies according to the environment which he finds himself in. While being in a violent environment (armed group), the use of violence is considered expected and necessary, in conflict free environments (family, home) the use of violence is not considered necessary (C 1, #00:34:36#). C 1 reflects on how he adapted the violent ways of being, expressing and acting (#00:16:35#) within a short period of time due to the omnipresence of violence on an everyday basis (#00:36:33#) between armed groups and within the same armed group leading to corresponding changes in his own behavior:

I started to change, to change, until I was like them, everything was violence, even among each other, even myself, when I didn't like something, I was violent and now look how one changes through all these things. By things I mean that when there is violence and you go there and never leave, that is what you are going to live. (C 1, #00:38:43#, author's translation)⁶⁷

He further describes how this has affected the relationship with his wife: "She was scared [...] and I myself reflected and said: 'yeah, okay, I've changed a lot'" (C 1, #00:13:44#, author's translation).⁶⁸ Moreover, the reasons for exercising violence do not always derive from inner conviction but are linked to the simple execution of orders:

You can never say no. You heard, it is serious over there, it is serious over there. A total seriousness. [...] It is that they are two different things, that world here compared to this world over there. It is like saying [...] over there, God is the one who can command everyone and whoever does not follow orders knows he will be punished. (C 1, #00:35:36#, #00:36:11#, author's translation)⁶⁹

Consequently, execution of violence is seen as an obligation (C 1, #00:37:20#). Emotional and psychological effects in men are illustrated by the ex-combatant who says, "I suffered from what happened to me [...]" (C 1, #00:06:14#, author's translation)⁷⁰ and "[o]ne feels. One is a human being, one feels, you heard" (C 1, #00:16:35#, author's translation).⁷¹ In relation to this, he repeatedly states that he does not like to talk about his experiences in the armed group because he gets "sentimental" and does not like to remember those experiences of violence (C 1, #00:06:14#, #00:13:44#, #00:41:02#, #01:04:00#).

#00:30:18#).

⁶⁷ Ya empecé yo a cambiar, a cambiar, hasta que ya estaba como ellos, ya también que todo era violencia hasta entre uno mismo allá, uno mismo, ya cuando no le gustaba algo todo era violencia y mira cómo cambia uno con las cosas. Con las cosas te quiero decir que cuando allá hay violencia y si tú vas allá y nunca sales, eso es lo que vas a vivir. (C 1, #00:38:43#)

⁶⁸ "Ella se asustaba [...] y yo mismo reflexioné y decía: 'da si vale, cambié bastante'" (C 1, #00:13:44#).

⁶⁹ "Nunca puedes decir que no. Oíste, allá es serio, allá es serio. Una seriedad total. [...] es que son dos cosas distintas, aquel mundo con este mundo allá es como decir, [...] allá el dios es el que puede mandar a todo el mundo y el que no lo hace ya sabe que tiene castigo" (C 1, #00:35:36#, #00:36:11#).

⁷⁰ "Me ha dolido lo que me pasó [...]" (C 1, #00:06:14#).

⁷¹ „Uno siente. Uno es ser humano, uno siente, oíste“ (C 1, #00:16:35#).

Furthermore, the military way of living and being among the armed group is described as “hard” (C 1, #00:44:34#). He states that he left because he did not stand this anymore while recognizing that getting out was only possible in the framework of the government’s demobilization program (C 1, #00:14:33#).

5.3.1.5 Transitional justice

In the light of the peace process in Colombia, the interviewees were asked whether they believed the timeframe in which GBV is addressed in the current transitional justice model is appropriate.

Concerning this, the interviewees agree upon it having to be “limited” and “transitional” (A 1, #00:14:15#). B 1 states that it must be like this because of the state’s limited resources. She further argues that transitional justice is not made to address conflicts that lie way back in the past (B 1, #00:28:06#). The critiques of the timeframe are directed at its limited view on the current armed conflict which only addresses the crimes committed from the 1980s onwards whereas the conflict had already arisen from the 1950s onwards (A 2, #01:02:34#; B 1, #00:28:06#). While it is recognized that the current implemented model of transitional justice does not permit to dig far back into the past and go to the root of the problem, a scope of action is seen in making an assessment on what is needed and would be a reparation from the perspective of the people affected (B 1, #00:30:16#). B 2 identifies colonialism as the origin of prejudices, yet she also argues that there must be a limited timeframe in the transitional justice praxis (B 2, #00:11:16#). However, she sees ways of making use of the remedies and recourses that are available within the given timeframe in order to address the issue of bias-motivated violence, for example, by means of the Constitution of 1991⁷² (B 2, #00:11:16#). However, A 2 claims that the timeframe is decisive for what is being investigated (A 2, #01:04:46#) and B 2 affirms that the roots of why certain perpetrators of bias-motivated violence acted in a certain way could be found by addressing colonial issues (B 2, #00:14:16#). However, as stated above, transitional justice in its current form is not appropriate to reach back that far into the past. Rather, reference is made to the historically grown social responsibility to respond to the “historical debt” (A 2, #01:04:46#) that society owes to the LGBT population (A 2, #01:12:14#). Nevertheless, transitional justice is of importance and according to A 3, discourse on bias-motivated violence is only now being generated due to the participation

⁷² Here, Colombian society is specifically recognized as multicultural and multiethnic rejecting any form of discrimination based on culture and ethnicity

of CSOs, NGOs and activist in the mechanisms of the transitional justice system (CEV and JEP). This system and its participation mechanisms, he argues, helped to position the discourse on bias-motivated violence and thus bringing the reasons for the latter to light (A 3, #01:15:30#).

5.3.2 Empowerment

Regarding the data collected on the MC empowerment, respondents were asked to describe what they understood by the term in relation to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC and to underline this with an example.

The first noticeable aspect is that the anglicized term ‘empowerment’ seems to be difficult to grasp because B 2 discloses that “[...] ‘empoderarse’ is a complex term in Spanish language [...], especially because it is one of those words that we have adopted from English language, from the term ‘empowerment’” (B 2, #00:50:19#, author’s translation).⁷³ Similarly B 1 admits: “[...] it is fine to accept that I don’t really understand what they mean by the concept of empowerment. This is like a thing that is sometimes used in a very loose way to define a lot of things” (B 1, #00:16:35#, author’s translation).⁷⁴ This previously expressed uncertainty becomes apparent when interviewees were asked to provide a practical example of LGBT empowerment. After describing a participatory process that involved the LGBT population in the development of a departmental public policy, B 1 concludes: “So, I think that has to do with empowerment, it has to do with that, right? Mmmmm” (B 1, #00:16:35#, author’s translation).⁷⁵

C 1 on the other hand associates empowerment with the possibility of autonomous decision-making (C 1, #00:46:16#). Accordingly, he describes his achievement of getting out of the armed group and obtaining formal employment as an empowering process:

[...] I decided, and I left. And now I’ve been working in a tourist hotel for five months where I feel like I’m in a professional environment. Quite a change, in fact. It is the best thing that could have happened to me. My decision. (C 1, #00:14:33#, author’s translation)⁷⁶

Within the hierarchical military structure of armed groups, he considers empowerment

⁷³ “[...] empoderarse es una palabra compleja en español [...], sobre todo porque sí son esas palabras que adoptamos del inglés, del ‘empowerment’” (B 2, #00:50:19#).

⁷⁴ “[...] está bien aceptarlo que yo no entiendo muy bien a que se refieren con esto del concepto de empoderamiento. Esto es como una cosa que a veces suele usarse de forma muy ligera para definir muchas cosas” (B 1, #00:16:35#).

⁷⁵ “Entonces, creo que eso tiene que ver el empoderamiento, tiene que ver con eso, ¿no? Mmmmm” (B 1, #00:16:35#).

⁷⁶ “[...] me decidí y me salí. Ya llevo cinco meses donde estoy trabajando y me siento un ambiente laboral porque estoy trabajando en un hotel turístico. Un cambio, mejor dicho. Es lo mejor que me pudo haber pasado. Decisión mía” (C 1, #00:14:33#).

defined in these terms as neither existent nor possible (C 1, #00:47:09#) as any action is tied to the execution of commands from the upper ranks (C 1, #00:47:20#). He further describes that “[e]mpowerment is like being in charge. ‘Empowerment’, let us assume as that person is in charge, that person is the one who has the power” (C 1, #00:45:04#, author’s translation).⁷⁷

Despite the differences and ambiguities in the interpretation of the concept displayed above, six attributes of empowerment could be identified by the analysis of the interviews with stakeholder group A and B. Firstly, and foremost with reference to A 1 (#00:06:53#, #00:18:49#, #00:45:39# #00:48:07#) empowerment is associated with the empowerment of and within the community:

[...] my ideals on a daily basis have been above all a lot of faith, a lot of tolerance, a lot of patience, constancy, above all to be constant, to stand firm, to stand up for the struggle. So that none of these imaginaries, prejudices do not affect me, not only me, but none of my people. (A 1, #00:48:07#, author’s translation)⁷⁸

Regarding this, social leadership is considered valuable for empowerment. In the context of LGBT empowerment, A 2 argues that it is important to note that leadership is not constructed by individuality, in other words, as one-person leader, but as communitarian leaderships, which in turn make possible the empowerment of many individuals at a time (A 2, #00:37:28#). Communitarian leaderships are considered important for initiating bottom-up local, informal get togethers for processes of recognition and awareness of rights (A 2, #00:34:09#). Secondly and what comes also about by the above-mentioned is that empowerment depends on both, communitarian processes and individual responsibility (A 1, #00:52:38#). In this sense, A 1 emphasizes the relevance of a tolerant, patient, faithful, proactive, and pacific attitude in dialogue and communication (A 1, #00:23:08#, #00:36:49#, #00:48:07#, #00:52:38#). Thirdly, and again foremost by drawing on the statements of A 1 (#00:14:15#, #00:18:49#, #00:25:23#, #00:39:06#, #00:43:30#, #00:48:07#), empowerment is achieved through resistance and resilience (B 1, #00:22:14#). Whereas resistance against emotional and psychological abuse (A 1, #00:14:15#), dehumanization (A 1, #00:14:15#), revictimization, violation of rights, femicide, marginalization, targeting and harassment only due to the fact of deviating from the norm (A 1, #00:18:49#) are named. Fourthly, A 1 (#00:20:55#, #00:23:08#,

⁷⁷ “Empoderamiento es como tener un mando. ‘Empoderamiento’, vamos a suponer como aquella persona es la que manda la que tiene el poder” (C 1, #00:45:04#).

⁷⁸ “[...] mis ideales diariamente han sido sobre todo mucha fe, mucha tolerancia, mucha paciencia, constancia, sobre todo ser constante ahí, manteniéndome firme, en pie de lucha. Pues para que nada de estos imaginarios, prejuicios no solo me afecten a mí, sino que no, sino que tampoco afecten a los míos” (A 1, #00:48:07#).

#00:25:23#) considers empowerment to be possible for LGBT people by transforming biased imaginaries:

[...] we try to eradicate all these prejudices. [...] rather than to eradicate I would say, to transform. Because that's exactly what we are, for example, in my case, as a trans woman, I am, and I represent the thoughts and ideas of my allies in favor of a transformation of all these prejudices. (A 1, #00:23:08#, author's translation)⁷⁹

She further points out the possibilities of shifting power relations in society by LGBT empowerment:

[...] among the cisgender and heterosexual population itself there are inequalities, there are imbalances, there are rivalries for the ambition of power, for the ambition of territory and all that [...]. [B]ut we don't base ourselves on those concepts or those models, or that vision or those realities, no, not at all. We create our own ideologies; we create our own path [...]. (A 1, #00:27:03#, author's translation).⁸⁰

Fourth, empowerment is to be brought about by the appropriation of spaces, knowledge and capacity building (A 1, #00:20:55#, #00:43:30#; A 2, #00:12:41#; B 1, #00:16:35#, #01:09:29#). This follows the assumption that knowledge of human rights and other legal guarantees in favor of the LGBT population enables the appropriation of spaces in politics and society:

They can capacitate themselves to be. To influence public policies. To have an impact on the state institutions so that they will guarantee their rights, that they know what they are entitled to, and also to propose new things. (B 1, #00:16:35#, author's translation)⁸¹

Human rights, as defined by the United Nations and the Colombian Constitution, are considered important - yet too narrow to reflect the social and political demands defined by the communities themselves (A 2, #00:12:41#). A 2 contends that the legal view of human rights falls short of capturing the complexity of LGBT people's claims regarding their recognition as human beings with non-heteronormative SOGIESC (A 2, #00:12:41#). Consistent with the latter, empowerment is fifthly aligned with (self-)recognition, respect, equality of rights, participation, and inclusion (A 1, #00:20:55#, #00:27:03#, #00:39:06#, #00:45:39#; A 2, #00:19:59#, #00:34:09#; B 1, #01:11:18#). As practical examples of empowerment, the participation in working groups and the elaboration of

⁷⁹ “[...] tratemos de erradicar todos estos prejuicios [...]. [A] pesar de erradicar yo diría, de transformar. Porque son justamente lo que somos nosotras, por ejemplo, en mi caso yo como mujer trans soy y represento los pensamientos y las ideas de mis compañeras en pro de una transformación de todos estos prejuicios” (A 1, #00:23:08#).

⁸⁰ “[...] entre la misma población cisgénero y la población hetero existen desigualdades, existen desequilibrio, existen rivalidades por la ambición del poder, por la ambición del territorio y todo aquello [...]. [P]ero igual nosotras no nos basamos en esos conceptos o en esos ejemplos, o en esa visión o en esas realidades, no, de ninguna manera. Nosotras creamos nuestras propias ideologías, creamos nuestro propio prosequir” (A 1, #00:27:03#).

⁸¹ “Se pueden formar para ser. Para incidir en las políticas públicas. Para incidir en que las entidades les garanticen esto, que saben a lo que tienen derecho y para también proponer cosas nuevas” (B 1, #00:16:35#).

public policies is named (A 1, #00:20:55#) as well as gatherings, recreational activities, film forums, discussions, workshops, seminars, and training courses (A 1, #00:49:20#). In addition, the elaboration of audiovisual material such as advertisements, brochures, informational flyers, billboards, and banners are considered important means to make LGBT people visible in order to have an impact on society by transforming imaginaries and prejudices (A 1, #00:49:20#, #00:50:06#). Moreover, participation in transitional justice is regarded as important in order to make visible the differentiated effects of the armed conflict on their bodies and in terms of social control (A 2, #00:34:09#).

