QUEERING THE WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA

a practice-based toolkit

The British Academy

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Introducing the Toolkit

This toolkit is for those who are interested in including lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer women in a gender analysis of peace and security and how WPS applies to LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) communities more broadly. This toolkit is also for feminist and LGBTQ+ organizations working on gendered dimensions of peace and security programming. Academics and students interested in 1) strengthening their understanding of heteronormative and cisgender assumptions within gender, peace and security and 2) connecting WPS to the everyday through the lens of LGBTQ+ experiences will also find this toolkit of relevance.

On language

We use the acronym LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and others)[1] to describe people with nonhegemonic sexual orientations, and gender identities. We also use "queer and trans" as another collective adjective to describe these same populations, and LBTQ women to focus on women specifically. When discussing Colombia Diversa's work, we use "LBTQ women" and "SOGIE issues" recognizing the organization does not have the information to meaningfully aggregate experiences based on sexual characteristics or intersex people.

Who is this toolkit for?

We want this to be a useful toolkit for those organizations who can engage with Women, Peace and Security through the four pillars (prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery) of the agenda. For each pillar we include discrete actions that are aimed at NGOs, policy makers and feminist organizations who would like to support LGBTQ+ organizations doing this work.

What is this toolkit for?

The WPS architecture has yet to engage with inclusion of LBTQ women in most programmatic work and conflict interventions. The focus of the toolkit is to highlight the key questions, action points and interventions to address this gap.

We draw on insights from ongoing work by the organization Colombia Diversa, to provide a guide ways forward to queering the implementation of the WPS agenda. Based on their work

supporting LBTQ women's engagement with the WPS agenda and continued engagement in SOGIESC (sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics) efforts in Colombia more broadly. The focus on the Colombian case is not to name it as a typical context. Instead we look to this work in Colombia to offer key learnings and reflections. We suggest that the ongoing queering WPS work in Colombia be approached as a laboratory to then apply what might be relevant or useful in your own context.

Each section provides guidance on actions for next steps, a long with reflection questions. Supplementary worksheets and additional resources are online, accessible via the QR code listed on the last page.

How to use this toolkit?

Follow the relevant sections (queering the four pillars of WPS, feminist and LGBTQ collaborations, queering the National Action Plan) to examine your work on women, peace and security. You don't need to read this toolkit from start to finish – use the sections and tools that are useful to you. This toolkit is not intended to be comprehensive – it contains information on other available resources. We welcome your feedback, including recommendations of additional tools to share to supplement the toolkit.

Note on positionality:

Queen's University Belfast, Colombia Diversa, and Christian Aid (UK and Colombia) collaborated on this toolkit. This allowed the team to work in a multidisciplinary way, bringing in expertise from critical security studies, peace and conflict studies, queer theory, feminist peacebuilding and transitional justice. Besides their geographic roots in Latin America their geographic roots in Latin America, the researchers brought to the project a variety of lived experiences from the United Kingdom, the United States, and South Asia. All researchers, research participants and interlocutors were always seen as equal participants in the project, with an ethic of creative collaboration. We used this to frame the ethics of the Bogotá workshop in October 2022. Throughout the project, the researchers intentionally sought feedback and review from a wide range of activists and academics so that the toolkit could be constructed in a collaborative way.

Glossary [1]

Cisgender: used to describe people whose sense of their own gender is aligned with the sex that they were assigned at birth. Gender identity is distinct from sexual orientation and sex characteristics.

Cisprivilege: The social advantage enjoyed by those who are cisgender/cissexual.

Gender-based violence: harmful acts directed at an individual or a group of individuals based on their gender. It is rooted in gender inequality, the abuse of power and harmful norms. The term is primarily used to underscore structural, gender-based power differentials place women and girls at risk for multiple forms of violence. While women and girls suffer disproportionately from GBV, men and boys and nonbinary people can also be targeted. Sometimes used to describe targeted violence against LGBTIQ+ populations, when referencing violence related to enforcing norms of masculinity/femininity and/or gender norms.

Gender expression: external manifestation of different characteristics culturally considered masculine or feminine. May include bodily interventions (i. e. surgical procedures or hormonal processes), mode of speech, dress, manners, and interaction with other people.

Gender identity: reflects a deeply felt and experienced sense of one's own gender. Everyone has a gender identity, typically aligned with the sex assigned them at birth.

Heteronormative: the concept that heterosexuality is the preferred or normal mode of sexual orientation.

Nonbinary: a person whose gender expression or identity does not respond to the binary understanding of gender (female/male).

Sexual orientation: a person's physical, romantic and/or emotional attraction towards other people. Everyone has a sexual orientation, which is part of their identity. Gay men and lesbians are attracted to individuals of the same sex as themselves. Heterosexual people are attracted to individuals of a different sex from themselves. Bisexual ("bi") people may be attracted to individuals of the same or different sex. Sexual orientation is not related to gender identity and sex characteristics. Asexual people do not experience sexual attraction toward individuals of any gender.

Transgender: umbrella term used to describe people with a wide range of identities including transsexual people, cross-dressers

(sometimes referred to as "transvestites"), people who identify as third gender, and others whose appearance and characteristics are seen as gender atypical and whose sense of their own gender is different to the sex they were assigned at birth. Trans women are women who were classified as male when they were born. Trans men are men who were classified female when they were born.

Queer (n): umbrella term for those with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities.

Queering: applying queer concepts to systems (peace processes, social service distribution) or concepts (gender, security, peace), informed by queer experience.

Women, Peace and Security Agenda: a policy framework that recognizes women must be critical actors in all efforts to achieve sustainable international peace and security. WPS promotes a gendered perspective and women's equal and meaningful participation in peace processes, peacebuilding and security. The WPS Agenda evolved from the first U.N. Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, adopted on October 31, 2000. There are now 10 WPS resolutions promoting a gender perspective in peace and security.

Acronyms

CSO Civil Society Organization

LBTQ Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer

LGBTQ+ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer

NAPs National Action Plans

SOGIE Sexual orientation, Gender Identity and Gender Expression

INGO International Non-Governmental Organization

UNSCR 1325 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

WPS Women, Peace and Security

Framing the Toolkit

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Key Point

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people and their experiences aren't mentioned in the ten UN SCRs that make up the WPS agenda. WPS still largely excludes LGBTQ+ people, even LBTQ women.

Understanding intersectionality[4]

There are some discriminations that reinforce each other. In 1977, the Combahee River Collective discussed Black feminism in relation to other movements. Their "antiracist and anti-sexist" positions brought them together. Several of their members were lesbians. During the Peace Process in Colombia, people's experiences were explored by looking at how race, gender, sexuality, ability, and class intersect. This is called the differential approach.

The international community has formally lobbied for mainstreaming women's inclusion in peace processes through the Security Council for over two decades.[2] In 2000 the Security Council passed resolution 1325 (UN SCR 1325)[3], the first United Nations Security Council Resolution to draw attention to women and girls during conflict, and acknowledge the gendered dimensions of conflict. The now ten WPS resolutions, as well as the extensive monitoring and implementation work on their behalf, are known as the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) architecture. These resolutions do not mention lesbian, bisexual or transgender women, or sexuality in general. This omission makes the WPS agenda implicitly heteronormative (assuming straight is normal or better) and cisnormative (assuming cisgender people whose gender align with the gender assigned at birth are normal or better).

UN SCR 1325 explicitly calls for a gender perspective in all peace and security efforts. Implementing this gender perspective as outlined in UN SCR 1325 is also about understanding how masculinity relates to patterns of violence, and what role men play in confronting ongoing patriarchal violence.

The WPS agenda has four pillars of engagement: participation, conflict prevention, protection and relief and recovery. Each of these pillars draws specifically on language from resolution UN SCR 1325. Initiatives under the **prevention** pillar focus on the prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict environments. The **participation** pillar calls for women's equal participation and gender equality in peace and security decision-making processes at all levels. The **protection** pillar ensures women and girls are protected from all forms of sexual and gender-based violence and their rights are protected and promoted in conflict situations. The fourth pillar **relief and recovery** ensures the specific relief needs of women are met and their capacities to act as agents in relief and recovery are strengthened in conflict and postconflict situations.

Decades after the passing of UN 1325, the WPS agenda is now so much more than the resolutions or what happens regarding their implementation. Even the National Action Plans (NAPs) written by governments (which we explore in the third section of this toolkit) is only a part of the bigger picture of WPS work. We recognize that implementing an **intersectional gender perspective** in all peace and security should also link to ongoing work in people's everyday lives to work for gender justice. As you will see, we recognize one

of the most important ways to transform WPS through queering, is to take seriously the harm caused by everyday violence. Recognizing this violence will in turn improve the daily lived experience of peace, for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer people.

Queering WPS

What is a feminist commitment?

Female empowerment and gender mainstreaming alone don't make feminist change. Having a feminist commitment means working to dismantle unequal power structures. Peace and security work needs to confront colonialism, militarism, sexism, racism, and patriarchy to dismantle these power structures.

Conflict dynamics, military operations and global and local politics are shaped by gender norms and sexuality. However, these dimension of conflict is often left out of WPS and research about violent conflict in general.[5] Queering the WPS agenda offers an opportunity to include women, but also work towards a transformative approach to gender, peace and security. Queering requires a **feminist commitment** and an **anti-militaristic approach** to gender, peace and security initiatives.

Too often "gender" is used as a synonym for women when gender analysis applies to everyone, and relates to sexuality. Everyone has a sexual orientation and gender identity, not just LGBTQ+ people.

There is still a predominantly binary approach to gender used when talking about WPS. Queering WPS involves expanding our understanding of "women" and "gender" to get away from essentialist and limited thinking.[6] This binary approach divides people into two groups according to their genitals (male and female), organizing those groups into gendered behaviors typical of the assigned group (men and women, respectively). This binary system distributes power in societies to value men and the "masculine" as more powerful and significant than women and the "feminine."

An LGBTQ+ inclusive analysis of WPS shows there are a lot of identities that don't fit neatly into two binary categories.[4] "Woman" is often used in WPS discourse as the simple opposite of "man", suggesting only two genders in a fixed and binary relationship. This limited understanding assumes that everyone is cisgender leaving out transgender, non-binary and other individuals who are not cisgender. Civil society organizations should be wary of cissexism, or the assumption that only cisgender people are "normal" and "right", in their crucial monitoring work on the implementation of the WPS documents.

Feminist practice in implementing the WPS agenda means supporting and uplifting women's voices. The same applies to engaging with the LGBTQ community and WPS. CSOs should be aware that because of compulsory heterosexuality[8] many queer

An anti-militaristic approach is closely aligned with a feminist commitment to peace and security. Institutions like the military and patriarchy reinforce each other. An anti-militarist approach refuses understanding the military as a normative "good." There are close links between imperialism and militarism, especially in how racism and capitalism feed into militarism. Military values are also profoundly heteronormative and reinforce cisprivilege. Queering encourages us to think about peaceful practices without guns and uniforms.

people are not open about their sexual orientation. However, this does not mean that these people would not be open about their sexual orientation or gender identity if prompted to speak about it within an LGBTQ+ welcoming environment.

Queer analysis shows how heteronormativity helps sustain and provide political power. Queering the WPS agenda means including LGBTQ+ people in risk analysis, characterization, and security measures. Queering is about LGBTQ+ people getting involved in policy making, reporting, and monitoring within the WPS framework.

While the possibilities for queering will vary by context, and will change over time, we look to the ongoing queering efforts in Colombia to offer a closer look at queering WPS in practice.[9] At the same time, even with all these advances in Colombia, there is still daily discrimination against LGBTQ+ people. This discrimination may come from public officials, from family members or within civil society. We say this to acknowledge that even as legal advances are made, there are still underlying prejudices that must be socially addressed on a continual basis. Recognizing these limitations, in this toolkit, we highlight things feminist organizations working on peace and security issues can apply to their ongoing work to bring a gender perspective to peace and security.

We begin this toolkit with some background and critical analysis that will inform these for queering in practice, through deep dive consultancies, building coalitions and working towards bringing a queer approach to documents like National Action Plans.

The knowledge we share is useful in practical ways like improving fieldwork practices and making your organization more welcoming to and collaborative with LGBTQ+ communities. Together this critical analysis, and the grounded practices we offer, can make for a more expansive perspective on gender and a better WPS agenda for everyone.

Colombia as a laboratory for queering WPS

There's a lot we can learn from Colombians about queering WPS. LGBTQ+ people have been especially affected by repression and human rights violations in Colombia's history of armed conflict. The inclusion of LGBTQ+ perspectives in the WPS agenda can have relevance across the Latin America and Caribbean region, as well as in other conflict-affected contexts.

LGBTQ+ organizations, manifestations and gatherings have existed in Colombia since the 1940s. However, this movement has not always been visible due to discrimination from Colombian society. By the end of 1980s the LGBTQ+ movement started gaining traction and building formal organizations with strong international allies like the LGBTIQ- human rights organizations Instituto Lambda, Outright International and The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA).

In 2004 the NGO Colombia Diversa was founded to hold the Colombian government accountable for LGBT human rights.[10] Since then, it has participated in several legal reform initiatives. Since 2012 it has begun to focus specifically on LGBT people in the context of the Colombian armed conflict.[11] Legal victories have been won mainly through the constitutional court, the first landmark ruling being in 1993 (enabling transgender people to formally change their names), and the most recent one in 2016 (marriage equality). With the 2016 ruling, formal equality was achieved in Colombia for LGBT people. This included rights to marriage, adoption, social security services, non-discrimination incentives, free hormonal and surgical procedures for transgender people and LGBT children's protection.

Manuel's Story

In Colombia, the Victims Unit Register (RUV) is compiling information and compensating victims of the armed conflict. Manuel Velandia is the first LGBTQIA+ person on the registry. In 2007, Velandia fled Colombia for asylum in Spain, where he still lives today and participates in Colombian debates.

Colombia Diversa is the leading organization working to include LBTQ women's perspectives in the WPS agenda.[12] In 2021 Colombia Diversa wrote a report about the relevance of UN SCR 1325 to some contemporary problems in the country. In the years since the report, Colombia Diversa has continued to inform the WPS agenda in Colombia by feeding into the development of the country's first National Action Plan. In 2022, the organization hosted the first LBT Forum to present specific recommendations from queer and trans women to include in the NAP, and how to align this with the gender provisions in the peace agreement.

The Colombian experience is atypical. We know that many of the recommended actions to queer work on WPS assume a relatively protected legal environment, but in many contexts it's overtly hostile. Still, we know there are countries out there that can do a lot more to queer Women, Peace, and Security.

Frequently asked questions

What does it mean to define gender and women in a *more expansive* way?

Gender is a set of social rules that establish what attitudes, behaviors, or expressions are expected of a person according to the sex assigned to them at birth. These rules in many cases impose heterosexuality as the only valid desire, and tie gender identity to genitalia. For example, in patriarchal contexts social rules expect that people with female genitalia should be feminine, yearn to be mothers and exercise caring roles. These social rules about gender will vary in different cultural contexts.

Recognizing gender in a more expansive way means valuing the experiences of lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer women as part of the community of women supported by the WPS agenda. A more expansive approach to gender recognizes that everyone has a sexual orientation and a gender identity. Likewise, a more expansive approach to gender recognizes how important sexuality is to implement a gender perspective in all women, peace and security work. Although the terms are at times used to mean the same thing, sexual orientation is not the same thing as gender identity. Sexual orientation refers to who someone is attracted to while gender identity is about how a someone understands their own gender.

Why is it important to focus on lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer (LBTQ) women specifically?

Lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer women are still so often left out of the WPS agenda. A narrow definition of "women" has neglected to include LBTQ women or LGBT rights organizations in this struggle. In other words, the framework lacks an understanding of all the social and political implications of gendered power dynamics beyond those understood between men and women.

There are underlying assumptions driving the WPS agenda that can be very exclusive. One of these assumptions is that the struggle for LGBTQ+ human rights and responding to transphobic and homophobic violence may not be relevant to the WPS agenda. **In practice, there are strong links between the work being done by those implementing the WPS agenda, and LGBTQ+ organizations or human rights defenders protecting LGBTQ+ people living in their conflict-affected communities.** Remember:

Considering LGBT Women

1. In your community, what are the biggest insecurities for LBTQ women?

2. Do LBTQ women in your community reach out to the police for protection when they're at risk? If not, where do they go?

3. In your ongoing WPS work, what leadership roles might LBTQ women take on?

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everyone has a sexual orientation and a gender identity, not just LGBTQ+ people.

Conflict actors frequently target LGBTQ+ people through sexual violence, humiliation, and extortion. LBTQ women are made more vulnerable when their identities are ignored or silenced within their own community. This is then again made worse when international actors considering gendered harms do not also think about harms experienced by LGBTQ+ people in gender, peace and security initiatives.

Why should women's peacebuilding organizations focus on LGBTQ+ rights and not just LGBTQ+ organizations?

There are a lot of ways to promote a *queering* of WPS. In many instances simply being very intentional about how you're using the words *gender* and *women* in practice can make a big difference. Taking queer and trans lives seriously means recognizing not only the challenges faced by LGBTQ+ people, but also the opportunities for including queer and trans leaders in WPS.

Many people feel they are not educated enough to support queering work, especially those who are not members of the LGBTQ+ community. Nevertheless, it is crucial that all organizations working toward gender justice also engage with LGBTQ+ communities on promoting sexual rights as they are so deeply intertwined with women's rights.

This connection has become more relevant in the rise of anti-LGBTQ and specifically anti-trans attacks. If you know you do not have the expertise in your peacebuilding organization to engage in sexual politics or on LGBTQ+ rights, connect with those individuals or organizations who do. Hire a consultant with a local LGBTQ+ organization to be a part of gender, peace and security initiatives at the planning stage (rather than the review stage). As we detail in section two of this toolkit, you can also organize a training or workshop to strengthen collaborations between feminist and LGBTQ+ organizations.

How do we avoid imposing Western ideas about gender and sexuality on south-based countries?

The best way to avoid imposing Western ideas about gender and sexuality is to ask the organizations you're working with what language you should be using about gender diverse communities. **Modeling in-country research and working directly with LGBTQ+ communities will help ensure the language you use follows best practice.** Feminist and peacebuilding organizations working to align themselves with LGBTQ+ advocacy will need to discuss best language to use in each context. Remember, all sexual orientations and gender identities are socially constructed, including cisgender identities and heterosexual sexualities.