Self-recognition and societies' recognition and acceptance of diverse SOGIESC are considered crucial for transforming socio-cultural imaginaries (A 2, #00:29:12#). Thereby, self-recognition is considered to be the first necessary step for empowerment. Self-recognition, as it is argued by B 2, allows to express oneself, positioning and standing up in the world (B 2, #00:50:19#). It allows people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC to demand to be recognized as defined by themselves and to claim the acceptance of this deviation from the heterosexual cis-gendered norm. Only then, B 2 claims, it will be possible to demand accountability in terms of recognition of psychological, physical, and sexual victimizing events and structures based on non-heteronormative SOGIESC within society (B 2, #00:50:19#, #00:51:36#). Consequently, empowerment of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC cannot be thought without strengthening the awareness of their being and their way of becoming within the possibilities and limitations of this world (B 1, #01:11:18#). B 1 refers to this as self-recognition in terms of one's positioning in the world as "place of enunciation" (B 1, #01:09:29#, author's translation).⁸² In line with this, beyond self-recognition in terms of SOGIESC, the embedding in macrostructures in terms of a post-colonial society is realized. In this regard, A 2 points to the effects of extractivism and exploitation to understand the loss of knowledge and respect for "the big home [...] the earth" (A 2, #00:19:59#, author's translation).⁸³

Facilitating empowerment?

In addition to collecting data on the interpretation of empowerment regarding LGBT people in FCVAS, data on queering empowerment were derived from statements that allow conclusions to be drawn about how the empowerment processes described by the respondents can be fostered or constrained by framework conditions and other actors.

⁸² "lugar de enunciación" (B 1, #01:09:29#).

⁸³ "la casa grande [...] la tierra" (A 2, #00:19:59#)

The results on the identified SC of state actors, NGOs and CSOs as well as development cooperation are presented below.

5.3.2.1 State actors

Although empowerment is foremost located to take place within the framework of the community, governmental neglect is considered as a constraint for empowerment processes (A 2, #00:40:16#). This is due to the fact that empowerment is closely linked to participation which in turn cannot be assured when basic needs of people, not lastly related to issues of survival in the context of the armed conflict, are not met (A 2, #00:40:16#). Furthermore, the existence of legislation for safeguarding and recognizing LGBT rights is considered important for empowerment (A 1, #00:16:50#). Within that framework the Colombian Constitution of 1991, where Colombian society is specifically recognized as multicultural and multiethnic while rejecting any form of discrimination based on culture and ethnicity as well as the peace agreement of 2016 are considered as milestones for LGBT rights in Colombia (A 2, #00:12:41; B 2, #00:11:16#). Moreover, opening possibilities for political participation in the framework of solid institutions for population groups which have been historically excluded from the participation in government structures is considered fundamental, as the expulsion of those groups, such as peasant population is considered as one of the causes that generated the armed conflict in Colombia (A 2, #00:22:07#).

C 1 states, that the governments demobilization program was his only opportunity to escape from the structures of the armed group (C 1, #00:52:23#). Being of great importance to him, mentioned with a frequency of eight times, was the possibility of education, capacitation, and labor. Within that framework, the overall experience with governments demobilization program is evaluated as positive from C 1's perspective (C 1, #00:50:58#, #00:51:37#, #00:51:47#, #00:52:32#, #00:53:12#, #00:53:41#, #00:54:30#, #00:54:43#, #00:55:28#).

5.3.2.2 NGOs and CSOs

From A 1's (#00:29:53#) and A 2's (#00:30:09#) perspective, NGOs and CSOs such as Caribe Afirmativo are considered valuable and important for empowerment because they fill the gaps that the state leaves open when dealing with the LGBT people's needs. They do valuable work defending and promoting equality rights and offering the possibility of inclusion and participation in different programs in order for LGBT people to obtain tools

for coping with everyday life experiences of GBV (A 1, #00:29:53#, #00:32:03#). Furthermore, NGOs and CSOs contribute to the transformation of prejudices which lie at the root of GBV by their everyday actions and by supporting communitarian leadership. Moreover, safer spaces are considered crucial for empowerment processes (A 2, #00:34:09#). The NGO Caribe Afirmativo as an example is considered from A 1's perspective as a shelter, a quiet and humane place, where comprehensive assistance is offered by an excellent interdisciplinary team having a productive and transformative impact on people's lives (A 1, #00:32:03#). A 1 evaluates the activities as being designed to meet people's needs and concerns. She further explains that if something is not within the NGO's competence, people are referred to the responsible authorities. However, these people and their concerns are not lost of sight but continue to be accompanied by the NGO in their processes (A 1, #00:33:06#). Working based on people's needs and applying a local and communitarian approach to reach rural communities are considered success factors for the empowerment process within Caribe Afirmativo, resulting in the construction of alternative imaginaries starting from the local context (A 2, #00:32:09#; A 3, #01:27:08#). Furthermore, the community approach enables a permanent exchange with society, since the transformation of beliefs is not possible within isolated social 'bubbles', but must take place in a dialogue with society as a whole (A 3, #01:27:08#).

A 2 (#00:34:09# - #00:37:28#) emphasizes the relevance of community activism but also the cooperation and mutual support between a diverse network of actors by drawing on an example in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic: While normally, the JEP would have travelled to rural areas to collect testimonies of victims of the armed conflict, this was not possible due to the pandemic. However, by the will for their voices to be heard and for the country to know the truth about their victimization due to their non-heteronormative SOGIESC in the context of the armed conflict, bottom-up empowerment processes were initiated by social leaders within their communities. Within this framework, testimonies were collected in collaboration with other local grassroots organizations and Caribe Afirmativo as an intermediary between the LGBT communities in the periphery and DC agencies as well as the centralized state institutions such as the JEP. A 2 considers this example of an autonomous communitarian process of participation and resistance in spite of public fears due to health concerns as emblematic for empowerment (A 2, #00:37:28#). Moreover, NGOs bring cooperating agencies closer to rural communities and highlighting their forms of resistance (A 3, #01:28:36# - #01:29:54#):

We work with many international cooperants on this issue, but that has implied generating debates with them on how the LGBTI discourse is being constructed [...]. [W]e have taken a position of not creating a discourse that is colonizing. It is not the Anglo LGBTI discourse, because in the territories where we go, 'the gay man' is associated with characteristics from the Anglo discourse [...]. And one says no, we cannot come to tell you, you are this, rather, you are what you want to be. This is a political resource, a tool for political advocacy and the recognition of rights. [...] [Y]ou are supporting the LGBTI movement, but you also have to understand that in these territories we do not call ourselves lesbians, bisexuals, trans, but we call ourselves 'marica',⁸⁴ 'machorra',⁸⁵ because it is a process of re-signification of the experiences and above all of the violence due to prejudices that exist in these territories. Because in these territories one generally finds debates of people who [...] say: 'I am not gay because gay is the North American man, white, blue-eyed, and blonde. I am the marica'. And that is important, that is very important" (A 3, #01:22:54#, author's translation).⁸⁶

In this way, Caribe Afirmativo tries to make the development worker understand and start from the symbols of a community, initiating a process of deconstruction and change within a prejudiced, patriarchal and heterosexist society. Consequently, from the perspective of A 2 (#00:51:09#, #01:18:46#) and A 3 (#01:28:36#), a process of deconstruction of the binary order is considered necessary in order to understand how gender was constructed before and after colonization. Firstly, to understand GBV nowadays and secondly in order to transform current imaginaries about gender which fuel violence.

5.3.2.3 International development cooperation

International development cooperation is seen as an important facilitator and nexus point for the promotion of LGBT people's empowerment by supporting collaboration between NGOs, CSOs, grassroots activism and state institutions and by bridging the gap between the latter. According to A 1, 2 and 3 in doing so, DC contributes to ensure that recognition of LGBT persons rights goes beyond social and cultural recognition at the community

⁸⁴ Term used in Colombia to refer to individuals who are socially constructed as men and whose gender identity, expression, and sexual orientation do not correspond to their social construction as men but are defined as feminine within the binary system. The term originally has a pejorative connotation.

⁸⁵ Term used in Colombia to refer to individuals who are socially constructed as women and whose gender identity, expression, and sexual orientation do not correspond to their social construction as women but are defined as masculine within the binary system. The term originally has a pejorative connotation.

⁸⁶ „Nosotros trabajamos con muchos cooperantes internacionales en este asunto, pero eso también nos ha implicado generarnos debates con ellos de cómo se está construyendo el discurso de los LGBTI [...] [H]emos tomado una posición de no hacer un discurso que sea colonizador. No es el discurso anglo de lo LGBTI, porque es que en los territorios donde vamos, el hombre gay tiene características desde el discurso de lo anglo [...] Y uno dice no, es que nosotros no podemos venir a decirles a ustedes, ustedes son esto, usted es lo que quiere ser. Aquí esto es un recurso político, una herramienta para incidir políticamente y el reconocimiento de los derechos. [...] [U]stedes están apoyando al movimiento LGBTI, pero también tienen que entender que en estos territorios no nos llamamos lesbianas, bisexuales, trans, sino que lo llamamos ‚marica‘, ‚machorra‘, porque es un proceso de resignificación de las vivencias y sobre todo de la violencia por prejuicios que viven en esos territorios. Porque en estos territorios uno en general encuentra debates de personas que [...] dice: ‚yo no soy gay porque el gay es el hombre norteamericano, blanco, ojos azules y mono. Yo soy la marica‘. Y eso es importante, eso es muy importante" (A 3, #01:22:54#).

level and is manifested and materialized in public policies (A 1, #00:51:43#; A 2, #00:30:09#; A 3, #01:22:32#).

Within the GIZ's program 'ProPaz II', according to B 2 (#00:21:27#), gender is one of the most important work areas. In theory, B 2 argues, this means defending basic human rights of equality regardless of gender, sexuality, race and so on. What is needed from B 2's (#00:23:03#) perspective, is to go beyond the theory of equality in order to reach an actual practice of inclusion. According to the given example by B 2 this implies expanding diversity within the ProPaz II-team itself. From this starting point, there would then be diverse development staff members whom LGBT people in rural communities can identify with on the one hand. On the other hand, it is argued that gender diversity in rural areas can eventually and in the long term be normalized by pedagogic processes (B 2, #00:24:57#, #00:26:58#):

[...] as [development] cooperation we have to initiate a somewhat pedagogical process and say look, it is possible that you see me, let's say, as a very traditional woman, as a very feminine woman, but I am attracted to women. However, that has nothing to do with my capacity to perform my profession, much less with my interest in supporting a community or in building peace. (B 2, #00:23:03#, author's translation).⁸⁷

Yet, this inclusion in settings sensible to conflict needs to be done with a lot of caution and without doing harm. While LGBT inclusion program work often focuses on treating LGBT people as a separate category from men and women, B 2 argues that singling them out within a community by segregating them would be detrimental first to the people affected and second to the overall social inclusion process of the community. Instead, B 2 suggests the naturalization of LGBT inclusion by creating inclusive spaces for the whole community as opposed to only isolated activities:

[...] if you arrange a get-together for everyone in the community and you say to the person with a diverse sexual orientation, or to the boys and girls, you are welcome to work with us, people say 'ahh, we can all participate in the same way'. [D]on't try to include by force, neither treat diverse people in a different light in the work you do [...] [t]here you have already lost, there you are putting them in a situation of vulnerability. (B 2, #00:24:57#, author's translation).⁸⁸

However, as the following example on security issues shows, both the naturalization of

⁸⁷ “[...] como cooperación hay que hacer un proceso un poco pedagógico y decir mire, es posible que usted me vea, digamos, muy tradicional, como una mujer muy femenina, pero a mí me gustan las mujeres. Eso no tiene nada que ver ni en mi capacidad de desarrollar mi trabajo, pero mucho menos en mi interés por ayudar a una comunidad o por construir paz” (B 2, #00:23:03#).

⁸⁸ “[...] si tú haces una reunión para todos en la comunidad y le dices a la persona con orientación sexual diversa, o a los niños o a las niñas bienvenidos a trabajar acá la gente dice ahh o sea, todos podemos participar de la misma manera [...]. [N]o trates de ni de incluir a la fuerza, pero tampoco como tomar un sentido especial para las personas diversas en el trabajo que tú haces [...] [t]ú ahí ya perdiste, ahí los estás poniendo en una situación de vulnerabilidad” (B 2, #00:24:57#).

LGBT inclusion as well as the maintenance and creation of safer spaces is crucial for queering empowerment processes in settings affected by violence and conflict. According to B 1 (#00:40:10#), the destination of economic resources to SOGIESC issues within peacebuilding is received with gratitude on the part of the communities. Yet, B 1 criticizes the sectoral character of GIZ projects and the associated tendency to deal with problems in isolated 'bubbles'. The interviewee notes that the single focus on peacebuilding leaves out fundamental problems:

[...] it is as if the problems are just concentrated in one place and then it is as if I come, I support peace and I will solve all the problems. That is not how it works, because people's problems are not only related to the non-implementation of the peace agreement or peace policies, but also to more basic problems. (B 1, #00:55:29#, author's translation)⁸⁹

According to B 1 (#00:55:29#) these basic problems regarding LGBT population in Colombia are tied to a lack of security restricting the possibilities for participation as well as the neglect of possibilities for access to health care and labor opportunities. Because of the stigma associated with these people, they are deemed to informality and limited labor opportunities as "hairdressers" and "sex workers". In line with this, B 1 argues for changing the pattern of program design and adopting holistic approaches. Taking into account LGBT population in Colombia, B 1 (#00:55:29#) argues, would consequently imply designing programs, which contribute to generate income opportunities in order to overcome poverty. In that sense A 1 (#00:42:30#) argues that international DC agencies can contribute to the equality of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC by understanding that the type of peace being pursued is destined to the formation of nation marked by equity and equality.

However, at the same time the responsibility for meeting basic needs is not placed upon development cooperation organizations, but rather upon the state (B 1, #00:49:55#). The mandate of DC is not seen as a substitute for the state, but as a support for existing state structures. As argued by B 1 (#00:51:20#), the GIZ does not support protection measures for social leaders because the state has not created structures to be supported, contrary to what is agreed in the peace treaty. However, possibilities for action are seen in, for example, paying for transportation to carry out events and activities in more secure urban areas, supporting the self-protection mechanisms of indigenous communities, as it was done in the past and further consulting the LGBT population about what they need to feel

⁸⁹ "[...] como que los problemas están ahí concentrados y entonces como que yo vengo, apoyo la paz y ya voy a solucionar todos los problemas. Pues esto no es así, porque los problemas de la gente no solo pasan por la no implementación del acuerdo de paz o de las políticas de paz, sino que pasan también por cosas que tienen que ver con problemas más básicos" (B 1, #00:55:29#).

safer (B 1, #00:52:38#, #00:54:08#). To improve the security situation for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in FCVAS in order to make participation for empowerment possible, B 2 further suggests engaging with state security forces such as the police and the army: “[...] public security forces cannot view diverse people as a source of chaos, much less should diverse people view public security forces as an enemy [...]” (B 2, #00:26:58#, author’s translation).⁹⁰

5.3.3 Accountability

With respect to data gathering on the MC accountability, the interviewees were asked to describe what they understand under the term with respect to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC. Here, two noticeable aspects need to be mentioned in advance. Firstly, and similarly as in the case of empowerment, the imported concept of ‘accountability’ seemed to be difficult to grasp. The first difficulties arose with the translation of the term into Spanish language. The author translated the term as ‘rendición de cuentas’. However, in a conversation with an interviewee about the concept with regard to the context in which the expression ‘rendición de cuentas’ is used in this work, it was suggested to rather translate it by ‘reconocimiento de responsabilidades’, meaning the recognition of responsibly. Secondly, the comprehension of the concept deviates largely depending on the perspectives and experiences of the interviewees. Emerging out of a setting very much affected by violence and conflict and characterized by legal impunity and self-administered justice along with any personal relation to the political discourse on accountability, C 1 defines accountability as follows:

Accountability is, [...] let's suppose in that group that one did it to me, that one pays me [...]. If you kill him, you kill him, it doesn't matter, but that's accountability, ‘pam’. Leave him fucked up. He screwed me and I screw him, that is accountability [...]. Nobody is going to render account in the good. That has never appeared to me. That is accountability, to attempt with the life of the person who attempted against mine. Oh, he screwed me, but he didn't kill me. Now I am going to kill him. This is accountability and that is what you see in this world we are living in, that is what you see day by day (C 1, #00:48:04#, author’s translation).⁹¹

Opposed to this conception, A 1 describes accountability in the following terms:

In my particular case, as a social leader, I believe that accountability [...] is a very important

⁹⁰ “[...] las fuerzas de seguridad legales no pueden ver a las personas diversas como un motivo de desorden, y mucho menos las personas diversas pueden ver a la fuerza pública como un enemigo [...]” (B 2, #00:26:58#).

⁹¹ “Rendición de cuentas es, [...] supongamos en aquel grupo aquel me la hizo, aquel me las paga [...]. Si lo matas, lo matas, no importa, pero eso es una rendición de cuentas, ‘pam’. Dejarlo jodido a él. Me jodió y yo lo jodo, eso es una rendición de cuentas. [...] Nadie va a hacer una rendición de cuentas en lo bien. Eso nunca se ha visto para mí. eso es rendición de cuenta, atentar con la vida de la persona que lo atento. Ay me jodió, pero no me mató. Ahora yo sí lo voy a matar. Está es una rendición de cuentas y eso se ve en este mundo que estamos viviendo, eso es día a día se ve eso” (C 1, #00:48:04#).

point. Because in this way I become aware of the progress in terms of rights, equity and equality. In terms of attention and assistance, reparation and indemnification [...]. On the other hand, we would disclose, if it is possible [...], some realities that possibly are not being given the attention they deserve. So, it would be like a space in which we could manifest this, express it and make the respective demands (A 1, #00:35:27#, author's translation).⁹²

'Recognition' of LGBT identity and rights - as already indicated in the above quote by A 1 - and 'acknowledgement of complicity' were identified as SC to the MC accountability. Before going more into detail about what is understood by accountability in terms of 'recognition', accountability in terms of social complicity is being outlined in the following.

5.3.3.1 Acknowledgment of complicity

Not only were respondents asked for their definition of accountability, but they were also presented a hypothetical scenario. They were asked to consider what would change in terms of responsibilities regarding GBV if the timeframe in which it is addressed in transitional justice processes was extended to incorporate the legacy of the colonial period. Further, the interviewees were asked about the role of DC agencies in this context.

Responding to this, B 2 states that this would not change anything in terms of the responsible actors identified in chapter 5.3.1.2. Yet, taking colonialism into consideration would uncover the root causes of GBV. GBV through the lens of colonialism is being connected with the current economic organization and the associated necessary control over the body, labor force, and reproduction established in the colonial era (B 2, #00:14:16#). According to B 2 these established patterns are reproduced by everybody constantly (B 2, #00:14:16#). When being asked about whom she considers as responsible for GBV under these conditions, consequently B 2's answer was "everyone, [...] starting with myself" (B 2, #00:16:52#, author's translation).⁹³ Thereby she addresses the issue of social complicity and further states: "[...] society as a whole has remained silent [...] in the face of human rights violations against the diverse population, because we are very biased, so we do not perceive it to be a big issue" (B 2, #00:30:15#, author's translation).⁹⁴ A 2 and 3 as well as B 1 and 2 agree on a complex social complicity when it comes to bias-motivated violence (A 2, #01:12:14#, #01:18:46#; A 3, #01:15:30#, #01:36:50#; B 1, #00:25:25#; B 2,

⁹² "Yo en mi caso particular, como líder, yo creo que la rendición de cuentas [...] significa un punto muy importante. Porque de esta manera primero estoy dando a conocer los avances en materia de derecho, [...] de equidad e igualdad. En materia de atención y asistencia, reparación e indemnización [...]. Por otra parte, pues allí también daríamos a conocer si es posible [...] unas realidades que posiblemente a las cuales no se le esté dando la atención debida. Entonces sería como un espacio en el cual pudiéramos manifestarlo, expresarlo y hacer la respectiva petición" (A 1, #00:35:27#).

⁹³ "A todos, [...] empezando por mí" (B 2, #00:16:52#).

⁹⁴ "[...] toda la sociedad se ha quedado callada [...] ante las violaciones de derechos humanos con la población diversa, porque somos muy prejuiciosos, entonces no nos parece grave" (B 2, #00:30:15#).

#00:16:52#, #00:30:15#)

Social complicity includes personal social networks starting from family, school, and peer groups (B 2, #00:16:52#) and reaches into the LGBT collectives themselves where power imbalances exist (A 1, #00:39:06#) due to the biological binary and its hierarchization which generates exclusion (A 2, #00:49:29#). A 3 argues that everybody is part and a product of these macrostructures of a hierarchization of humanity based on, among others, the category sex and gender that were imposed in the colonial era (A 3, #01:13:45#). Relatedly, gaining an insight into the construction of gender before and after colonization is considered key to comprehending GBV and social complicity (A 2, #01:18:46#). A 1 and 2 highlight that the risk of becoming accomplices of GBV within these structures is exacerbated due to the long duration of the armed conflict in Colombia (A 1, #00:14:14#; A 2, #00:47:48#). In that sense everyone has to be held accountable for what has happened and is happening (A 3, #01:15:30#). A 2 supports this argumentation in favor of a social complicity by claiming that this is something that had happened before the constitution of Colombia as a republic (A 2, #01:12:14#). She further claims that the question to be asked is: "[...] how did we allow this to happen", "[...] how have we nurtured these prejudices?" (A 2, #01:12:14#, author's translation).⁹⁵ In this context, C 1 points out the change having to come also from "above" referring to a scale with the "presidency" on the top and the "poor" at the bottom (C 1, #00:03:07#).

B 1, B 2 and A 3 argue that it does not make much sense to think of individual responsibilities when talking about something as structural as patriarchy (B 1, #00:25:25#; A 3, #01:15:30#). Likewise, B 1 recognizes the vulnerability of many disfavored men within this system who are obliged, e.g., to perform military service (B 1, #00:25:25#). In that sense the acknowledgement of complicity is rather connected to acknowledging victimizing acts and events as opposed to individual responsibilities (B 2, #00:51:36#). However, while arguing that there is not any leading perpetrator of this violence (B 1, #00:26:53#), B 1 and 2 also point to the example of the church as an institution and the need for it to explicitly acknowledge the violent practices that occur, among others, in the context of conversion therapies (B 1, #00:33:32#; B 2, #00:51:36#). In this context B 2 affirms:

And that is why the issue of religion is so crucial here. Because what the Spanish brought was Catholicism. We did not have, let's say as indigenous people, and those who arrived later, who were the Afro people, did not have that kind of imaginary either. So, what I feel is that,

⁹⁵ "[...] como permitimos que esto pasara", "[...] como hemos alimentado estos prejuicios?" (A 2, #01:12:14#).

of course, it would not be others who would be responsible, but rather the root of these actions could be found much further back. (B 2, #00:14:16#, author's translation)⁹⁶

When being asked about the effects of extending the timeframe of transitional justice processes, B 1 states: "[...] it is hard for me to think about it, maybe because it has never happened before" (B 1, #00:33:32#, author's translation).⁹⁷ With regard to the role of German DC in this context, she puts into question the motives and the high amount of economic resources tied to it against the background of (neo)colonial issues:

One of the first questions I asked myself as soon as I entered here [GIZ] was: What is Germany's interest in Colombia, why is it giving so much money [...] I always asked myself, yes, this cannot be for free. They do not give so many good things for free. And one has the *indigenous malice*⁹⁸ to distrust. (B 1, #00:46:06#, author's emphasis and translation)⁹⁹

In this context she argues that the global North should acknowledge the exploitation related to colonialism in order to understand how the original accumulation of resources made modern capitalism possible:

[...] it is important to recognize [...] that we were colonized here. Yes, this is not for free [...] but there are also some things behind it, historical and current, such as the interest of many countries in the Amazon [...] in the non-renewable resources that we have in these lands historically, well, all the plundering that took place [...] As Marx says, for an original accumulation, to be able to establish capitalism as we know it today [...] the discovery of America had a lot to do with or helped a lot to that original accumulation [...] of course, Europe must also recognize, yes, recognize that there was a plundering. (B 1, #00:40:10#, author's translation)¹⁰⁰

In this context, B 1 proposes a practical scenario in which former colonizer countries acknowledge, in a collective and symbolic act, the event and impact of colonialism on the global South, with one country leading the way in this scenario (B 1, #00:58:40#). With respect to GIZ, she argues that acknowledging complicity could be a starting point, and

⁹⁶ "Y por eso el tema religioso, es tan clave ahí. Porque lo que trajeron los españoles fue el catolicismo. Nosotros no teníamos, digamos como indígenas y quienes llegaron después, que eran los afros, tampoco tenían ese tipo como de imaginario. Entonces lo que siento es que, claro, no serían otros los responsables, sino más bien en la raíz de esas actuaciones se encontraría mucho más atrás" (B 2, #00:14:16#).

⁹⁷ "[...] me cuesta pensarlo, tal vez porque nunca ha pasado" (B 1, #00:33:32#).

⁹⁸ The term 'indigenous malice' or 'malicia indígena' is used in a re-signified manner with a deep historical meaning which goes beyond the ordinary meaning of the term. It refers to a strategy of survival of oppressed peoples as a contest to contempt and marginalization. Distrust and secrecy in the relationship with the oppressor were behavioral resources that enabled the survival of the rule of arms.

⁹⁹ "Una de las primeras preguntas que yo me hice apenas entre acá [GIZ] era. ¿Cuál es el interés de Alemania en Colombia? ¿Por qué está dando tanta plata? [...] Siempre preguntaba, si, esto no puede ser de gratis. De eso tan bueno no dan tanto. Y uno tiene la *malicia indígena* de desconfiar" (B 1, #00:46:06#, author's emphasis).

¹⁰⁰ "[...] es importante reconocer [...] que acá fuimos colonizados. Sí que esto tampoco es de gratis [...] sino que también hay unas cosas ahí detrás históricas también actuales, como el interés de muchos países en la Amazonía [...] en los recursos no renovables que tenemos en estas tierras históricamente, pues todo el saqueo que hubo [...] Como dice Marx, para una acumulación originaria, para poder forjar el capitalismo como lo conocemos actualmente. Y el descubrimiento de América tuvo que ver mucho o ayudó mucho a esa acumulación originaria [...] claro ahí que Europa también debe reconocer, eso sí, reconocer eso que hubo un saqueo" (B 1, #00:40:10#).

this could be translated into practical work by identifying within communities what would constitute reparations for them (B 1, #01:05:22#). In contrast, B 2 argues that by providing development cooperation, German DC already acknowledges complicity in the effects of the colonial legacy in terms of prejudice-motivated violence (B 2, #00:36:06#). Similarly to this, A 1 does not put into question international peace agendas (A 1, #00:41:06#). Rather, she points out the existence of international and transnational spaces as a platform and opportunity for accountability because of the intersection and coming together of many sectors and state entities (A 1, #00:41:06#).

A 2 brings in another aspect that relates to the responsibility of LGBT collectives and individuals to contribute by sharing their truth so that recognition of complicity and social change can take place, albeit taking into account the risk of revictimization in the context of participatory processes (A 2, #00:42:07#).

5.3.3.2 Recognition

B 1 points out the link between recognition of LGBT rights and identity and acknowledgement of complicity, describing the latter as important condition for the former (B 1, #00:36:56#). In addition to and as a counterpart of the element of self-recognition pointed out in the context of empowerment in chapter 5.3.2, the recognition of LGBT people within society in order to transform sociocultural constructions is considered pivotal (A 2, #00:29:12#). This includes the recognition of victimizing events in terms that “[...] it is very important to say that it did happen” (B 1, #00:19:11#, author’s translation).¹⁰¹ Besides recognizing that these specific forms of bias-motivated violence happened, recognition requires to make visible why it happened, i.e., which were the motives, as well as how exactly it happened (B 1, ##00:19:11#). But also, the impacts of these events on people’s lives must be recognized: “[...] recognize that I have been harmed, that I have been rejected or that I have been affected for many years, but also [...] these affectations have prevented my personal life project from being possible and free (B 2, #00:04:01#, author’s translation).¹⁰² In order to make these impacts on different levels visible, an intersectional approach (B 1, #00:21:44#) as well as the mechanisms of transitional justice processes are considered to be crucial (B 2, #00:30:15#): “[...] because

¹⁰¹ “[...] es muy importante que se diga que eso sí pasó” (B 1, #00:19:11#).