Answering this question should be embedded within your organization's broader work for decolonizing, and translating language. Again, the answer for how and when to translate queer is not one size fits all, and varies dependent on context. Resources that may be helpful include fact sheets and reports available from the UN Free and Equal Campaign and ongoing work by the Decolonizing Sexualities network.[13]

Why argue for *gender*, peace and security?

Being intentional about the language we use is an important part of feminist and queer work. **Moving from WPS to gender, peace and security is one way to signal a commitment to the broader**

conversation about gender as a system of power as it relates to peace and security. This also means a recognition that gender means a broader and more diverse spectrum of gender identities and sexual orientations than just cisgender and heterosexual women and girls. This broader conversation about gender includes men's engagement in WPS, LGBTQ+ experiences, and the increasing role that narratives of exclusion are taking globally to limit bodily autonomy and personal freedom.

How is *queering* WPS different from inclusion of LGBTQ+ people in WPS?

The main downfall of an inclusion approach is that it can mean that we only look to "represent" communities. Queering instead invites a rethinking of peace and security that is also for queer and trans people.

While attention to those with queer identities (LGBTQ+ people) is part of queering WPS, queering is also a practice of troubling, questioning and creatively reimagining approaches to not only gender, but also peace and security. In part, this means undoing assumptions about who can provide security, and what peace looks like through the eyes of queer and trans leaders.

Would a *queering* of WPS once again leave women out?

Women's peacebuilding organizations have a crucial role to play in supporting LBTQ women within WPS work. LGBTQ+ organizations, especially those working in conflict-related spaces, are understaffed, overburdened, and underfunded globally. As a result, there is a lack of information about LBTQ women communities and a lack of services for them when other women's organizations, whether by default or intentionally, primarily support heterosexual women. **A queer and trans affirming approach to WPS invites those most marginalized under patriarchy to collaborate in working towards gender justice.**

Remember that "women" as a group already includes lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer (LBTQ) women. While not every LGBTQ+ person has a binary gender (male or female), many do. In other words, queering is a practice of repair, while acknowledging the experiences of LBTQ women within existing work.

01

Queering WPS in Practice

1.1 The four pillars of WPS

In this section we offer recommendations for how to bring a queer and feminist approach to implementing each of the four pillars of WPS (prevention, participation, protection, relief and recovery). This broader approach allows for more transformative visions for gender, peace and security. **Our suggestions for queering the four pillars are not only for gender advisors and others with specific WPS roles like gender advisors in peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions. The actions we propose are for all peace and security policy makers and practitioners.**

To end gendered insecurities LGBTQ+ people face in conflict, we need to address underlying social, economic, and political discrimination. Given the rise of anti-trans and anti-LGBTQ+ movements globally, Global North countries must also focus on aligning their domestic and foreign agendas for gender justice. The US, UK and Canada are all facing a rise in anti-trans rhetoric, and anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes.

Responding to conflict violence is not only about ending conflict, but also about confronting the limiting gender norms that continue to hinder promoting LGBTQ+ rights. Making room for queer visions for peace begins with supporting LGBTQ+ communities in times of transition.[14] Implementing a queer and feminist vision for gender, peace and security is not just about what language is included in WPS National Action Plans or if an LBTQ women speak openly about their sexuality at the UN Security Council. While those can be meaningful actions if done in collaboration with LGBTQ+ organizations, queering is also about reframing approaches to gender. Queering is about troubling who WPS is for, and what we want the WPS agenda to do. To queer how we think about WPS is to deviate from the binary framing of engaging men and saving women. Instead, queering is about creating and embracing spaces for expansive and transformative conversations about gender.

In this section we first take a closer look at each of the pillars. After a brief overview of each pillar, we include a set of recommended actions for queering the pillar. These recommendations are informed by Colombia Diversa's consultations with feminist and LBTQ women in Colombia.[15]

Table 1: Queering the four pillars of WPS

Prevention

This pillar includes measures that anticipate and prevent the occurrence of violence against women and sexual minorities. The following points should be taken into consideration:

• Effective mechanisms to identify risks faced by lesbian, bisexual, trans and queer women

• Strategies to address discrimination against LGBTQ+ people in society, including lesbophobia, homophobia, and transphobia

Participation

This pillar includes measures to ensure citizens' voice and vote in decision - making at different stages of conflict and post - conflict. It is important to think about actions to increase the participation of LBTQ women specifically in the following contexts:

• Prevention management and response activities to address conflicts and human rights violations

• Popularly elected positions, and other public leadership roles, especially those aimed at increasing citizen participation

• Management roles in peace and security missions

Protection

This pillar includes measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of women, including economic, political and social aspects of security, as well as actions to guarantee access to justice. These measures include:

• Mechanisms for attention to the differentiated violence due to prejudice

• Appropriate context analysis mechanisms to prove and punish crimes of violence due to prejudice against people due to their LGBTQ+ identity or assumed LGBTQ+ identity

• Actions that guarantee dignified access to physical and mental healthcare for LBTQ Women

Relief and Recovery

This pillar includes measures to respond to the specific needs of LBTQ women in situations of armed conflict and to aid in recovery from violence. It is important to think about actions that respond to:

• The sexual and reproductive rights of LBTQ women, as well as access to transition related processes in the case of trans women

• The need for access to legal advice, humanitarian aid, reparations, justice, medical care, mental health care and access to livelihoods

1.2 Queering the Prevention Pillar of Women, Peace and Security

Reflective Question

What are the vulnerabilities LGBTQ+ people face in your context? These problems are compounded by intersecting discrimination based on sexuality, gender, ability, race, and class. In developing support systems for certain queer and trans communities (i. e. lesbian women, transgender men) can your programmes consider these precarities together?

WPS initiatives under the prevention pillar focus on the prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls in conflict-related environments. In order to queer how violence is understood, we need to challenge assumptions about who commits violence and why.

Queering implementation of the prevention pillar also requires transforming how we identify and manage the existing insecurities LGBTQ+ people face in conflict-related environments. Prevention of violence against LBTQ women requires an understanding of how homo-, bi-, and transphobic violence occurs in whichever context a WPS approach is being applied.

The prevention pillar includes actions that anticipate and seek to prevent violent conflict, including gender[16] and sexuality-based violences (rape, femicide, transphobic attacks).[17] Prevention efforts should consider specific risks faced by LGBTQ+ people and strategies to end toxic masculinity and confront homo-, bi-, and, transphobia in society. Prison and detention politics can increase the risk of this violence against LGBTQ+ people.

In many conflict-affected environments, armed actors violate LGBTQ+ people to "correct", punish or eliminate them. The message sent by this homo-, bi-, and transphobic violence is that LGBTQ+ people are not worthy of respect or care. LGBTQ+ people also experience high rates of displacement, including being displaced from their homes by their own families. LGBTQ+ people experience sexual violence and other forms of control over their sexuality. Harms against LGBTQ+ people may also be an early warning of future atrocities.[18] Regulating sexuality by punishing "failure" to meet heteronormative and cisgender expectations of gender order is a central dimension of GBV.[19]

The prevailing idea that discussing and supporting LGBTQ+ people in conflict environments is too dangerous also neglects the way that queer and trans communities of sexual and gender minorities continue to thrive and evolve in times of conflict. The best way to develop peace and conflict programs mindful of LGBTQ+ people's vulnerabilities, is to work with local LGBTQ+ organizations to determine the most pressing issues for the community, and how best to work together to address them.

Actions to queer the prevention pillar

Ensure social justice reforms are informed by and meet the needs of LGBTQ+ people. Rather than focusing on what communities want, current systems of prevention often focus narrowly on "bringing people to justice." Support transformative justice over criminal justice. Learn about community defense zones and community-controlled databases to find this missing and murdered.[20]

Outline specific risks faced by LGBTQ+ people from an intersectional perspective. Analysis should be disaggregated based on different communities within the broader LGBTQ+ community. For example: the risks suffered by trans women (who are usually more visible) are different from lesbian women or trans men (who tend to be less visible).

Audit information systems that record GBV to be sure it includes LGBTQ+ people. In the Colombian Single Registry of Victims, the categories of women and LGBTQ are used exclusively, resulting in the invisibility of the problems suffered by lesbian, bisexual, trans and queer women. Look for patterns of GBV against LGBTQ+ people.

Raise public awareness of LGBTQ+ people's lived experiences of violence and discrimination.[18] Colombia Diversa advocates for disseminating the Truth Commission's findings through meetings and teach-outs and continuing to collect the living memories of LGBTQ+ people.

Design and implement training for officials about sexuality. Train those who are the first point of contact between LGBTQ+ people and public services (e. g. educators, healthcare providers, immigration officials). Trainings should improve how officials respond to and care for LGBTQ+ survivors.

Evaluate and monitor the officials who respond to and investigate violence against LGBTQ+ people. These mechanisms might include protocols, evaluation tools, and sanctions against noncompliance. Research about the targeted sexual violence against LGBTQ+ people in Colombia during the conflict found it is cyclical and persistent in nature.

Map out how transphobia and homophobia manifest in

armed conflict. Examine which actors in your community benefit from this discriminatory behaviour. Analyze common homophobic and transphobic language. This language may be evident in movies, news coverage of LGBTQ+ people and educational material about sexuality.