¹⁰² “[...] reconozca que me ha herido, que me ha rechazado o que me ha afectado por muchos años, pero además [...] esas afectaciones han hecho que mi proyecto de vida no sea posible y no sea libre” (B 2, #00:04:01#).

that is where there is more awareness and visibility regarding the LGTBI population” (A 1, #00:16:50#, author’s translation).¹⁰³ In that sense recognition in terms of visibility is considered important by A 1 and named in the same breath with the equality of rights, respect, inclusion and participation (A 1, #00:20:55#). While the remedies available in transitional justice processes may present an opportunity for the latter, A 2 points out that firstly, the issue of the recognition of LGBT rights has not initially started within the peacebuilding discourse (A 2, #00:30:09) and secondly that recognition must move beyond the discursive level (A 2, #00:27:34#).

5.3.4 Empowerment-accountability nexus

In order to obtain a better understanding of the relationship between empowerment and accountability, the participants were asked if they saw any limitation for the empowerment of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC if accountability in their definition was not guaranteed.

As shown in the interviews, accountability in the context of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC is much about self-recognition and the recognition of victimizing acts and events in society. Accordingly, recognition appears to be a nexus point of empowerment and accountability:

To the extent that these people responsible for the events that occurred and that affected and caused prejudice against the LGTBI population, recognize that they were responsible, that what happened was wrong, that it should not have been like that. Reinforcing the understanding that LGTBI people [...] have of themselves and that society in general has of them is key to empowerment. We cannot think about empowerment without strengthening this same understanding [...] of their way of being in the world. So, I think this would be very important for this part of empowerment [...] if we go a little further by making these cooperation agencies or the countries themselves contribute with measures of vindication or recognition or reparation, then it also helps and these measures should be differential [...] responding to the needs of each population. (B 1, #01:09:29# - #01:11:18#, author’s translation)¹⁰⁴

However, A 1 argues that “[...] there should not be any limitations, because I believe that

¹⁰³ “[...] porque es allí en donde hay como más evidencia y visibilidad de la población LGTBI” (A 1, #00:16:50#).

¹⁰⁴ “Entonces, en la medida en que estas personas responsables de hechos que pasaron y que afectaron y que fueron también causantes del prejuicio que hubo contra la población LGTBI, reconozcan que fueron responsables en lo que pasó que lo que pasó estuvo mal, que no debió ser así. [...] Entonces es en la medida en que se fortalezca como este entendimiento que tienen las personas por la población LGTBI de sí misma y que tiene la sociedad en general de ellos, pues esto es clave para el empoderamiento. No podemos pensar en un empoderamiento sin fortalecer como este entendimiento mismo [...] de su forma de ser en el mundo. Entonces, creo que eso sería superimportante para esa parte del empoderamiento [...] si vamos un poquito más allá en que estas agencias de cooperación o países mismos den medidas de reivindicación o reconocimiento o reparación, pues también ayuda y que sean diferenciales [...] pero que también respondan a las necesidades de cada población” (B 1, #01:09:29# - #01:11:18#).

we ourselves place the limitations upon ourselves [...] because our struggle will always be persistent and maintained” (A 1, #00:52:38#, author’s translation).¹⁰⁵

5.3.5 Sustainable peace

Concerning the MC of sustainable peace, the interviewees were asked for their association with the term.

Stakeholder group A and B agree upon the definition of sustainable peace as resolving the structural causes underlying and favoring the emergence and maintenance of the conflict (B 1, #00:00:16#). In this sense, A 2 criticizes the binary of peace as absence of armed conflict (A 2, #00: 02: 42#). Accordingly, disarmament is considered not being sufficient to reach sustainable peace and the latter “[...] must be accompanied by an economic project, a social project, where it is possible that your political ideas for the construction of a nation will be accepted” (B 2, #00:46:43#, author’s translation).¹⁰⁶ Peace for LGBT people in Colombia in that sense means being respected and recognized, having access to health care, formal employment and a living space in dignity (A 2, #00:02:42#). These economic and social projects, B 1 argues, must further include land rights of peasants, indigenous, and Black communities that have been forcibly displaced, whether by armed actors or multinational business actors. As to the latter, it is criticized that the agreed land reforms are the elements of least progress in the implementation of the peace treaty (B 1, #00:02:04#). Sustainable peace is further associated with overcoming the happenings of the armed conflict by “reorganizing” society (B 2, #00:07:20#) and creating a “balance within society” (A 1, #00:10:59#) whereas conflict is associated with an “imbalance in society” (A 1, #00:08:15#). Following the argumentation of A 1, balance can be achieved by the inclusion of LGBT people because “[...] we are the ones who live it, we are the ones who make our reality visible, our experiences, and as we know very well, we are a vulnerable population” (A 1, #00:16:50#, author’s translation).¹⁰⁷ “So, by building [peace], we are automatically eradicating or transforming all these imaginaries. All these prejudices that have been affecting us [...]” (A 1, #00:29:53#, author’s translation).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ “[...] no debería de haber ningunas limitaciones, porque yo creo que las limitaciones nos las colocamos nosotras mismas o nosotros mismos [...] porque igual nuestra lucha siempre va a persistir, se va a mantener” (A 1, #00:52:38#).

¹⁰⁶ “[...] tiene que venir acompañado de un proyecto económico, de un proyecto social, donde sea posible que tus ideas políticas de construcción de país sean aceptadas” (B 2, #00:46:43#).

¹⁰⁷ “[...] somos nosotras quienes lo vivimos, somos nosotras quienes damos a conocer nuestra realidad, nuestras experiencias, y que como muy bien sabemos, somos población vulnerable” (A 1, #00:16:50#).

¹⁰⁸ “Entonces, al construirla, automáticamente estamos erradicando o estamos transformando todos estos imaginarios. Todos estos prejuicios que nos han venido afectando [...]” (A 1, #00:29:53#)

Further sustainable peace is seen as a constant process, as opposed to an endpoint (A 1, #00:08:15#). A 1 argues that this kind of peace as a process does not come about by itself, but to make it possible, the participation of society as a whole is necessary and everyone needs to make a contribution (A 1, #00:08:15#, #00:10:59#). A 1 further describes peace as something with many nuances and factors thereby naming “harmony”, “justice”, “love”, “inclusion”, “equality of rights”, “equality” and “equity” (A 1, #00:10:59#, #00:12:20#). A 2 gives a definition, which to some extent summarizes the above said:

[...] we understand peace as the opportunity for people [...] to satisfy his or her basic needs, to live in harmonious spaces, at least where there is recognition and respect for his or her fundamental rights. [...] for me sustainable peace is [...] that LGBT people [...] can fulfil who they are, who they want to be [...]. (A 2, #00:02:42#, author’s translation)¹⁰⁹

C 1 on the other hand, describes sustainable peace as a constant, something that does not have change, something that is for the good of the population and he connects it foremost to the absence of violence, robbery and drug abuse (C 1, #00:04:44#). Further, he points out that “[...] currently, there is very little peace. There is always violence, there are always people being killed, there are always (...). It is tremendous, you heard. For me, this will never end [...] those who come next will always want violence, [peace] will never, never, never be given” (C 1, #00:04:44# - #00:05:47#, author’s translation).¹¹⁰

5.3.5.1 Justice

As the term ‘transitional justice’ implies, and since the latter is a form of peacebuilding, the idea of justice is closely linked to peace. Against this background, the interviewees were asked firstly about their comprehension of justice. Secondly, they were consulted about the connection between justice for LGBT people and the possibility of sustainable peace. Regarding the former, C 1 defines justices as follows:

[...] justice is about many things [...]. It depends on who you are. Because if it is me, what can I do in this case? I don't do justice; how can I do justice with what force? If I am a, a, I must say, a common and ordinary being, like everyone else. And poor, look where I live [...]. In my opinion, not all of us can do justice. With what force is one going to do justice? Only by killing. It's the easiest thing [...]. [J]ustice is like the right and wrong. It's like [...] [a]nything that comes together [...] it's trying to balance, but it always pulls that way and it always pulls this way. It's never going to match. Well, no, I'm not going to say it like that either. Because the day you least expect it, it may be, couldn't it? [...] That would be the most beautiful thing. (C

¹⁰⁹ “[...] entendemos la paz como la oportunidad que tiene la persona [...] de satisfacer sus necesidades básicas, de vivir en espacios armoniosos, por lo menos donde hay un reconocimiento y un respeto por sus derechos fundamentales. [...] para mí la paz sostenible es [...] que las personas LGBT[...] puedan desarrollar quienes son, quienes quieren ser [...]” (A 2, #00:02:42#).

¹¹⁰ “[...] ahora mismo la paz es muy poco. Siempre hay violencia, siempre hay muertes, siempre hay (...). Es tremendo, oyó. Para mí esto nunca se acaba [...] los que vienen llegando siempre van a querer violencia, nunca, nunca, nunca se va a dar [la paz]” (C 1, #00:04:44# - #00:05:47#).

1, #00:06:14# - #00:08:29#, author's translation)¹¹¹

Like his concept of accountability, C 1's idea of doing justice is linked to the use of violence. At the same time, the absence of violence is seen as a kind of equilibrium which he believes is almost impossible to achieve, and yet is desired by him. A 2 contrasts this definition of justice by adapting Ulpiano's concept, which again in its original form would be more in line with C 1's perception:

Ulpian said that basically justice is giving everyone what they deserve. And I do not quite agree with that, because I think there are contexts in which it is not just giving everyone what they deserve, because there may be different subjective conceptions of what a person deserves. It may be that some people think that a LGBT person does not deserve respect and therefore I believe that I would change that original phrase of Ulpian and I would say that it is to give to each person what the person needs, what is demanded in some way. (A 2, #00:04:40#, author's translation)¹¹²

In this sense, B 1 associates justice for LGBT in the framework of peacebuilding with recognizing that the armed conflict has affected this population in a differentiated manner precisely because of their non-heteronormative SOGIESC. She argues that a small piece of justice can accordingly be done by adopting an intersectional perspective within the transitional justice mechanisms for truth and reparation. As a concrete example she suggests the opening of a macro case for sexual violence by the JEP (B 1, #00:03:53#). Justice in the context of peacebuilding, B 1 argues, means putting the most affected in the center and starting from the demands of the respective population, thereby adopting an intersectional perspective (B 1, #00:07:20#). This means that in the first place, LGBT population must be recognized in the sense of 'here we are and you have to take us into account' and secondly, in the sense of recognizing the victimizing acts and their negative impact on their lives in the long term (A 2, #00:04:40#; B 2, #00:04:01#).

Furthermore, the idea of justice with reference to the LGBT population is closely connected to the ideas of peace, because the former is similarly as peace associated with overcoming poverty, access to healthcare, education, legal assistance, labor

¹¹¹ “[...] justicia habla de muchas cosas [...]. Depende de lo que uno sea. Por qué si soy yo, ¿qué puedo hacer yo en ese caso? Yo no hago justicia. ¿Por qué con que fuerza voy a hacer yo justicia? Si yo soy un, un, mejor dicho, un ser común y corriente, como todos los demás. Y pobre, mira aquí donde vivo [...] Para mí, no todos podemos hacer justicia. ¿Con qué fuerza va a hacer uno justicia? Solamente matando. Es lo más fácil [...] [L]a justicia es como el bien y el mal. Es como [...] [a]lguna cosa que se une [...] se tira a balancear, pero siempre tira para allá y siempre tira para acá. Nunca va a concordar. Bueno, no, no lo voy a tampoco decir así. Porque el día menos pensado puede, ¿sí o no? [...] Esto sería lo más lindo” (C 1, #00:06:14# - #00:08:29#).

¹¹² “Ulpiano decía que básicamente la justicia es dar a cada uno lo que se merece. Y yo no estoy tan de acuerdo con eso, porque creo que hay contextos en donde no es solamente dar a cada uno lo que se merece, porque puede haber diferentes concepciones subjetivas de lo que se merece una persona. Puede que para algunas personas una persona LGBT no merezca respeto y entonces creo que yo cambiaría esa frase original de Ulpiano y diría que es darle, a cada persona lo que necesita, lo que demanda de alguna manera” (A 2, #00:04:40#).

opportunities, security guarantees for social leaders, safe living spaces for the population in general as well as the guarantee of human rights (A 2, #00:04:40#; #B 1, #00:05:42#, #00:16:01#, #00:30:16#). Human rights are seen as an enabler for justice, equality and a balance in society, the latter requiring the transformation of prejudices: “[...] if equal rights were to be given or recognized and applied, I believe that equal justice, egalitarian justice, would bring about a balanced society and in this way, we would be eradicating all these stigmas, all these prejudices” (A 1, #00:25:23#, author’s translation).¹¹³ As a result, when assessing the needs of the LGBT population in the search of reparation measures, demands are made with respect to socio-economic issues rather than to affectations by the armed conflict in terms of direct violence (B 1, #00:30:16#).

5.3.5.2 Inclusion

While exclusion was identified as crucial for understanding the gender-conflict nexus (see chapter 5.3.1.3), inclusion is seen as critical to sustainable peace by all stakeholder groups, against the odd, including C 1:

Peace is for everyone. We are all people. But as for me having chosen that path, that's nobody's fault. [...] Everyone may live life as one can. Only let it be nothing of violence, that's the only thing. So that this world can change. Because if not, there is no change. (C 1, #00:19:07#, author’s translation)¹¹⁴

With a view to making a change towards more pacific scenarios, B 2 points out the added value of involving LGBT population in peacebuilding:

[...] do not reject us because of our difference, but on the contrary, include us because of our difference, because that is what makes us interesting and innovative. (B 2, #00:05:42#, author’s translation)¹¹⁵

B 1 tunes in with this point of view and argues that engaging with LGBT population in peacebuilding should go along with a recognition of them as people who can propose and advocate based on their experiences of resistance and resilience (B 1, #00:22:14#). Further B 2 notes that without including society as a whole peace will not be complete (B 2, #00:00:20#). Approaching inclusion from an intersectional standpoint means considering aspects of race, ethnicity and rurality within the LGBT population and considering the latter as diverse within itself (B 2, #00:02:22#). In that sense

¹¹³ “[...] si se llegase a dar o a reconocer y aplicar la igualdad de derecho, yo creo que se daría una justicia equitativa, una justicia igualitaria, lo cual traería consigo una sociedad equilibrada y de esta manera estaríamos diría yo, erradicando todos estos estigmas, todos estos prejuicios” (A 1, #00:25:23#).

¹¹⁴ “La paz es para todos. Todos somos personas. Pero ya que yo haya escogido aquel camino, eso no es culpa de nadie. [...] Cada quien que viva su vida como pueda. Solo que no sea nada de violencia, esto es lo único. Para que este mundo pueda cambiar. Porque si no, no hay cambio” (C 1, #00:19:07#).

¹¹⁵ “[...] no nos rechacen por nuestra diferencia, sino al contrario, incluyéndonos por nuestra diferencia, porque eso es lo que nos hace interesantes e innovadores (B 2, #00:05:42#).

[...] to build a stable peace is to take this multiplicity within diversity and see how we can ensure that, firstly, people express their ideas from their point of view or from the position they hold, but also that their demands are reflected in this peacebuilding process. [...] And that's the only way [peace] is going to last, that you think about the grassroots in a much broader way. (B 2, #00:02:22#, author's translation)¹¹⁶

Not being included, on the other hand, leads to somewhat of a vicious cycle. B 2 describes how being historically excluded causes indifference towards the process of peacebuilding because who is not included today neither expects to be so tomorrow (B 2, #00:06:27#). The inclusion of diversity on the other hand, be it in terms of SOGIESC, ability, race or class would lead to people considering peacebuilding a collective project, the latter only being possible under these conditions (B 2, #00:45:36#). A 2 also points to the inclusion of indigenous (A 2, #00:19:59#) and local knowledge from the periphery in the Colombian context, i.e., from rural areas as opposed to knowledge derived solely from political urban centers of power (A 2, #00:32:09#, #00:39:24#). A 1 (#00:27:03#) and A 2 (#00:39:24#) equally argue that sustainable peace will only be achieved by participation and inclusion.

5.3.5.3 Economic poverty

Structural poverty is considered, in addition to the political and social elements described above, as one of the main factors which gave rise to the war (B 1, #00:00:16#; B 2, #00:45:36#). Besides armed conflict, B 1 argues that many problems in Colombia have their origin in historically grown structural poverty and the fact of being cut off economic opportunities (B 2, #00:30:15#). Further, victims of the armed conflict and LGBT population in Colombia are disproportionately affected by poverty and a lack of food security (A 2, #00:19:59#; B 1, #00:0542#), the last condition having worsened after the last government's legislature and the pandemic (B 1, #00:14:04). These conditions favor the proliferation of armed groups as it is illustrated by the case of C 1. He states that unemployment and poverty were his main motives for joining the armed group:

[...] I never thought I would be there - and look that's where I went. But everything comes with unemployment [...] and people get desperate. And even more when people have families. When I was there, when I got into that job on the finca, I never thought I was going to face this way of living there. (C 1, #00:37:45#, author's translation)¹¹⁷

At the same time getting out of armed groups is considered difficult and only possible

¹¹⁶ “[...] construir una paz estable es tomar esa multiplicidad dentro de la diversidad y ver cómo logramos que, primero que las personas expresen sus ideas desde el punto de vista o desde el lugar donde estén, pero también que sus demandas se vean reflejadas en esa construcción de paz [...] Y eso es la única forma de que sea duradero, que pienses en la base de manera mucho más amplia” (B 2, #00:02:22#).

¹¹⁷ “[...] yo nunca pensé estar allá y mira y para allá cogí. Pero todo va en el desempleo [...] y la gente se desespera. Y más cuando la gente tiene familia. Yo cuando estaba la vaina, cuando me metí al trabajito ese de la finca, yo nunca pensé que allá me iba a encontrarme esa forma de vivir allá” (C 1, #00:37:45#).

with willpower because this once more leaves people without employment (C 1, #00:14:33#) which is why on the other hand, C 1 considers the right to labor within the government's demobilization program as decisive for his way out (C 1, #00:51:47#).

5.3.6 *Sustainable development*

As for the case of sustainable peace, concerning the MC of sustainable development, the interviewees were asked for their association with the term.

When being asked about development, B 1 first recounts the dominant discourse of the theory of modernization, then expresses her rejection of these ideas arguing that these would not do justice to the real needs of the addressed population and context (B 1, #00:09:07#). Rather, she claims that the term of development needs to be re-signified from the perspective of the global South (B 1, #00:09:07#). Similarly, A 2 criticizes the idea of development as economic growth and as an end point as well as the binary discourse on the 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' countries (A 2, #00:09:18#). She further calls for a vision of development which includes dignity, rights and recognition not only of people but also of nature thereby criticizing the impacts which the Western way of life has on the planet (A 2, #00:09:18#). So, she argues, when thinking of development we need to think of how we can include the whole world in terms of humanity and nature, thereby emphasizing the relevance of indigenous knowledge for the "[...] protection of the earth, for 'the big home', as we sometimes call it" (A 2, #00:19:59#, author's translation).¹¹⁸ While she rejects exploitation she claims that the private sector needs to be held accountable (A 2, #00:19:59#). Further, for development in terms of overcoming inequality, a local perspective based on the needs of people in rural areas as opposed to a centralized vision based on urban areas is considered necessary (A 2, #00:25:26#). Local development, in consequence, is associated with sustainable development. In this context, B 1 points out the work of indigenous and Black communities on sustainable development being opposed to the capitalist definition of development as they rather seek to construct society from the collective level (B 1, #00:09:07#).

B 2 associates sustainable development with creating ideal conditions for a life in dignity, political, social and cultural participation but also economic opportunities, however without the need for violent sacrifices (B 2, #00:40:16#). Therefore, A 2 comments, development equally as peace, must come along with elements like access to (university)

¹¹⁸ "[...] protección por la tierra, por la casa grande, como le decimos a veces" (A 2, #00:19:59#).

education for everybody and food security (A 2, #00:19:59#, #00:22:07#). Concerning the latter, A 2 associates sustainable development with her entrepreneurship of confectionery sustaining her economically and at the same time giving her the opportunity to offer an accessible and healthy product to her community (A 1, #00:54:19#). C 1 emphasizes the multiplicity and subjectivity of what is considered development depending on the individual's reality of life (C 1, #00:11:31#). He foremost connects it with having a life project, a motivation in terms of having an objective in life and developing and reaching something on an everyday basis (C 1, #00:11:32#).

Among stakeholder group A and B, the guarantee of rights is seen as a means to reach equality, peace, justice and also development. In line with this, B 1 assigns the state, in the form of a social state governed by the rule of law, the role of an ally to reach these objectives (B 1, #00:09:07#). The nexus between the former as well as between peacebuilding and development becomes visible when A 1 describes sustainable development for LGBT people being the guarantee of rights, participation, their voices being heard and reflected in legislation and, she emphasizes, only with these conditions being fulfilled, LGBT people can contribute to the construction of sustainable peace (A 1, #00:54:19#).

5.3.7 *Peacebuilding-development nexus*

Regarding the peacebuilding-development nexus, interview participants were asked if they believed there was a limitation to achieving sustainable development if there is not any peace, and vice versa. B 2 illustrates this connection with a pragmatic example:

“[...] there is something very basic when working with communities: if we and our children do not eat, we cannot think of anything else. So, what development brings is that, having the possibility [...] to have an income, but also to be happy with the conditions you have in the space where you are. And then you can think about peace. You can think about the collective, which is what we, I feel [...] as a country, we lack a lot” (B 2, #00:41:36#, author's translation).¹¹⁹

By the above, B 2 says that thinking of the collective, basic needs must be guaranteed in the first place. Accordingly, a limitation to reach peace without sustainable development in terms of material wellbeing is seen in the fact that people are not guaranteed any basic conditions for a 'good life'. This condition is exacerbated for LGBT people within the

¹¹⁹ “[...] hay una cosa muy básica cuando trabajas con comunidades y es: si no comemos nosotros y nuestros hijos no podemos pensar en nada más. Entonces el desarrollo lo que trae es eso, tener la posibilidad de [...] tener un ingreso, pero también de ser feliz con las condiciones que tengas en el espacio en el que estés. Y ahí puedes pensar en la paz. Puedes pensar en el colectivo que eso es lo que nosotros, siento [...] como país, nos falta mucho” (B 2, #00:41:36#).

persistence of patriarchal structures where they “are not allowed to be” (B 1, #00:14:04#). A 2 tunes in with this and points out firstly, the connection between peacebuilding and development in terms of the satisfaction of basic needs in order to be able to engage with the project of peace. Secondly, she points to the connection between the limited access to education and therefore the lack of ability to engage with peacebuilding academically and politically (A 2, #00:17:55#). In B 1's view, linking peacebuilding and development means seeing peace in a broader framework that goes beyond disarmament and takes into account both environmental and structural elements related to people's material well-being. Thinking of the environment and the material at the same time directly leads her to thinking of sustainable economies (B 1, #00:12:05#). However, she points to the life-threatening risks faced by social leaders and communities defending the environment and exploring alternative economies. Here, armed conflict clearly sets a limit to the achievement of sustainable development, as the protection of nature is a matter of life and death because of competing economic interests (A 2, #00:22:07#; B 1, #00:14:04#). These interests might also be the underlying reason why B 1 (#00:14:04) states that there is insufficient legislation in this area, naming the “Escazú agreement”¹²⁰, which has been signed, but not yet ratified by Colombia. Another impediment for thinking of sustainable development in the absence of peace is seen by A 2 in the fact that the armed conflict, the peace negotiation and agreement dominated the political discussion for a long time. Consequently, she further argues that there was not any possibility to think of other things such as sustainable development: “[...] how do we think, for example, about energy transition, when we were thinking about how to solve the problem of war” (A 2, #00:20:07#, author's translation).¹²¹ Whereas the signing of the peace agreement opened the possibility to dedicate resources to other projects or rather to think about the process of peace and development as interconnected (A 2, #00:18:34#). Concerning the latter, A 2 further points out that the component of building sustainable societies forms part of the peace agreement (A 2, #00:18:34#).

Regarding the impediments to achieve sustainable development in the absence of peace A 2 further notes that the long duration of the armed conflict, specifically in the case of Colombia, affected the way of thinking and voting of people as well as the interpretation

¹²⁰ The Regional Treaty on Access to Information, Public Participation and Judicial Review in Environmental Matters in Latin America and the Caribbean is a UN treaty signed by Colombia in 2020 but not yet ratified.

¹²¹ “[...] como pensamos, por ejemplo, en transición energética, cuando estábamos pensando en cómo solucionar el problema de la guerra” (A 2, #00:20:07#).

of rights. Therefore, she argues, also thinking of sustainable development amidst armed conflict is complex because the armed conflict sets the framework from where society is constructed (A 2, #00:14:10#). Accordingly, the priorities - from an LGBT perspective as an example - amidst armed conflict are set by its framework and essential issues of inclusion and survival have the highest priority over sustainable development:

“[...] when you are in a territory where [...] you are excluded, displaced. Well, what you want is precisely to guarantee those rights. Not to be excluded, not to be displaced, to be able to live in peace, not to be murdered. (A 2, #00:14:10#, author’s translation)¹²²

For A1, the lack of peace and justice, especially for LGBT persons, is also seen as an obstacle to sustainable development. However, not as an absolute limitation due to existing forms of resistance to strategically deal with political exclusion (A 1, #00:55:57#).

When being asked about the possibilities and limitations of sustainable development in the absence of peace, C 1 points to the cycles of violence as an impediment:

I say this because I was working on a finca experiencing a lot of conflicts and I was already changing a lot and that’s why I lost my wife. Because I was beginning to treat her the way we treat each other on the finca. (C 1, #00:13:13#, author’s translation)¹²³

Considering the development component within peacebuilding therefore implies thinking about pacific scenarios beyond limited and transitional time frames (A 2, #00:10:57#).

¹²² “[...] cuando tú estás en un territorio donde [...] te excluye, te desplazan. Pues lo que tú quieres es precisamente garantizar esos derechos. A que no te excluyan, a que no te desplacen, a que puedas vivir tranquila, a que no te cometan un homicidio” (A 2, #00:14:10#).

¹²³ “Yo lo digo porque yo estuve trabajando en una finca donde se veían muchos conflictos y ya estaba cambiando mucho y por eso le perdí a mi señora. Porque ya empezaba a tratarla como se trata allá, en la finca” (C 1, #00:13:13#).

6 Empirical and theoretical synthesis

In the present work empirical research was conducted concerning the connection between equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC and possibilities for more sustainable peace. By encompassing a range of three different stakeholder groups into the empirical investigation – including development practitioners, LGBT activists and an ex-combatant in the context of the Colombian armed conflict and peacebuilding process – an attempt was made to gather fragmented pieces of a puzzle in order to gain a broader picture. Using a semi-structured questionnaire adapted to the respective target groups, the aim was to find out *why* and *how* equality of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace. Efforts were also made to explore alternative meanings to the prevailing discourses on empowerment, accountability, peacebuilding, and development. This was done with the aim of reconceptualizing the relationship between the latter and of seeking ways to operationalize a queer account of E&A that could contribute to a decolonial process in the PDN.

Before going into detail on the results, it can be said that the hypothesis presented in the introduction has been confirmed by empirical evidence. That means equality of LGBT people is significant for the achievement of sustainable peace. In the following (chapter 6.1), it is outlined why this is the case and the implications of this significant effect are discussed. Chapter 6.2 brings together the results of queering E&A in the PDN followed by a critical reflection in chapter 6.3. Subsequently, findings on practical implications and the author's resulting recommendations for concrete decolonial praxis in the peacebuilding-development nexus are introduced (chapter 6.4). Along this process, the results are evaluated, interpreted and contextualized with respect to the theoretical framework and state of research.

6.1 Explanations for the *why*

Strong evidence supporting the hypothesis that equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC contributes to more sustainable peace is demonstrated most clearly in the context of the gender-conflict nexus, when examining the link between the causes of bias-motivated violence and armed conflict simultaneously.