> **Applying a more expansive approach to understanding gender-based violence**
>
> • Report and support GBV in a way that also accounts for the experiences of those who may not be part of a binary gender identification as men or as women (for example: genderqueer and nonbinary people).
>
> • Recognize that often perpetrators have specific rationale for targeting LGBTQ+ communities with homophobic and transphobic GBV. There are also far reaching consequences for this violence including displacement of LGBTQ+ who witness this violence and fear for their safety.
>
> • Recognize LGBTQ+ people are not necessarily a distinct group of survivors other than men and women, other than men and women. For example, GBV survivors might be lesbian women and transgender men.

1.3 Queering the Participation Pillar of WPS

Feminists recognize the WPS agenda as a powerful tool to call for increased women's participation in all peace and security efforts. There is often a historical lag between feminist and LGBTQ+ movements. In many instances, this lag in movement development is because of interventions to police gender and sexuality. Women's organizations can help to address this by highlighting LGBTQ+ community members when bringing local perspectives to peace and security. Likewise, international efforts to prioritize women's experiences of conflict should include the experiences of lesbian, bisexual and transgender women.[21]

Full, equal, and meaningful participation consists of actions that seek to ensure the voice and vote of citizens in decision-making in the different stages of conflict and post-conflict. Those in respected leadership roles can help to address discrimination by openly make a meaningful impact in addressing discrimination by openly and publicly advocating engaging with LGBTQ+ people. In women's peacebuilding spaces, allyship from cisgender and heterosexual women in leadership in openly supporting lesbian, bisexual and transgender women can have meaningful impact for shifting norms about diverse sexual orientations and gender identities.

We recognize that in many places, opportunities for participation might be very narrow or nonexistent, and public participation could put LGBTQ+ people in danger. At the same time, there are many contexts where LGBTQ+ communities could be move involved in leadership.

Colonialism and gender[22]

Activists and scholars call attention to the coloniality of gender underscore the historically situated understanding of gender. For example, María Lugones raises questions regarding the historical processes under which the concept of gender was constructed. Lugones wonders why gender is a powerful tool for organizing communities during occupation, and who was denied a place in the gender system created under colonialism. Others like Chandra Mohanty, also critique the universalism of Western feminism that undertheorizes the reality of non-white and non-Western gendered communities.

Actions for queering the prevention pillar

Support LBTQ women as visible leaders in gender, peace, and security work. This requires creating spaces to facilitate difficult conversations between feminist and LGBTQ+ movements. When looking for speakers or funding projects, consider including a note about prioritizing queer women's work or being direct about how while queer men are part of queering WPS too, it is the queer women who must be centered and supported in leading queering WPS work.

Ensure feminist LGBTQ+ perspectives in decision making about public policy including all consultations pertaining to women and gender. Ensure representation of LGBTQ+ people's needs in decision making scenarios, not only with their voice but with their vote.

Create active listening safer spaces for dialoguing with LBTQ women. This should also be a space supportive of those identities that tend to be more invisible in discussions of gender, such as trans men or non-binary people. These safer spaces can include a variety of stakeholders so that grassroots organizations, with or without legal standing, can share their problems and seek solutions collectively.

Create channels for advocacy for LGBTQ+ organizations outside of the Global North in the peace and security space. This is especially important for events like the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) annual sessions and annual Open Debates on WPS happening in New York, which is much less accessible to LGBTQ+ organizations.

Design security strategies to ensure LGBTQ+ people's participation in peacebuilding. For example, be sure to use the preferred and accessible communication channels for people according to their context.

Recognize and celebrate the queer young people who are working to advance the goals of WPS. By celebrating queer young peacebuilders, the community has an opportunity to affirm and create enabling environments for the young people already active in these spaces. This will also change the way young queer peacebuilders identify and work with the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda, expanding support and innovative approaches to building peace.[23] Continue to recognize the accomplishments of queer youth and share opportunities for leadership where possible.

1.4 Queering the Protection Pillar of WPS

Implementation of the protection pillar focuses on the protection of women from physical violence during conflict. The concept of protection could be expanded to encompass physical, economic, psychosocial, and cultural dimensions of justice and security.

LGBTQ+ people continue to face discrimination when their sexual orientation or gender identity are seen as uncomfortable, exotic, and laughable. This places LGBTQ+ people in a subordinate place with a lack of protection, marginalized from those cisgender and heterosexual people seen as "real men and women." Forms of repression and patterns of violence common in dictatorships and "dirty wars" often give way to a context in which multiple prejudices can be acted upon, as a supposed national (often "civilizational") project is pursued.

Security is also economic. Many LGBTQ+ people have been disproportionately excluded from formal education or employment, or other economic resources.

There is an under-registration of violations against LGBTQ+ people
in the Colombian armed conflict due to factors such as fear or shame
of reporting non-normative sexual orientations, gender identities,
and expressions. There is also a continuing distrust of institutions
and experiences of revictimization. Finally, as is the case with many
harms of gendered discrimination, there are difficulties proving
that violence that did happen was motivated by transphobia or
homophobia.

A queer and feminist approach to protection looks to actors other
than the police and military to determine what creates a secure
space. To do so means dismantling the patriarchal limitations within
the current judicial systems. The current individualized protection
approach is costly and isolating. Alternatively, community-focused
responses are more sustainable, allowing for ways of accessing
protection with actors who LGBTQ+ people feel safer working with
other than traditional security forces.

Homophobic and transphobic violence manifests as a form of every-
day patriarchal violence. Sometimes LGBTQ+ community members
also perpetuate discrimination and harm against other members of
the LGBTQ+ community. This everyday violence is present in times
of peace and in times of conflict. State policies like anti-discrimina-
tion laws and the sexual rights as a dimension of human rights can
offer some protection against this violence. Seeing and responding
to this violence against LGBTQ+ people is one way to domesticate
WPS implementation which so often focuses on violence happening
"over there" instead of also looking at violence happening
within Global North countries.[24]

Actions to queer protection in women, peace and security

**Design systems for officials to adequately gather and respond
to complaints about the violation of rights of LGBTQ+ people
in conflict.** Identify the particular and disproportionate effects
of violence against LGBTQ+ people, recognising the impact of
discrimination and prejudice on their lives. Disaggregate these
findings by sex, gender, and race. Develop trainings to strengthen
the capacity to identify discrimination against LGBTQ+ people.
This analysis of discrimination should feed back into the prevention
approach. Assure external monitoring, recognizing that in many
places, officials themselves are violating LGBTQ+ people's rights.

Create strategies for the prevention and protection of LGBTQ+ children and adolescents from physical and emotional abuse.[25] Where possible within a supportive environment, be sure these initiatives involve families and educational environments.

Map safe and unsafe places for LGBTQ+ people in their daily lives. This information can be used to create new protective measures and to analyze reported acts of violence. Identify individuals with specialized knowledge of bias-based violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity who can be notified of a risk or act of violence, and who can activate the rest of the safety route to mitigate, prevent or stop the risk.

Study previous patterns of GBV to develop a strategy to mitigate risks for LGBTQ+ people to this violence. Disaggregate data, assuring there is specific attention to LBTQ women's experiences. Ensure access to effective redress for LGBTQ+ victims of GBV.

Strengthen ties between women's organizations and LGBTQ+ organizations. Doing so would also help these organizations develop, adopt, and operationalize feminist analysis of the links between LGBTQ+ rights and WPS. LGBTQ+ organizations are already doing extensive work that fits within WPS including legal aid and strategic litigation, rights awareness and direct service provision, documentation and reporting, and advocacy (through media, online campaigns and cultural activism). These groups could also collaborate with ongoing work engaging local and foreign governments.

Train local LGBTQ+ and feminist organizations on security issues (e. g. protocols with self protection measures) and safeguarding. Safeguarding means protecting against harm and abuse caused by NGO programs that may result from unsafe programs, unsafe communications and media and abuse perpetrated by staff.

Protection also needs to focus on online threats against LGBTQ+ communities. LGBTQ+ people face hate speech, misinformation and disinformation online. This violence should be taken seriously, even though it is not a physical form of violence. Feminist organizations can reiterate solidarity with LGBTQ+ people across social media, at public events and on organizational websites.

1.5 Queering the relief and recovery pillar of WPS

The relief and recovery pillar is an expansive, if ambiguous, aspect of WPS implementation. Providing relief and recovery for many lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer women means providing even the most basic access to health care, legal support and safe spaces for community organizing.

LGBTQ+ people have not been able to access effective responses to traditional, let alone transitional justice. There is historical, social, and legal impunity for gender-based violence, and a lack of recognition of transphobic and homophobic violence as a dimension of violent conflict. This means that the victims of these events have not been able to access comprehensive reparations or guarantees of non-repetition. LGBTQ+ people are also often excluded from humanitarian relief programs.

Historically, LGBTQ+ people have faced economic insecurity due to lack of access to education, housing, healthcare, and job opportunities. In conflict, armed actors take advantage of these vulnerabilities and instrumentalize violence against queer and trans communities, furthering their insecurity.

In Colombia, despite clear indicators of prejudice against LGBTQ+ people, there is still an under-representation of these harms against LGBTQ+ people in conflict. This absence is in part due to fear or shame in reporting non-normative sexual orientations, gender identities or gender expressions. There continues to be a lack of trust in institutions, and fear of experiences of revictimization when reporting, making it difficult to report. It is still difficult to report violence based on prejudice against LGBTQ+ people. Education and training to address these challenges can be part of the relief and recovery work feminist organizations invest in to transform social norms about gender.

Another related issue is the state's historic lack of interest in searching for LGBT missing people. This lack of interest is in part because they may have been rejected and thrown out of their home or family or social group, but many may simply not have someone to look for them.

As evident in the suggested actions below, implementing the relief and recovery pillar aligns well with achieving sustainable development goals (SDG)s. Jacqui True and Sara Hewitt argue the relief and recovery pillar has, "the most transformative potential to

connect both short-term and long-term goals to achieve sustainable peace, development, and resilience, while also promoting women's participation and socioeconomic rights."[26] LBTQ women should be part of defining this transformation.[27]

> **Healthcare for LGBTQ+ people too**
>
> Healthcare systems were not designed for LGBTQ+ people. Hetero-normative prejudices within the health care system have consequences for LGBTQ+ people's physical and emotional well being. For example, in Colombia, there are no guarantees for transition support for trans people, and in the U.K. the wait list for NHS transition care is years long. Traditionally, health promotion and prevention programs for LGBTQ+ people have stigmatized them and reduced their attention to HIV and sexually transmitted disease. This reproduces the prejudice that LGBTQ+ people are promiscuous and contagious. As a result of these discriminations, LGBTQ+ people often only turn to the health system when problems in chronic or emergency scenarios.

Actions for queering relief and recovery

Embrace queer and trans visions for peace. Reaching out LGBTQ+ leaders in your community already working to learn about their visions for transformative change. LBTQ women are already working to make everyday peace in the community. This may not be "peace and security" work, but more likely direct services like responding to everyday violences and exclusions (at home, at school, in public health) encountered by LGBTQ+ people, regardless of times of peace or conflict. Conflict transformation is a time to support these otherwise marginalized visions for peace.

Develop safer spaces for LGBTQ+ people to gather as a community. Fund organizations to create their own space for community gatherings. Work with LGBTQ+ people to determine where this place should be. Consult with LGBTQ+ community members about what support other human rights organizations can offer as allies.

Support LGBTQ+ people within your country's asylum system. Be sure LGBTQ+ people are connected directly with local LGBTQ+ organizations. Assure LGBTQ+ people have access to queer friendly health care providers, including in detention centers.[28]

Promote access to comprehensive health, including mental healthcare, for LGBTQ+ people.[29] Design training processes for healthcare professionals to make a safe space for LGBTQ+ people. Ensure access to medicines, procedures, and transition without pathology. Be sure LBTQ women have access to comprehensive reproductive health care. LGBTQ+ people should also have access to postpartum/post-adoption services and guaranteed parental leave. Identify and distribute a list of community resources and contacts for leaders from the LGBTQ+ community.

Include LGBTQ+ people's experiences in sex education. Implement a sex education program for LGBTQ+ people with a focus on dignity, enjoyment, and pleasure, with guarantees of confidentiality.

Become familiar with the Diverse SOGIESC focused Rapid Assessment Tool that can be used to assess diverse SOGIESC Inclusion results in humanitarian emergencies. The tool was developed in 2021 with UN Women and Edge Effect Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment focused Rapid Assessment Tool for humanitarian contexts.[30]

Review when LGBTQ+ people can access the justice system. Assess discriminatory laws and policies, including those that do not specifically target LGBTQ+ people but have a discriminatory impact, intentional or unintentional.

02

Opportunities and challenges for LGBTQ+ and feminist collaboration in queering WPS

2.1 Opportunities for collaborations between LGBTQ+ and feminist organizations

LGBTQ+ and feminist movements should make alliances for two reasons: a shared commitment to transforming existing gender norms and power structures, and a shared history of organizing for gender justice. Below we examine these two opportunities for feminist and queer collaboration in WPS interventions in more detail.

Shared commitment to challenging existing gender norms and power structures

It benefits women and LGBTQ+ people alike to disrupt and upend essentialist and binary ideas about gender, masculinity and femininity which are detrimental to both movements. Both movements are advocating for greater respect for personal autonomy, and for the renunciation of deterministic ideas about the positions that each person can occupy in society based on their gender. Feminist scholars have done extensive work to point out the harms of patriarchy in conflict, as well as how gender matters to working for a sustainable peace.[31]

In Colombia the feminist movement has focused on discrimination against women: access to abortion, reproductive autonomy, and effects of misogynistic discrimination against women. The LGBTQ+ movement has worked on other effects of this system of discrimination: compulsory heterosexuality and cisnormativity. Both social movements are working for the dismantling of the patriarchal system that divides bodies, behaviors and power in society with women in one category and men in another.

Both the feminist and LGBTQ+ movements would benefit from the dismantling of biological essentialism that discriminates against women's access to political roles in economic, political and social spaces. For the feminist movement, addressing patriarchal discrimination means greater political representation of women, greater budgetary allocation for women's health needs and socio-legal work to prevent misogynistic violence. For the LGBTQ+ movement, addressing patriarchy is about dismantling the causes that generate transphobic or homophobic violence. Upending this discrimination means women, including LBTQ women, begin to gain full access to similar opportunities to men in education and employment, among many other initiatives. WPS interventions would be much more robust if they included an intersectional approach informed by LGBTQ+ experiences.

Community-level activities to improve awareness about LGBTQ+ people

- Host reading circles to discuss work by LGBTQ+ authors

- Host a film club to watch films by LGBTQ+ directors about LGBTQ+ lives

- Share children's stories about LGBTQ+ people

Shared history of mobilizing for gender justice

There is a strong history of alliance building between feminist and LGBTQ+ movements in Colombia to advance gender justice. While there is a growing anti-rights movement fixated on tearing these alliances down, queering WPS is about supporting long-standing collaborations, and promoting new ones.

2.2 Challenges for collaboration between feminist and LGBTQ+ organizations

There is a growing interest in developing collaborations between feminist and LGBTQ+ organizations working on transforming WPS to reframe the agenda through queering.[33] We observe three obstacles to consider when carrying out feminist and LGBTQ+ alliances in an assertive and constructive way: the need to recognize previous efforts for collaboration, the historical difference between the movements, and the need to prioritize voices other than cisgender women.

Recognition of previous efforts for collaboration

LGBTQ+ issues are not new in feminist movement building. In most contexts, LGBTQ+ and feminist movements have worked together and supported each other in some capacity when it comes to organizing for women's rights. Recognizing this history helps to open the possibility of talking about gender in a complex way enriched by the life experiences of both social movements. In addition, it will recognize the advances and work done previously in favor of this alliance.

These conversations should start from a constructive and supportive perspective and should not shame or erase any participant. This goes hand in hand with sincere and respectful work between feminist and LGBTQ+ movements.

Historical difference between movements

One of the greatest difficulties is the material and formal inequality between feminist and LGBTQ+ movements. The feminist movement has had a much longer trajectory in the public sphere, in legal advocacy and in organizing politically at different levels (local, municipal, national and international).

Due to the disparity between laws, health conditions, and cultural support for LGBTQ+ rights versus women's rights, the two social

movements are at different stages of their development. On the one hand, the women's movement has made a lot of progress and worked to bring international standards to light; on the other, there are small community groups trying to keep LGBTQ+ people alive.

This discrepancy between movements will result in conversations between women peacebuilders and LBTQ women organizers who are not necessarily equals. The feminist movement is made up of more people, more movement leaders with access to professional education, more civil society organizers with some institutional backing, more people who have familial support and a stable home, and more people with experience receiving and administering international cooperation funds than the LGBTQ+ movement. It is important that this difference be used to the advantage of the alliance and not to its disadvantage.

To strengthen our social movements, we need to validate and legitimize the expertise and voices of all individuals who participate in the space. It is also important to develop strategies for mutually supporting each other. This will strengthen the alliance between the movements. It will also allow the feminist movement to reconnect with the grassroots activities relevant to their communities, and the LGBTQ+ movement to acquire institutional and administrative knowledge for improving engagement in WPS.

LGBTQ+ and feminist movement building in Colombia

The history between LGBTQ+ organizations and feminist organizations in Colombia is one of mutual support. Because of this joint effort, all measures of truth, justice, reparation and non-repetition were implemented with a gender perspective. This has been especially important when it comes to addressing sexual violence.

This joint effort was also evident during negotiations between the National Government and the FARC-EP guerrillas about how to respond to acts of sexual violence. The movements worked together to maintain a broad definition of the "gender approach" weaved into the Final Peace Agreement. The movements were also determined that perpetrators of sexual violence against women and LGBTQ+ people should not be able to seek amnesty for the crime.

This history allows us to see the strategies already used in Colombia for collaboration between feminist and LGBTQ+ movements, and the benefits of this collaboration.

Prioritizing voices other than cisgender women

One of the challenges that causes the greatest concern to some in the women's peacebuilding movement is the unrestricted inclusion of cisgender men and transgender people (men or women) in the spaces that the feminist movement has created for itself. This concern must be received with all the seriousness and rigor possible, because the leadership of some cisgender men has hurt the feminist movement in the past. Trans people have also experienced great harm due to transphobic exclusionary practices.