Both, the emergence of the armed conflict in Colombia as well as BMV are related to the hierarchization of humanity based on categories such as race and sex/gender. The

elimination of the 'other' in the form of violent exclusionary practices is at the basis of both, armed conflict and BMV. Due to the experiences of colonization, the 'other' is associated with those who deviate from the norm constructed by a Eurocentric and binary perspective. The interviewees therefore argue that the idea of eliminating the 'other' originated in colonialism, was normalized and accepted by society and was then taken up and radicalized by armed actors in terms of magnitude and systematic nature what consequently entails the elimination of non-heteronormative SOGIESC. The underlying heteronormative hegemony thereby formed the basis for armed actors drawing on consent and social acceptance within communities when committing violent acts against LGBT people (Butler, 1993, p. xii; Gramsci, 1971, p. 366; Ludwig, 2012, p. 106). Consequently, the empirical investigation confirms, as stated by Hagen (2020), that BMV is exacerbated in FCVAS (p. 2). In summary, the existing consensus in the literature on the emergence, legitimization and maintenance of GBV and BMV has been confirmed by empirical research. In opposite to the usual approaches, it became possible to relate the former findings directly to the causes, emergence and maintenance of the armed conflict in Colombia by applying the synthesis of de- and postcolonial-queer theory.

Furthermore, this work has expanded the existing literature on gender in peacebuilding by including the perspective of an ex-combatant, as this perspective is often excluded. By considering not only the perspectives of survivors of violence but also those of perpetrators and their suffering, the violence of the armed conflict resulting in a vicious circle of more violence was revealed: patriarchy leads to BMV which leads to conflict which leads to more BMV. Consequently, perpetrators find themselves in spirals of violence where harmful environments entail the use of more violence with drastic changes in their ways of being, behaving and expressing within a short period of time. The latter is consistent with the research findings of Baaz and Stern (2013), also revealing how soldiers become perpetrators of violent acts they never thought they were capable of committing (p. 72). In consequence, the empirical study confirms the consensus in the current state of research that patriarchy and violence within patriarchy caused by the binary gender order is a nexus point between BMV and conflict (Hagen, 2020, p. 1).

6.2 Queering empowerment and accountability in the peacebuilding-development nexus

Discourse on the issues in question takes mainly place within the framework of the nation-state and its obligation to guarantee (human) rights. The nation-state is not questioned, but it is seen as an ally in achieving empowerment, peace and development. Similarly, human rights as an overarching concept are seen as a means and enabler to achieve these goals. This contrasts with what is suggested in de- and postcolonial studies in which the state is often assigned a primarily oppressive role and human rights and development cooperation are seen as doomed to fail because of their being embedded in the project of modernity. However, the interviewees' understanding of human rights is deeper than that of the international community and contains elements of the CA in terms of recognizing non-heteronormative ways of being and thinking.

In line with this, empowerment is seen as closely related to ensuring rights and having knowledge of laws as well as self-recognition and positioning of the self within society. In order to achieve the latter, people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC and their life realities should be made visible as agents of change by applying an intersectional approach. In their definition of empowerment, respondents in stakeholder group A and B agree on many points. All in all, empowerment is characterized primarily as local, contextual, and community-based. The author argues that the elements of empowerment mentioned by the different actors cannot be considered in isolation from each other but must be understood as interdependent and influencing one another. As an example of this interconnectedness, it can be said that empowerment processes in terms of recognition of rights and (self-)recognition of non-heteronormative SOGIESC are seen as the fruit of activism within communitarian leadership (A 2, #00:43:44#). Communitarian leaderships are important because LGBT empowerment processes are not constructed by individuality as opposed to the current tendencies within the empowerment discourse (Hoffmann et al., 2018, pp. 10-11). While, consequently, empowerment as defined by stakeholder group A and B foremost contains the *power with*, *power to*, and *power within* dimensions, C 1's conception of empowerment is marked by a *zero-sum view of power*, with one or a few persons' being in the possession of *power* and exercising it *over* others (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002, p. 55).

Furthermore, it is important to note that queering empowerment is facilitated by a network of actors rather than depending solely on the individual, the community or

development cooperation. In consequence, it is not about thinking of facilitators in isolation but about strengthening networks of collaboration in order to decolonize practices. For instance, CSOs and NGOs are considered important nexus points between communitarian grassroots activism and state institutions. Moreover, they enable the dialogue between grassroots activism and international development cooperation agencies which, in turn, oftentimes collaborate closely with state actors. In this sense, Caribe Afirmativo, e.g., makes a valuable contribution to decolonize the practices of international development agencies because the decolonization process implies bridging the gap between centralized program work and the grassroots level. NGOs do this by bringing DC agencies closer to rural communities and by highlighting their forms of resistance, for example, in the form of the re-signification of pejorative terms. With LGBT empowerment being limited due to security issues, NGOs further offer *safer spaces* for productive informal educational gatherings. Fruit of this is, as in the case of Colombia, e.g., the Truth Commission as a state institution, bringing forward colonial issues in the search of the reasons for the emergence and maintenance of the armed conflict. The relevance of the nation-state as an ally, at least in the particular case of C 1, is most evident when engaging with ex-combatants and perpetrators of BMV. This is because empowerment is furthermore closely connected to the creation of income and education opportunities. In this context, the interviews disclosed that empowerment as well as peace and development for LGBT people in FCVAS is highly restricted by issues of economic instability.

With the armed conflict in Colombia also originating in historically grown structural poverty and the fact of being cut off economic opportunities, economic poverty is key for understanding dynamics in both peacebuilding and conflict. Consequently, overcoming poverty and having access to healthcare, education, legal assistance, labor opportunities, security guarantees for social leaders, safe and dignified living spaces as well as the guarantee of human rights are associated with sustainable peace. As a consequence, in the framework of transitional justice, demands are made with respect to socio-economic issues and human rights are seen as enablers for justice, equality and a balance in society, the latter requiring the transformation of prejudices. In summary, it can be said that achieving sustainable peace is seen as a process as opposed to an endpoint and considered possible by resolving the structural causes underlying and favoring the emergence and maintenance of the conflict as well as by creating a balance within society. This is emphasized by the association of peace with harmony, justice, love, inclusion,

equality of rights, equality, and equity. Consequently, peace and conflict are defined in terms of Lederach (1997) and Galtung (1964) as relational and structural.

As shown, there is an interconnectedness between peace, justice and accessing as well as being included, participating and finding one's voice in spaces LGBT people have been historically excluded from (A 2, #00:07:09#; B 2, #00:05:42#). Simultaneously peace is seen as something that offers participation and inclusion (A 1, #00:12:20#). While it was affirmed by the empirical investigation that exclusion is a main driver of armed conflict and BMV, inclusion is identified as a decisive factor for sustainable peace. Without including society as a whole as well as indigenous and local knowledge from the periphery in the Colombian context - i.e., from rural areas as opposed to knowledge derived solely from political urban centers of power - peace is considered as incomplete and cycles of exclusion are reproduced. The relevance of inclusion was shown by the empirical investigation and becomes also evident with inclusion being the leading paradigm in current major policies such as the Agenda 2030. However, there are different approaches to inclusion. In this context, it needs to be critically reflected upon, 'inclusion into what?'. At this point, the essential difference is emphasized between inclusion in the form of an assimilation of subaltern voices into hegemonic discourses versus inclusion through the adaptation of inherently exclusionary structures to the demands of subaltern voices. Whereas the former approach bears the risk of transformative potential getting lost in the assimilation process, the latter strategy aims at transforming the underlying oppressive structures that cause exclusion in the first place. How this might be done in practice is pointed out in chapter 6.4.

One point that is equally criticized within the dominant discourses of peace and development is the view on them as being end points rather than processes. In line with this, the ideas of the theory of modernization with development being defined in terms of economic growth are rejected. Rather, a re-signification of the term is demanded which includes dignity, rights, and recognition not only of people but also of nature. In this context, the private sector is called into responsibility thereby emphasizing the relevance of including indigenous knowledge and the needs of people in rural areas. Sustainable development, in consequence, must go along with local development and leaving war-fueling economy that leads to displacement and land exploitation. In contrast, development in the sense of adopting alternative forms of environmentally friendly economy should be promoted. Given the above presented situation of structural poverty

and the expressed needs for opportunities of income, sustainable development must go hand in hand with creating alternative forms of economy (B 1, #00:09:07#). These would also bring about more independency from the global North. The latter implies being independent from hard coal and oil exports which is one of the major proposals of the new president, Gustavo Petro's, government program (B 1, #00:09:07#). After decades of bipartisanship in the hands of the liberal and conservative parties (B 1, #00:02:04#), Colombia - for the first time in history - has elected a leftist government considered to be more “progressive” and an opportunity for local economy as well as for the recognition of LGBT rights (A 2, #00:27:34#).

The peacebuilding-development nexus becomes particularly visible when viewing it from the perspective of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC. The *positive* definition of peace is associated with creating ideal conditions for a life in dignity, political, social, and cultural participation but also economic opportunities. Sustainable development for LGBT people is similarly seen as the guarantee of rights, participation, their voices being heard and reflected in legislation and only under these conditions being fulfilled, LGBT people can contribute to the construction of sustainable peace. However, A 2 and 3 as well as B 1 and 2 share a political discourse on development and peace with regard to the need of its construction as collective projects, equally aiming at constructing society from a collective level. In contrast to this, A 1 and C 1 define development foremost on an individual level connected to economic stability and income opportunities which may be due to their disadvantaged socio-economic position. The latter gives hints about the limitative factors within the peacebuilding-development nexus. Thus, to be able to think of the collective, basic needs must be covered first. Another impediment is presented by the limited access to education and therefore the lack of the ability to engage with peacebuilding academically and politically. Consequently, linking peacebuilding and development means approaching peace in a broader framework reaching beyond disarmament and escaping from limited and transitional time frames by rather considering both environmental and structural elements related to people's material well-being. In consequence, the link between sustainable development and *positive peace* result in the need of alternative economies already outlined above. Ultimately, thinking of sustainable development in FCVAS might be considered as a privilege for various reasons. Firstly, because the satisfaction of basic needs must be guaranteed to be able to think of engaging with the project of peace. Secondly, because armed conflict clearly sets limits to the achievement of sustainable development, as the protection of nature and

participation is a matter of life and death. Thirdly - because armed conflict, peace negotiations and agreement dominated the political discussion for a long time and accordingly - the possibility to dedicate resources to other projects or rather to think the process of peace and development as interconnected has only emerged by signing the peace agreement. Furthermore, the spirals of violence are considered as a decisive impediment for reaching sustainable development and peace. Nevertheless, these aspects mentioned in the interviews give reason to assume that peace and development are not automatically thought of together, contrary to the statements of the participants that structural causes must be addressed in order to achieve sustainable peace.

The elements of self-recognition and recognition within society have emerged as the ones that cut across and link the four key concepts discussed in this work. Peace for LGBT people in Colombia means being respected and recognized and therefore creating the conditions so that people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC can become who they are and who they want to be. This implies their recognition and acceptance as such and moreover as people with innovative visions who propose and advocate - based on their experiences of resistance and resilience - as opposed to solely treating them as 'victims' while at the same time recognizing the differentiated impact and effect of the armed conflict on this population. With regard to accountability, the interviews with stakeholder group A and B decisively contributed to an extended conception of it as firstly, *recognition* of LGBT identity and rights on the individual level and beyond within society and secondly *acknowledgement of social complicity*. Thereby, *recognition* represents a decisive element in the empowerment-accountability nexus. The two dimensions of *recognition* and *acknowledgement of social complicity* are closely linked whereas the former is an important condition for the latter. *Recognition* implies making the motives and impacts of BMV visible within society. To achieve this, the mechanisms of the transitional justice system are considered as an opportunity. Acknowledgment of complicity is rather connected to recognizing victimizing acts and events in opposition to individual responsibilities. Responsibility is seen as collective and, in that sense, everyone needs to be held accountable for BMV. Moreover, gaining an insight into the construction of gender before and after colonization is considered key to comprehending GBV and social complicity (Lugones, 2008, pp. 7-8).

In the context of accountability as defined in these terms it can therefore be stated that not only the destructive effects of the 'development cooperation-machine' need to be

highlighted as predominantly done within de- and postcolonial studies. With view to the increasing number of local employees, be it due to economic or normative reasons, this research process has revealed that the proportion of critical perspectives has equally grown to the extent that the interviewees in question are aware of the colonial past and the linked continuities expressed in historically grown inequalities. These developments in consciousness support the possibility of a transformation from within.

6.3 Critical reflection and opportunities for future research

The language of critique is effective not because it keeps forever separate the terms of the master and the slave, the mercantilist and the Marxist, but to the extent to which it overcomes the given grounds of opposition and opens up a space of translation: a place of hybridity, figuratively speaking, where the construction of a political object that is new, *neither the one nor the other* [sic], properly alienates our political expectations [...]. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 25)

Within the framework of this thesis, countless contradictions are raised, pointed out and even reproduced, although the goal is a contradictory one, namely that of deconstruction. The latter, however, takes place in a highly contradictory process. So, while the search consists in creating more unity instead of individualism and antagonisms, a distinction is still made between the global North and South, and while the problem of binary gender order is pointed out, reference is still made to men and women. However, as illustrated by the quotation of Bhabha above and in the spirit of an anti-essentialist approach, it is not about an *either/or*, about *the right or the wrong* but about creating spaces of productive encounter for reimagination. Spaces where new commonalities between people can be built starting from their differences. In line with this the interviewees reject an 'utopian' vision of societies where differences and antagonism do not exist, whereas the respect for diversity in being and thinking are seen as necessary for a healthy democracy (A 1, #00:29:53#; B 1, #01:02:45#; B 2, #00:48:57#). Nevertheless, in practice, such encounters present a variety of difficulties that have been revealed throughout the research process and are pointed out in the following in order to find ways to tackle them.