There may be men who do not participate in this disrespectful way in spaces of alliance, and there may be women who do. The criteria for the participation within the queer feminist movement should be determined, rather, by individual conduct. The role for men and allies should be a continuing conversation. This conversation can come much later when other agreements on strategies, commonalities, and acceptable behaviors have been agreed by LBTQ women engaged in WPS.

However, we must insist that an intersectional feminist future involve men and transgender people. Their involvement in issues of social justice, environmental issues, cultural representation, and other contemporary challenges is vital. They will be part of the solution, and we owe it to the future world to involve them in this social movement of equality and autonomy for all people.

> "Everyone [that I work with] has been a victim of the Colombian armed conflict, so it is useful to have a safe space. During all those years we have worked together with feminist and LGBTQ+ persons. In every social demonstration that we participate, we do it together."
>
> - Bogotá activist

2.3 Actions for NGOs and feminist organizations looking to build coalitions

We suggest the following actions for NGOs and feminist organizations who wish to support lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer women and LGBTQ+ communities working to queer WPS.

1. *Broaden the definitions of gender and security.*
2. *Be willing to be vulnerable and learn.*
3. *Recognize power relationships.*
4. *Invest in building coalitions.*

1. Broaden the definitions of gender and security.

Almost twenty-three years since the passing of the first Women, Peace and Security UN Resolution 1325, it is time to revisit some of assumptions about women informing the WPS agenda. Many LGBTQ+ communities were criminalized at the time of the passing

of the resolution in 2000 and may continue to be criminalized today. A major concern within the WPS agenda is also the continual use of "gender" to only mean "women's issues."[34] Security for women in conflict-affected communities must also consider the security of LBTQ women. Conflict actors frequently target LGBTQ+ people for sexual violence, humiliation and even extortion.[35]

To queer WPS we need to move away from approaches to peace and security embedded in militarization. This queer vision of security is instead about the absence of not just conflict-related violence, but other forms of everyday violence. This also includes conflict that comes from homophobia and transphobia within the home and the community. Instead, approaches to security should be about helping communities address everyday insecurity and, where possible, in a collectivist rather than individual way. NGOs and feminist organizations should allow for grassroots organizing, collective demands and lived experience to drive the designing of policies and frameworks that queer WPS.

While women's rights movements have decades of progress in addressing basic rights, LGBTQ+ rights movements have lagged, with states taking decades longer to address homophobia and transphobia. But progress for LGBTQ+ rights is not always one of slow and steady progress. Many countries have never addressed homophobic and transphobic violence, and in some countries these laws to protect LGBTQ+ people are even regressing.

This violence continues to go unaddressed at home and at work, resulting in targeted violence against lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer people.[32] This limitation to the gender lens creates a gap in justice, policy and other legislative measures and ignores the empirical evidence of the experience of LGBTQ+ communities. There is an opportunity for women's rights organizations with more established networks to meaningfully integrate LGBTQ+ organizations, including lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer leaders, into their ongoing WPS work.

To achieve this, NGOs and feminist organizations must commit to consulting with queer women on how they define and understand security as well as what peacebuilding would look like for them.[33] Such definitions and understandings must then be the basis for building a transformative action-oriented analysis to peacebuilding. Use these consultations to revise and/or develop policies, plans,

and guidance to ensure diverse LGBTQ+ inclusion in responses, including developing indicators for monitoring progress.[38]

> ## Collaborative approaches to a deep-dive consultancy
>
> **Use ethnographic approaches or workshop style consultations to open the conversation.**
>
> **Ensure your consultative approaches are open and flexible.**
> For example, allow participants to provide written submissions if they feel more comfortable, or one-to-one private conversations.
>
> **Use strategic questioning.**
> Strategic questioning is a framework that allows for moving a conversation from facts to personal connection and action. Use a conversation technique with the participant/s to set the scene, identify the situation and explore how participant/s feel about it. Avoid closed questions or "why" questions. Use "how" or "what" questions. This line of questioning supports participants to think in terms of possibilities and change and to imagine pathways to action. A strategic question creates motion by asking, "How can we move?" Strategic questions are dynamic and don't allow a situation to stay stuck.

2. Be willing to be vulnerable and learn.

Approach consultations with LGBTQ+ organizations with empathy and curiosity to learn. In building up collaborations between LGBTQ+ groups and feminist organizations, it is important to invite lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer women to serve as leaders.

It's okay not to know everything! The important thing is to always have the willingness to listen, recognize others and broaden your own perspectives. Recognize different people's expressions, ways of speaking, dressing, or acting. Know that not everyone engaged with gender, peace and security work identifies as a woman, and may be genderqueer or nonbinary. Never assume a person's sexual orientation based on their gender expression.[39] Likewise, respect everyone's pronouns. To avoid assuming people's pronouns, take the initiative to introduce yourself and point out your pronouns. Invite others to do so as well. If you have any questions about how to name someone, simply ask: "what are your pronouns?"[40]

Key Point

Respect pronouns! If you are unsure of someone's pronouns, start by pointing out your own and invite others to introduce their pronouns.

Be aware of unintentionally causing harm. For example, avoid revictimizing LGBTQ+ people who have been victims of conflict: do not use expressions and actions that are morbid, questioning, prejudiced or that can blame the victims and their identities.[41] Due to long-term exclusion, there is a history of mistrust that LGBTQ+ activists and academics may have with feminist organizations or INGOs. As such, it is important to create safer spaces that have strong agreements on how conflicts will be managed. It is important to determine a clear response to acts of discrimination that happen within our own communities of practice and enable accountability. The goal should be to relieve tensions, while recognizing differences and mistakes as opportunities for learning.

Throughout the process, adopt an intersectional approach. Don't assume a single image of LGBTQ+ people. In this collaborative work is also important to avoid making assumptions about a person's abilities based on their appearance or speech. Remember that a person is not less intelligent because of the colour of their clothes lor the length of their nails.

Table 2: Basic steps to respond to microaggressions

1. Calmly acknowledge that there was a microaggression.	"Actually, those are not the correct pronouns for Dani."
2. Explain which word/attitude/gesture was disrespectful.	"Dani's pronouns are she/her."
3. Refer again to the group's agreement.	"She has kindly reminded him of this several times and finds it hurtful that he doesn't take this information seriously."
4. Remind the whole group that there is a difference between intent and impact and that even better intentions can have a detrimental impact.	"As you know, our group agreement states that we owe each other respect. This is also demonstrated by the correct use of others' pronouns."
5. Conclude the exchange by focusing on the existence of a safe learning space.	"I know you were not using the wrong pronouns for Dani on purpose, however we can hurt each other even when it is not our intention."

Translated from: Equalcity. Toolbox Creating safe(r) spaces for LGBTQ people with a migrant background. Training. pp. 97-107.

3. Recognize power relationships.

Feminist activists organizing for gender justice need to recognize the power that they themselves hold.[42] Sit with your team and look at how you have designed an intervention or program for LGBTQ+ communities.[43] Determine what actions to take to redistribute power. Continue asking yourselves these power shifting questions: [44, 45]

> • Who talks and who acts in the process?
> • Whose knowledge dominates in the process?
> • Who has been silenced in this process?

In building up collaborations between LGBTQ+ groups and feminist organizations, it is important to invite lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer women to serve as leaders. Two questions to return to throughout the process are:

> 1. Is this space actively welcoming of diversity, including gender and sexual diversity?
>
> 2. What can we do to ensure that all participants feel informed and welcome? What is required to foster safety and inclusivity?

Thinking co-creatively. *Remember, this kind of approach requires time and capacity!* Thinking co-creatively means engaging all key parties: your staff, the LGBTQ+ partner organization and the LGBTQ+ community in designing the research.

Value the expertise and perspectives of LBTQ women and make use of any insights from their ongoing advocacy, policy, and programming work. Make connections with LGBTQ+ partners that inform research framing, methods, and interpretation. This will improve the usability and uptake of findings and learning and allow you to co-create knowledge and methodology that are meaningful to LGBTQ+ co-creation partners and their communities.

4. Invest in building coalitions.

As states get more authoritarian and the anti-rights movement gets stronger, coalition-building is essential. Amid growing anti-rights attacks, civic space, especially for LGBTQ communities, is drastically reduced. As civil and political rights are suspended and economic and social restrictions are imposed, those that were already marginalized are hit hardest.

Strong coalitions between these groups, with international support, can be key to building strong civic spaces and resisting authoritarianism. Investing in critical, transnational alliances that build evidence-based and value-based counter narratives can help bridge the CSO/NGO-citizen divide.

In the face of shrinking civic space, we need to reflect more on decolonized practice and localized responses. It's possible to build and strengthen movements through existing networks while using the complementary roles of that build evidence-based and value-based counter narratives.

Reflective Questions:

What assumptions about LGBTQ+ people are present in your context?

What do LGBTQ+ persons identify as everyday discriminations?

How can your organization work toward addressing these discriminations collaboratively across feminist and LGBTQ+ programming?

03

Queering WPS National Action Plans

3.1 Queering WPS National Action Plans

WPS National Action Plans are national-level strategy documents that outline a government's approach and course of action for implementing WPS on a domestic and international level. Much of the discussion on future directions for WPS, and feedback on ongoing WPS efforts, takes place during consultations with academia, civil society, and policy makers during the drafting of WPS National Action Plans (NAPs). There are now over 100 WPS NAPs with some countries having multiple NAPs, renewed every four or five years.

3.2 Examples of LGBT inclusion of WPS National Action Plans

There are a growing number of NAPs that include attention to the LGBTQ+ community. As of early 2023, 13 of the 104 countries with NAPs currently mention LGBTQ+ people.[46] There are 18 countries with current or previous NAPs with at least one reference to LGBT people or sexuality. This includes Albania, Argentina, Croatia, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Nepal, Norway, Paraguay, Sweden, Switzerland, South Africa, The Netherlands, the UK and Uruguay.

Canada's National Action Plan (2017-2022): pledges to pay attention to LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum seekers through specific indicators supporting LGBT+ refugees under the refugee program resettlement indicator. This focus on asylum illustrates how NAPS offer an opportunity for states to draw attention to LGBTQ+ human rights not just in foreign policy but also in domestic policy. There is also attention to "LGBT civil society groups" in the section about sexual and reproductive rights.

United States National Action Plan (2019-2023): explicitly mentions intersex individuals alongside attention to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals as a group of people whose meaningful participation should be sought for executing WPS policy.

United Kingdom National Action Plan (2023-2027): the UK's fifth NAP mentions LGBT+ people three times, though the document never spells out the acronym so the words lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender do not appear in the document. The first mention of LGBT+ people is regarding the "overlapping barriers to accessing assistance" faced by LGBT+ women, and other vulnerable communities. The second mention is in relation to LGBT+ people's increased vulnerability to GBV. LGBT+ people are mentioned as a community under threat within the discussion of transnational threats."

Previous UK NAPS include reference to "sexuality" (third) and one to "sexual orientation and gender identity" (fourth) but there is no further context beyond listing as a category for potential discrimination.

South African National Action Plan (2020-2025): pledges to engage in activities that protect LGBTIQA communities by providing awareness and psychosocial programmes and dedicated social services. The plan also points to the need to employ protective measures generated by innovative technology and transitional safe houses.[47]

Nepal National Action Plan (2011-2016): broadly excluded LGBTQ+ groups. In the first quarter of 2022, the Ministry of Home Affairs in charge of developing Nepal's second NAP invited the Federation of Sexual and Gender Minorities Nepal (FSGMN) to participate in the meetings of the drafting committee and present and discuss their views and concerns. As such, it is expected that in the next draft of the NAP, there will be a greater focus on LGBTQ+ issues.

Albanian National Action Plan (2018-2020): calls to "strengthen professional capacities of police officers to investigate crimes on the grounds of sexual orientation (hate crimes)." This is an example of an indicator focusing on inclusion of LGBTQ+ people as a part of WPS within the protection pillar, recognizing violence against LGBTQ+ people as a hate crime.

Table 3: LGBT relevant indicator from the Albanian National Action Plan (2018-2020)

Objective:	Objective 1.2 of the Albanian National Action Plans calls to integrate the gender perspective in educational programs for application of UN SCR 1324. The objective then goes on to recommend the country strengthen professional capacities of police officers to investigate crimes on grounds of sexual orientation (hate crimes).
Responsible Institutions:	Ministry of International Affairs (MoIA) and CSOs specialized in Resolution UN SCR 1325, supported by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR)
Indicator to verify compliance:	No. of training events; No. of trained persons orientation (hate crimes).
Deadline:	2018-2020
Budget needed for Implementation:	1,120,000 Albanian Leks. = £9004.14 Pounds Sterling

3.3 How and why to queer WPS National Action Plans

"For 40 years women have taken on the task of documenting how the armed conflict has affected their lives and families. During that time we have realized how territorial, ethnic, sexual orientation and gender identity marks [people for] disproportionate and differentiated risks."

- Marcela Sanchez, Director of Colombia Diversa

Queering in practice means revisiting underlying norms about gender and disrupting common practices for providing security like relying on the police and militarized responses. Including LGBTQ+ people in a NAP does not mean the country has engaged with the queer and trans community during consultation of the NAP, nor that a queer analysis was applied in writing the document. Additionally, inclusion of LGBTQ+ issues in one version of a country's NAP does not does not ensure inclusion in the next version of a country's NAP.

Queering security in the WPS agenda and centering LGBTQ+ people in WPS is not just about bringing queer and trans people into the conversation. It is also about rethinking how we frame gender and thinking about sexuality as a part of WPS altogether. Instead, it is important to see how underlying patriarchal social norms are behind the prejudice queer and trans people are facing. WPS NAPs offer an opportunity to call on states to address homophobia and transphobia as a dimension of everyday violence. The violence faced by human rights defenders promoting the rights of LGBTQ+ people living in conflict should also be a part of the gendered response outlined in NAPs.

3.4 Colombia Diversa's work to queer Colombia's first National Action Plan

Although Colombia does not yet have a NAP, the country already has a strong history of acknowledging gender as a dimension of peace and security. It is important that the country's WPS NAP complements the gender perspective already in the Colombian peace agreement.

The inclusion of LBTQ women in the construction of the Colombian NAP stems from concerns about the recognition of previous work for the inclusion of lesbian women in the WPS agenda.[48, 49] Some Colombian feminist peacebuilders have concerns about the possibility of cisgender men taking over the discourse and losing hard-won space for discussing WPS. They worry that involving cisgender men in the queer agenda would exclude women. These concerns are based in the reality that there are very limited resources for WPS.

Colombia Diversa has highlighted the importance of the NAP in advancing strategies and measures to prevent violence and transform cultural imaginaries about gender and sexuality. This work is based on the understanding that compulsory heterosexuality and heteronormativity are factors of differential insecurity for the lives of LBTQ women.[50]

If LGBTQ+ perspectives are successfully included in the UNSCR 1325 NAP in Colombia, the country would become a leader in Latin America. Thanks to the efforts of CSOs, LGBTQ+ victims of the Colombian armed conflict are gaining visibility. LGBTQ+ including in the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) and in the Truth Commission's report are evidence of this inclusion. However, it is important that LGBTQ+ activists and organizations tackle intersecting needs for a wider range of grassroot experiences to avoid falling into the trappings of "legal fetishism" where simply passing laws stands in for meaningful change.

Engaging lesbian, bisexual and transgender women in NAP development

On June 14 and 15, 2022 about 30 lesbian, bisexual and trans women from 10 departments (country subdivisions) across Colombia met in Bogotá to contribute to the construction of Colombia's NAP. At the meeting Colombia Diversa collected 20 recommendations on the four pillars WPS. UN Women also participated. The recommendations were delivered to the National Government. These recommendations informed Colombian's first WPS NAP, developed in October 2023.

Table 4: Recommendations for addressing needs of LBT women in Colombian NAP

Pillar	Recommendation
Protection	• Monitor and follow-up of GBV cases experienced by LGBTQ+ women • Require Ministry of Defense to institute gender training for personnel with attention to LGBTQ+ perspectives to maintain the level of sensitivity and understanding that prevents re-victimization when working with LGBTQ+ victims of violence • Guarantee self-ID for the trans and non-binary people
Prevention	• Develop strategies for the eradication of anti-LGBTQ+ violence. Recognize local knowledge of the territories • Develop a national level prevention protocol that attends to the localized needs of LGBTQ+ women (i. e. gender-sensitive budgets; transparent distribution of resources, effective sanctions for institutional violence; retention of officials with training)
Participation	• Diagnosis of the barriers to meaningful and continued participation of LBTQ women in political decision-making and leadership • Effective resourcing to strengthen the capacities of LGBTQ+ collectives to participate and effectively influence the construction of public policies, development plans and local agendas, departmental and national
Relief and Recovery	• Educating/training for strengthening leadership of LBTQ women to enable their participation in the construction of peace and security • Ensure economic security, access to justice for LBTQ women • Conduct historical memory exercises of the armed conflict led by grassroots organizations and LBTQ women • Capacity building and economic empowerment measures for those in recovery

Recommendations for donors wishing to fund LGBTQ+ organizations

Dedicate funding for building broad alliances.
LGBTQ+ organizations are significantly underfunded and under resourced. [52] Local organizations need larger organizations to support their work. Many feminist organizations are also underfunded and might not have the capacity to fund other organizations. Still, there are opportunities to work together with funders and the relevant local community to design a grant that is built around the shared mission.

Fund LGBTQ+ focused prevention efforts and transparency in data collection. Lobby for budget for the incorporation of data policies that improve transparency of institutions and allow civil society and the public access to reliable, clear and relevant data for research by civil society organizations.[53]

Fund economic stability. Provide institutional offers to guarantee the economic sustainability of organizations and collectives of LGBTQ+ people through access to specific public funds for this purpose, which also contribute to the development of their political experience. Most development, human rights, and humanitarian funding remains in the hands of INGOs and UN agencies. Women's and LGBTQ funds such as Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice or Initiative Sankofa d'Afrique de l'Ouest provide pathways for donors to support a diverse range of organizations and the growth of movements.

Make granting accessible to those who are not registered.
Many LGBTQ organizations in conflict and crisis are unable to officially register. Create granting systems that allow both registered and non-registered organizations to apply. Mutual aid models for funding also work well in contexts where registering is not possible.