6.3.1 *Who is speaking?*

Qualitative empirical research implies a relationship between at least two individuals. With the scope of the research, the circle of people becomes larger, snowball systems are created in which one contact leads to another, and networks are activated. In this process, the position of the researcher and the interviewee play crucial roles. The fact that the researcher has had access to certain people is linked to many privileges, as is the fact that

these people agreed on being interviewed. The latter, in this case of one exception, without expecting anything in return. In this relationship, in which people from the global North 'investigate' people and realities in the global South, there are myriad inequalities of power. These hover in space between the researcher and the interviewees throughout the interview and it cannot be said exactly to what extent they influence what is said, since it is impossible to construct an identical counter-situation. However, since it is argued that qualitative research is relational, these circumstances demonstrate the importance of interpersonal and- cultural skills - in addition to adherence to conventional scientific standards - in a research process. Against the background of the above, such research projects must be necessarily reviewed critically and accompanied by the question of how to succeed in proceeding in a non-extractivist manner. As far as the latter is concerned, any conclusive answer could emerge from this research process. Certainly, one approach is not to take participation in interviews for granted and on the contrary, to adopt an appreciative attitude towards the provision of time and knowledge resources. However, there is a desire to give materiality to the recommendations formulated in chapter 6.4, for example, in the form of a workshop. The latter would offer the opportunity to give feedback to the participants on the evaluation of the results and to receive critical input as well as to provide a space for discussion in which - if desired and carried out with much caution as well as professional support - the three different interest groups could come together.

Having critically discussed the relationship between the researcher and the interviewees, now specific relevant points regarding each of the latter are outlined below.

6.3.1.1 The interviewees

With respect to the interviewees a few points of criticism must be mentioned concerning the relativity, representativity and lack of perspectives. Having the limited access opportunities to university education in Colombia in mind, it can be assumed that four of the interviewees who hold such degrees speak from a relatively privileged perspective. As mentioned above, what is noteworthy is that these interviewees mostly share the same discourse, while A 1, who does not have a university degree but is a social leader in the political arena, deviates from this only slightly. C 1, in contrast, who is not connected to any organizational structure in the political context, such as those of NGOs or CSOs, relies on completely different discourses when referring to specific terms. In contrast to the other interviewees, he defines empowerment exclusively on the individual level, as

opposed to including the community and political domain. Furthermore, his definition of accountability and justice are associated with the use of violence, whereas peace is merely connected to the absence of direct violence, i.e., defined in a 'negative' manner. By comparison, the interviewees of stakeholder group A and B pursue a 'positive' conception of peace, explicitly connecting it to the need of overcoming structural causes of conflict. However, when reading between the lines of what is said by C 1, although he does not use the same terms, he inexplicitly constructs peace as 'positive' by pointing out the structural causes of poverty and the lack of labor opportunities as reasons for him to join the armed group. Regarding the critic on the relativity and representativity of perspectives, it further must be said that the proportion of those who identify themselves as women, with four participants and one of them identifying as not cis-gendered, outweighs the 'male' perspectives which are represented by two participants. Moreover, engaging with ex-combatants and especially with such who specifically identify as perpetrators of BMV presented the greatest challenge because there was only one interviewee involved. Thus, resulting in missing experiences that cannot be displayed in this work. The difficulties of engaging with perpetrators of violence might be attributed to their marginalized and stigmatized status in society, which is why they do not want to identify themselves as such. But the reason may also be, as the interview with C 1 showed, that reporting such experiences is partly linked to the reactivation of traumatic experiences. The last two facts speak all the more for the need to include ex-combatants and perpetrators of bias-motivated violence into future research when it comes to dealing with the causes of violence and conflict. Furthermore, engaging with ex-combatants who themselves identify with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in future research would make the picture even more complete.

Although the selection of the interview partners was carried out using an intersectional approach, broader issues of intersectionality, especially those of power imbalances within the LGBT population, were not addressed within this work. Rather, people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC were referred to as a unity, whereas only inexplicitly bearing in mind the problematic nature of doing so. In contrast, Roig (2021) explicitly points out the inequalities due to misogyny and patriarchal components within the LGBT 'community' itself. These aspects should be included in further research on related topics.

6.3.1.2 The researcher

In part, the role of the author in this research process is critically reflected upon at the

beginning of this work (p. VII). Apart from the social categories which are opened up in this self-positioning, the author's expertise in the field of peace and conflict studies must be viewed critically. The author has not acquired profound academic knowledge in the respective area of study within an institutional framework. This work is based on practical experience in the field of civil conflict transformation which has been supported by independent academic research. By applying knowledge of development studies and de- and postcolonial-queer theory, an attempt was made to build a bridge and establish links to the field of peace and conflict studies. This has been successful to a certain extent but should be enhanced critically by in-depth expertise. Under these circumstances, however, the question arises again as to when knowledge and expertise are considered valid as such.

Moreover, the author's role within dominant discourses as well as the transformative potential of discursive approaches for political practice must be included into the process of reflection. Whereas a critical discursive approach identifies and problematizes the hardened, socially stabilized horizon of truth, one point of criticism which these approaches are confronted by concerns the contrasting of the material and the discursive (Wullweber, 2012, p. 49). However, following the understanding of Laclau and Mouffe applied in this work, the discursive and the material are not separable. The concept of materiality implies a historically consolidated constancy of actions that are reflected in tangible elements - Wullweber (2012) mentions here the construction of border fences (p. 48). The latter might be interpreted as the expression of, for example, migration policies. It is precisely this initially metaphorical consolidation of actions that are reflected in the material conditions of our reality that is contained in Laclau and Mouffe's concept of discourse (Wullweber, 2012, p. 48). For this reason, it can be concluded that critical discourse analysis is always part of critical political practice.

Nevertheless, the author's ability for a transformative endeavor under a discourse critical approach is limited. According to Foucault's understanding and following Derrida, the author does not have the ability to autonomously generate a discourse, since the individual and the discourse are already inscribed into power relations (Frank, 2012, p. 44). In this context, Frank (2012) speaks of "anticipatory self-censorship" (p. 47) without the need for external forces of intervention on an institutional basis. The fulfilment of this act of self-censorship, as a regulatory mechanism from within, largely determined by the distinction between the true and the false, is considered necessary in order to be heard

in the dominant discourse (Frank, 2012, pp. 46-47). Consequently, it is not only subaltern voices that are assimilated within the dominant discourse, but also those of the author regardless of the fact of speaking from an either subaltern or privileged position. However, in a collaborative process, the results of this research process might be made more tangible by translating them into the context of practical informal educational gatherings.

As the following chapter shows, de- and postcolonial-queer theories themselves are not spared from the criticism pointed out before. Furthermore, the implications of these circumstances are illustrated.

6.3.2 *What is being spoken about?*

What again became apparent throughout the interviews is that de- and postcolonial-queer theory is not immune to the very issues it criticizes. Following Spivak, and with the presumption of oneself inhabiting the structures that are being criticized, it is necessary to be skeptical about the present research process (Nandi, 2012, p. 126). The incapability of postcolonial theory to connect with social movements and subaltern individuals because of its complex and academic nature is pointed out by Castro Varela and Dhawan (2020, p. 354) and was confirmed by the present empirical investigation. With a view to the interviewees, it became visible that only those with a university degree possess knowledge on de- and postcolonial theory. In this sense it was difficult 'to speak the same language' with the interviewees who do not provide these points of contact with the respective theories. A 2 equally points out this dilemma by drawing on the example of queer theory and entitling it as "sophisticated":

And I think that when one considers [...] queer theory, which is like something very sophisticated, an imported theory, especially if we talk about the Colombian context, I think it is very difficult in general, how to make people understand that, as if there is not only woman or man, but there is a social construction that derives from differentiated genders and that will mark the identity, orientation, and diverse gender expression of people (A 2, #00:49:29#, author's translation).¹²⁴

In this sense, a major criticism is the transfer of concepts such as queer, empowerment, and accountability, especially in linguistic terms, to other contexts within this research process. This has been demonstrated, for example, by the difficulties in the translation of

¹²⁴ "Y creo que cuando uno ve [...] teoría queer, que es como algo bien sofisticado, una teoría importada, sobre todo si hablamos del contexto colombiano, creo que es muy difícil en general, cómo que la gente comprenda eso, como que oye no solamente hay mujer u hombre, sino que hay una construcción social que se deriva en géneros diferenciados y que va a marcar la identidad, orientación y expresión de género diversa de las personas" (A 2, #00:49:29#).

the accountability term, which may have contributed to a distortion of the results on the one hand. On the other hand, this created a discussion on the concept which under more essentialist circumstances may not have occurred. Consequently, the ambiguity concerning the term entailed a process that led to its reconceptualization as acknowledgement of social complicity regarding BMV and the recognition of non-heteronormative identities throughout society. In this sense, the aim of queering accountability was achieved by a process of uncertainty, communication and negotiation.

Furthermore, while Stakeholder group A and B mostly share a common discourse, C 1 seems to be disconnected from dominant discourses within political debates on the presented topics. In line with this, C 1 is not familiar with the LGBT terminology (C 1, #00:01:55#). However, as evidenced by the importance of engaging society as a whole, as emphasized by all stakeholders, the author infers that former combatant equally need to be more involved. C 1 gives critical insights on how the vicious circle of violence affected his way of being, behaving and thinking. Furthermore, his statements make clear that poverty and the lack of income opportunities were his motives for joining the armed group whereas his motives for exercising violence lie in the execution of orders coming from higher ranks rather than inner conviction. However, if perpetrators of violence are speaking from a subaltern perspective, they are, as was shown through this case study, not familiar with the terminology used in policy papers and programs, and thus have difficulty in connecting to a discourse in which they do not know what or whom is being talked about (C 1, #00:01:55# - #00:02:17#). In this sense, the imported terminology and concepts, at least in the Colombian context, is a constraint for the empowerment and accountability regarding people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC. Because this hinders not only from entering into a dialogue with survivors of BMV - those partly also rejecting imposed assignments like LGBT, empowerment and accountability as colonizing discourse and rather using re-signified pejorative terms - but also with perpetrators. Therefore, de- and postcolonial-queer theory must be made more accessible to the global majority whereby this can be done by continuing to diversify and include subaltern voices into future research. In concrete terms it should be investigated on what can be done to break down the complexities and abstractness of these theories in order to translate them into more comprehensible language being closer to the reality of people's lives.

6.3.3 *Where is being spoken?*

The geographical focus for the interview conduction was on Cartagena and Barranquilla,

cities in the Caribbean region, and Bogotá, the capital. Among the most affected regions of the armed conflict in Colombia are the Andean region, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021). Cartagena and Barranquilla are part of the Caribbean, Bogotá forms part of the Andean region. Yet, this selection of the interview locations must be considered critical based on the following reasoning. Within the logic of the colonial matrix of power, as being part of Colombia, these cities form part of the periphery in the global context. Yet, within Colombia, most cases of BMV occur in rural and remote areas where armed actors have taken complete control due to the absence of the state (Caribe Afirmativo, 2021). Consequently, due to the centralized concentration of political power in Colombian cities, within the global periphery, Bogotá, Barranquilla, and Cartagena must be considered as local political centers compared to rural areas. As a result, the most excluded among the excluded, the most affected among the affected who do not have any access to organized political processes could not be included. Hence, to a certain extent, the research contributed to the invisibilization of subaltern voices. This was due to security issues on the one hand and limited financial and time resources on the other. Consequently, it is of relevance that the ideas raised within the small research framework of this master-thesis are being picked up by larger research projects whether institutionalized or within the framework of a dissertation in order to include a wider variety of perspectives.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the empirical research findings relate to the specific case of the armed conflict in Colombia. Future research could address the extent to which these findings and the recommendations derived from them presented below are transferable to other FCVAS. Another point that applies to Colombia in particular, as was also noted in the interviews, but which could not be explicitly considered in this paper, is the connection of the conflict to historical land grabbing and forced displacement. The latter being also deeply rooted in colonialism and linked to Catholic convictions (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, pp. 78-80), have their continuity in modern forms of land grabbing and should accordingly be enhanced in future de- and postcolonial analyses of conflict causes.

6.4 Inspirations for the *how*

This chapter is concerned with the practical implications of the research findings. Based on the synthesis of the theoretical basis and the empirical findings in this work as well as by considering the identified deficiencies of the research process, the author formulates

the following recommendations for queering empowerment and accountability towards a decolonial praxis in the PDN. These recommendations are addressed to all those who feel connected to the goals of decolonization in an interdisciplinary field of work requiring a multiplicity of perspectives of scholars, fieldworkers, social and communitarian leaderships, grass-roots activism, CSOs and NGOs as well as policy makers and other government officials. Building on each other, those recommendations that precede should be applied when implementing those that follow.

6.4.1 *Networking: appreciating the resources of the different actors*

As derived from the empirical research, recommendations for a decolonial praxis in the PDN by the empowerment of and accountability for people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC requires to involve a broad network of actors. Communitarian leaderships, the community itself, CSOs, NGOs as well as DC agencies and state institutions are seen as equally important players for the E&A of people with non heteronormative SOGIESC. All stakeholders assume different roles within their mandates and have different resources in terms of knowledge, money, time, power and influence at local and political levels. By aligning these resources in pursuit of a common goal, they can bundle them according to the *power with* domain, which is a key element of empowerment. In contrast to a purely oppressive view of the state, the state is seen in its role as a ‘protector’ and important ally to guarantee the rights of SOGIESC. A particular need is seen in filling the gaps of health supply and education services and in guaranteeing fundamental rights that have been exploited by armed actors. Thinking of the grassroots in a broader way further means engaging with perpetrators of bias-motivated violence and ending the demonization of ex-combatants. A sensitive approach to dealing with ex-combatants is just as important as dealing with survivors of BMV. The latter, as the particular case within this research has shown, need to be approached to some extent also as victims of an exploitative economic system and patriarchy, however, without neglecting their personal responsibility. When strategizing development work for peacebuilding this network of actors needs to be taken into account, not only at an operational but also at the internal level of the program team.

6.4.2 *Strategizing: from the practices of practitioners to a decolonial praxis*

Practitioners in the PDN, i.e., those who shape and execute the everyday work need to be aware of their practices, meaning their routinized types of behavior in order to decolonize

praxis being the concrete situated applying of strategy. The concrete use of a decolonial strategy implies practicing what is preached. Making policies on inclusion and equality gains credibility and also effectiveness when these theoretical normative aspirations are translated into the practice of development cooperation agencies at the internal level. This implies creating structures of equality regarding national and international staff members and increasing team diversity with respect to knowledge, SOGIESC, education, class, race, ability, and so on. Especially in terms of diversifying forms of knowledge and considering the privileges associated with formal education, more local activists, community members and ex-combatants should be recruited rather than relying on external 'expats'. Local activists, for instance, are often more aware of contextual factors and already 'participate' in certain programs on an unpaid basis. These people could further be assigned the tasks suggested in the following recommendations.

6.4.3 *Queering decolonial program work*

In many international DC programs, as in the case of ProPaz II, positions for gender-related topics or gender focal points already exist. These should adapt a holistic vision of gender by including the perspectives and demands of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC. In addition, new positions should be generated with responsibilities for decolonizing program work. There should be close cooperation between gender and decolonial focal points. However, this work should not be done in addition to the daily business, but as a cross-cutting task. For this purpose, regular in-house workshops on decolonial gender-related topics with the entire program team are of great importance in order to increase the awareness of all staff members for the issue. These spaces may contribute to understand the reasons for the occurrence of BMV which is considered necessary in order to take steps for prevention.

In this context, the task of acknowledging complicity in terms of the impact of colonialism on the global South can be picked up by raising awareness on the issue amongst communities and by identifying what would constitute reparations for them. Engaging with and supporting people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC at the community level should be done in the terms which are defined by these people themselves opposed to top-down agenda-setting from the international to the local level. In this way, deconstruction processes might be initiated, resulting in the transformation of the binary system. The latter being considered necessary to achieve equality and BMV violence since such violence is the product of the construction of the 'other' based on binary gender

norms. In this way, a contribution is made to understand GBV and BMV nowadays and transform current imaginaries about gender which promote conflict-fueling behavior. However, adapting to and making use of self-designation terms must be applied with caution and contextual sensitivity. What is meant by this can be illustrated by contrasting the 'N-word' and the term 'queer'. While both terms have been appropriated and re-signified as part of a process of empowerment, they cannot be used in the same way by everyone. While 'queer' can be used by anyone, since any person can identify as queer regardless of race, a white person should not use the 'N-word', considering that it symbolizes the global dehumanization of Black people and thus legitimized slavery based on assumed white supremacy. In this regard, development practitioners must be sensitive about using specific terms as defined by the community.

By adapting pedagogic elements into program work the proposed collaborative workshops in FCVAS between development practitioners, people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC and their communities may offer opportunities to create hybrid spaces for encounter. At the same time, *safer spaces* destined exclusively to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC are equally important and should be maintained and expanded. As raised in the interviews, the idea of setting up events, meetings and workshops in urban areas on the condition of financing transport for people from rural areas is viewed critically. The reason for this is that it favors a centralized production of knowledge, which is contrary to what, for example, NGOs working towards decolonial practices are calling for. In this sense, further work is needed to create secure places for the participation of LGBT people in the periphery. Together, these scenarios may enable empowerment processes in the sense of *reactivation* and *conscientization* about root causes of socio-economic injustices and exclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, promoting identity building, autorecognition, self-designation and community organizational structure. A strong community-led organizational structure for reporting human rights' violations and pressuring government institutions on a local level was also identified by the A4EA research program as key in resistance to armed groups (Joshi, 2019, p. 103). This *reactivation* process should further take place in terms of denaturalizing bias-motivated violence by addressing the socially entrenched consensus of it as being okay and normal because of a person's deviation from the norm. Particularly in FCVAS and in cases like Colombia, where conflict has been ongoing for more than six decades, BMV is not perceived as such and often treated as the way things work. Denaturalization in these terms would help to prevent the

inversion of guilt and victim blaming. In concrete terms and related to the specific case of ProPaz II in Colombia, DC can contribute to this by promoting intersectional mechanisms and methodologies to include the aspects of SOGIESC into the investigation of violence and murder against LGBT people. Doing so, forms of BMV are recognized and made visible, perhaps with a particular focus on transgender individuals as the elimination of the 'other' is strongly related to visibility and hiding diverse SOGIESC is certainly more difficult in these cases. The GIZ can engage in and reinforce the dialogue with the JEP aiming at opening a macro case for sexual violence thereby promoting an intersectional perspective within the transitional justice mechanisms. In addition, from the interviews arose the necessity to enhance the dialogue with public security forces and Catholic and other religious institutions.

The empirical study further disclosed that elements of transformative justice cannot be found within the current dominant discourse on transitional justice in this specific case. Therefore, the prevalent socio-economic demands expressed by the LGBT population are not included within the ProPaz II's mandate which points to a - to some extent - *negative* perception of peace. Consequently, another recommendation is to reinforce a *positive* perception of peace in order to overcome socio-economic inequalities and respond to the demands of LGBT people thereby reinforcing the nexus between peacebuilding and development. By applying these recommendations and adopting a capability approach to human rights, transformative elements can be integrated into the current transitional justice model. In this way and by empowering and ensuring accountability to people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, a contribution can be made to decolonial peacebuilding-development praxis nexus.

7 Conclusion

Discussing non-heteronormative SOGIESC in FCVAS may, at first glance, tempt to tell solely a story of victimization. However, upon listening, it becomes apparent that, additionally, there is a story of resistance and resilience to be told in which people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC appear as agents of change. Based on an elaborated synthesis of de- and postcolonial-queer theory in the first section of this work, this research process has shown how the racialized and gendered subject retains agency and possibilities of empowerment despite the restrictions that arise from discursive and resulting materialistic power relations. The basis for this is not to see power as exclusively repressive and reduced to the law, but rather, as Foucault did, as a relationship being the product of negotiation processes and multiple, partly contradictory, worldviews. This conception of power is consistent with Gramsci's (1971) constitution of hegemony through processes of negotiation in civil society and makes power an open, dynamic, and alive formation in a constant process of becoming. This liveliness entails transformability and opens the possibility of empowerment processes. Following the gender perspectives of Lugones (2008), Oyewùmí (1997), and Allen ([1986] 1992), the modifications that colonization entailed regarding the organization of sex and gender became visible, opening the possibility of questioning and deconstructing those. In this context, the category woman, defined by anatomy, and subordinated to men, was identified as a constitutive element for the establishment and at the same time the first achievement of the patriarchal colonial state. Addressing the problematic nature of this socially constructed category and exploring agency and empowerment of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC, answers were found in Spivak's strategic essentialism and Butler's genealogy of women. The former recognizes that essentialist identity categories must be challenged but cannot be avoided at times, while the latter promotes political action in alliances based on overlapping and indirect connections, but consciously acknowledging and explicitly addressing differences.

At the same time, this deconstructive process has succeeded in making visible the above-mentioned limitations of agency and empowerment of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC in FCVAS in the form of GBV and BMV while revealing the underlying causes of these phenomena. Most added value was gained by applying the synthesis of de- and postcolonial-queer theory to the PDN, as it was possible to directly link the causes of BMV to the emergence of armed conflict and war-fueling behavior. Thus, it was possible to

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answer the first part of the overreaching research question of *why* the equality of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC leads to more sustainable peace. The reason for this is that the recognition of this population, by the appreciation and acceptance of femininity and its associated characteristics, contributes to overcoming patriarchal power structures, which in turn play a major role in the emergence and continuity of war. Furthermore, it was found that both violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC and armed conflicts in post-colonial contexts are based on exclusionary practices having their roots in colonially established social orders. These orders are based on both racialized and sex/gender categories. Returning to the case studies of Dayana and Giselle presented in the introduction, it can be noted that in the Colombian context, the two Black transgender women symbolize the *enemigo interno*, the 'enemy within'. This term parallels the original meaning of the Anglicized term *queer* which originally translated as 'strange', 'peculiar', or 'weird' and was used pejoratively to refer to people who did not conform to cis-gender heteronormativity. In Colombia, however, the imported term *queer* is rarely used. Yet, a similar discursive pattern can be observed in relation to the *enemigo interno*, whereby people who differ from cis-gender heteronormativity in their being, thinking, and acting, among other things, are considered morally inferior. In this way, acts of violence directed against the 'enemy within' - the deviation from the heterosexual white male norm - are legitimized and perpetrators of BMV draw on social acceptance and consent based on the underlying heteronormative hegemony. In FCVAS, armed actors take advantage of these structures, picking up practices of exclusion and radicalizing them in terms of their violent and systematic nature. Here it becomes apparent why violence against people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC is exacerbated in FCVAS. In turn, the equality of these people means to fundamentally question this globally established asymmetrical and war-mongering order thereby being able to lead to more peaceful societies.

However, the aporias inherent in decolonial approaches became particularly evident at the discursive level by the key terms used in this work as shown not least by the example of the term 'queer' provided above. These terminological peculiarities are representative of a central result and simultaneously point of critic emerging from the empirical research process. Conducting qualitative research with development practitioners, SOGIESC activists and an ex-combatant in a post-colonial FCVAS such as Colombia, the importance of not simply transferring concepts elaborated in the global North without sufficiently

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reflecting them was highlighted. De- and postcolonial-queer theory in this context demonstrated to be sophisticated with little ability to connect to subaltern discourses. This also applies to the concept of empowerment, which, contradictory, under these circumstances might even be considered a top-down approach failing to achieve its goals if those involved do not know what the terms describes. However, for the concept of accountability, this situation of uncertainty of meaning entailed a process of reframing and queering accountability succeeded in its redefinition as *recognition* of SOGIESC identity and rights and the *acknowledgement of social complicity* when it comes to BMV in post-colonial contexts. These two elements resulted in being of central importance as nexus points between and with the aim of queering empowerment and accountability. Therefore, concerning the second part of the overreaching research question - of *how* equality and inclusion of people with non-heteronormative SOGIESC can be operationalized in the praxis of the PDN - possibilities for decolonial practices in development cooperation emerged by drawing on E&A and engaging with a network of diverse actors. At this point the role of DC as facilitator for E&A - when starting from local and contextual pluralities of gender and the demands as defined by the communities in collaboration with CSOs, NGOs, communitarian leaderships, grass-roots activism but also perpetrators of BMV and ex-combatants - became visible. As for the latter group, it can be said that it occupies a particularly marginalized position in the processes of peacebuilding and development and is hardly involved in the prevailing discourses. Yet, peace and development have been reframed by the totality of stakeholder groups in the course of the empirical investigation. A sustainable PDN is - as opposed to what is suggested by dominant liberal paradigms - mainly considered to be able to be achieved by overcoming socio-economic inequalities thereby reaching a balance within society by its inclusion and participation as a whole. Consequently, the need to also connect to the suffering of the perpetrator in order to break through spirals of violence and overcome patriarchy was revealed.

Therefore, future research on the PDN should take on the task of involving a broader picture of the grass-roots level so that this diversification of voices can make de- and postcolonial-queer theory more connectable to social movements and civil society in general. Future research on this topic should also focus more closely on power imbalances within the population with non-heteronormative SOGIESC focusing on 'the most marginalized within the marginalized' and widening the intersectional approach by considering further categories of social exclusion such as, e.g., ability. In addition to

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impaired gender relations, other causes of violent conflict and their interplay with the latter should be investigated more in detail by applying de- and postcolonial-queer theory in order to reveal historically grown practices of land grabbing and forced displacement. Despite these issues that could not be addressed due to the narrow scope of this work, it could nevertheless provide added value for both theory and practice. Altogether this work made a valuable contribution to the current tendency of feminist development cooperation politics. This was done both on the discursive level and by having provided concrete practical recommendations for a decolonial-queer scope of action in the PDN with the aim of reaching a more pacific and balanced co-existence over the globe in terms of humanity and nature. These recommendations include, e.g., diversifying DC staff members, creating positions for implementing decolonial program work and in that way taking a leading role in the acknowledgement of social complicity for BMV against the background of colonial legacies.

However, contrarily to this aspiration, the analysis of the current constitution of the PDN has shown that the latter is still an intertwined construct entrenched into heteronormative and racist gazes arising from the dualism of the superior West and the 'uncivilized' others. Therefore, liberal peacebuilding initiatives fit right into the theory of modernization of development and vice versa, serving, promoting, and reinforcing each other. However, the empirical research has demonstrated the growing consciousness for colonial issues and linked historically grown socio-economic inequalities due to the recruitment of more local employees in DC agencies. Furthermore, the nation-state itself, democracy, development, and the human rights discourse are not wholly rejected by the involved stakeholder groups but an adaptation of these is demanded which corresponds to the needs and life realities of people in the global South.

In this context the question remains open in what way the peacebuilding-development praxis nexus would be affected if countries of the global North publicly and transparently acknowledged the profound global socio-economic and, not least, ecological consequences of colonialism. How would narratives and discourses shift, and what changes might these new narratives bring upon, not only to the praxis of the PBN, but also to global power asymmetries? In order to get deeper answers regarding these far-reaching practical implications, it is essential to address socio-economic inequalities and exclusion as a reproduction and extension of colonial power structures together with the most affected people. This can be done, for example, by including transformative justice

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elements into the current transitional justice model. From there, the demands and concerns of communities could be uncovered, made visible, and integrated into PDN praxis in order to continue to decolonize it. It is questionable and perhaps utopian whether there will ever be a complete equilibrium in society. However, it is precisely this existence of a utopia in the minds and hearts of people in the pursuit of justice that mobilizes resistance and struggles. In this sense, this thesis is concluded by quoting Spivak (1990):

[...] when we actually brush our teeth, or clean ourselves everyday, or take exercise, we don't think of it as fighting a losing battle against mortality, but, in fact, all of these efforts are doomed to failure because we are going to die. (p. 104)

In the light of this work, this statement is interpreted to mean that the struggle for a more peaceful world, like the struggle against the decay of human bodies, always involves the quite likely risk of failure. As Spivak points out here, however, it would be self-destructive to consciously advance this process of failure by both destructive and even ignorant practices. It is equally devastating for society to stand silently by in the awareness of global socio-economic and environmental injustices. Knowing that a return to a pre-colonial utopia that has never existed anyway is not possible, this work has consciously taken the risk of failure in the deconstruction process in order to make a minimal contribution to a more equal world. An attempt, however, that in sum is not necessarily fruitless, but unfolds its effect in collective power.

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Appendix

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The author's declaration

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich meine Master-Thesis zum Thema:

„Queering Empowerment and Accountability – Towards a Decolonial Peacebuilding-Development Praxis Nexus“

selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen Hilfsmittel, als die angegebenen benutzt habe. Alle Stellen, die von Autor:innen wörtlich oder sinngemäß übernommen sind, habe ich durch Angaben von Quellen als Zitat kenntlich gemacht. Die Arbeit wurde bisher weder in Teilen noch insgesamt einer anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt und auch noch nicht veröffentlicht.

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