End Notes

1. Developed from UN Free and Equal Definitions: https://www.unfe.org/definitions/. Definition of Gender-Based Violence is drawn from UN Women's definition.

2. For an accounting of this history see Sanam Naraghi Anderlini 2007 book *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

3. UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security]*, 31 October 2000, SRES/1325 (2000), available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f4672e.html; For an overview of all 10 resolutions see: http://www. peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions

4. Combahee River Collective Statement: https://www.loc.gov/item/lcwaN0028151/.

5. Myrttinen, H. , & Daigle, M. (2017). When merely existing is a risk: *Sexual and gender minorities in conflict, displacement and peacebuilding.* London: International Alert. See also: SOGI IE 2022 report on peace and Security A/77/235, https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/thematic-reports/a77235-report-independent-expert-protection-against-violence-and.

6. For more discussion about heteronormativity and the binary approach within WPS see: Hagen, Jamie J."Queering Women, Peace and Security." *International Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 2, 2016, pp. 313–32. Davis, L., & Stern, J. (2018). WPS and LGBTQ rights. In S. E. Davies & J. True (Eds.), The Oxford handbook of women, peace and security (pp. 657–668). London: Oxford University Press.; The Women Peace and Security Agenda and its Implications for LGBTIQ People, Outright Action International (2020).; Breaking the binary: LGBT+ inclusive approach to the women, peace and security agenda in Nepal and Myanmar, International Alert, December 2022.

7. Cockburn, C. , & Enloe, C. (2012). Militarism, patriarchy and peace movements: Cynthia Cockburn and Cynthia Enloe in conversation. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14(4), 550-557; Duncanson, C. , & Eschle, C. (2008). Gender and the nuclear weapons state: a feminist critique of the UK government's white paper on Trident. New Political Science, 30(4), 545-563.

8. Compulsory heterosexuality is a theoretical insight by poet and lesbian theorist Adrienne Rich that heterosexuality is assumed and enforced upon people by a patriarchal and heteronormative society, Rich, Adrienne."Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence." *Signs*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1980, pp. 631–60. JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173834.

9. There have been some instances of LGBTQ+ inclusion in peace processes. For more on this see: Assessing Gender Perspectives in Peace Processes with Application to the Cases of Colombia and Mindanao by José Alvarado Cóbar, Emma Bjertén-Günther and Yeonju Jung* (2018); The Struggle for Gendered Peace and LGBT Rights In Colombia, Anika Oettler, Violence Security and Peace Working Papers, No. 2, July 2019

10. Colombia Diversa has three main areas of work, 1) legal advice, 2) human rights and 3) peace and post conflict. The Colombia Diversa peace post conflict area investigates the effects suffered by LGBT people in the midst of the armed conflict in the country. The organizations carries out advocacy activities before human rights organizations such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) or the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) among others.

11. For more about homophobic violence in the context of armed conflict in Colombia see: Serrano-Amaya, José Fernando. 2018. *Homophobic Violence in Armed Conflict and Political Transition*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

12. See recent publications: Díaz Villamil, María Daniela. 2020. *Los órdenes del prejuicio: los crímenes cometidos sistemáticamente contra personas LGBT en el conflict armado colombiano. Colombia: Colombia Diversa. ¿Quién nos va a contar? : informe para la Comisión de la Verdad sobre experiencias de personas lesbianas, gays, conflict y trans en el conflict*

armado colombiano. 2020. Colombia: Colombia Diversa. Sanchez, Maria Camilla, and Emilia Gallon. 2022; Alguien Te Busca. Colombia Diversa. https://colombiadiversa.org/c-diversa/wpcontent/uploads/2022/06/Cartilla-Busqueda-LGBT_-Colombia-Diversa. pdf.; Caicedo Delgado, Luz Piedad, and Clara Inez Atehortúa-Arredondo. 2022. *Vigencia de La Resolución 1325 En Algunos Problemas Contemporáneos.* Colombia Diversa. https://colombiadiversa.org/publicaciones/resolucion-1325-vigencia-de-la-resolucion-en-los-problemascontemporaneos/.

13. UN Free and Equal Fact Sheets and Reports: https://www.unfe.org/learn-more/; Decolonizing Sexualities Network (DSN) is a transnational collective that brings together academics, activists and artivists from across the global norths and souths for whom colonialism, coloniality and decolonization are central to the analytics, politics, experiences, and movements of gender and sexuality: https://decolonizingsexualities.org/

14. Very little work exists looking into queer and trans visions for peace. An exception to this is a 2018 study by Fidelma Ashe: Ashe, F. (2018). *Reimaging Inclusive Security in Peace Processes: LGB&T Perspectives* (PSRP Report). Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh; Ritholtz, Samuel, Serrano-Amaya, José Fernando, Hagen, Jamie J., Judge, Melanie, Under construction: toward a theory and praxis of queer peacebuilding, *Revista de estudios sociales*, 2023, No. 83, pp. 3-32 - https://hdl.handle.net/1814/75232; Joscelyn M. Inton-Campbell & Mikee N. Inton-Campbell (2022) Trans-Ing Peace Studies: An Introduction, Peace Review, 34:4, 465-475, DOI: 10.1080/10402659.2022.2141562

15. "Women, Peace and Security Agenda." 2022. Colombia Diversa. https://colombiadiversa.org/blogs/mariconeando-laagenda-de-mujeres-paz-y-seguridad/.

16. https://limpalcolombia.org/es/images/documents/bi_soy_constructora.pdf p32.

17. Colombia Diversa (2020) "Who is going to tell us?" Report for the Truth Commission on the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in the Colombian armed conflict.

18. Protection Approaches recognizes some of these harms that impede the safety and wellbeing of LGBTQ people as conversion therapy; invasive mandatory surgeries, including at birth for intersex individuals or sterilization for LGBTQI+ adults; rising hate crime; lack of family recognition; lack of employment, and lack of (adequate) healthcare or housing protections. See *Queering Atrocity Prevention* (2022), P: 31: https://protectionapproaches.org/queeringap

19. Meredith Loken, Jamie J Hagen, Queering Gender-Based Violence Scholarship: An Integrated Research Agenda, *International Studies Review*, Volume 24, Issue 4, December 2022, viac050, https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viac050

20. Learn about these examples of transformative justice, and more, in *Beyond Survival: Strategies and Stories from the Transformative Justice Movement* (2020), edited by Ejeris Dixon and Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha.

21. See section below on co-creation and "deep dive" consultancies. As part of this, promote international alliances and collaborations to ensure the inclusion of LGBTQ+ people through international cooperation.

22. For more on coloniality and gender see: Lugones, María. 2020."Gender and Universality in Colonial Methodology." Critical Philosophy of Race 8(1–2): 25–47. Icaza, Rosalba, and Rolando Vázquez. 2016."The Coloniality of Gender as a Radical Critique of Developmentalism." In The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development, ed. Wendy Harcourt. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 62–73. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-1-137-38273-3_5 ; Mohanty, C. T. (1991). Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. Boundary 2, 12/13, 333–358. https://doi.org/10.2307/302821, Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity. Durham ; London: Duke University Press.
23. Ayazi, Mena, and Rashad Nimr. 2022. Celebration, Pride, and Violence: Queer Experiences in Youth, Peace & Security. https://youth4peace.info/system/files/2022-07/Celebration%2C%20Pride%2C%20and%20Violence-Queering%20YPS%20Paper%20%281%29.pdf.

24. See for example this piece on the UK NAP and Northern Ireland: Monaghan, Jonna, and Aisling Swaine. 2022.

"Domestication of the UK National Action Plan: Considerations from Northern Ireland." WPS Forum on 15 Years of UK WPS. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2022/10/19/domestication-of-the-uk-national-action-plan-considerations-fromnorthern-ireland/.

25. See: https://www.lambdalegal.org/sites/default/files/getting_down_to_basics_-_2015._pdf from p.17

26. True, Jacqui, and Sarah Hewitt, "What Works in Relief and Recovery," in Sara E. Davies, and Jacqui True (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security, Oxford Handbooks (2019; online edn, Oxford Academic, 11 Dec. 2018), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.013.19, accessed 18 Sept. 2023.

27. For more on LGBTQ+ people and transitional justice see: Bueno-Hansen, Pascha, The Emerging LGBTI Rights Challenge to Transitional Justice in Latin America, International Journal of Transitional Justice, Volume 12, Issue 1, March 2018, Pages 126–145.; Katherine Fobear & Erin Baines (2020) Pushing the conversation forward: the intersections of sexuality and gender identity in transitional justice, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 24:4, 307-312, DOI: 10.1080/13642987.2019.1673980.

28. This topic has received significant attention from the UN Refugee agency UNHCR, and you can review existing policies and program that have worked to implement protection and solutions for LGBTIQ+ people in forced displacement. Learn more here: https://www.unhcr.org/what-we-do/how-we-work/safeguarding-individuals/lgbtiqpersons

29. LGBTQ+ people need access to reproductive health care, including contraception, abortion, assisted reproductive services, HIV care, pregnancy care, parenting resources, and more. See: https://www.thetaskforce.org/wpcontent/uploads/2019/06/Queering-Reproductive-Justice-Mini-Toolkit._pdf

30. Available on page 83: https://www.edgeeffect.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/TheOnlyWayIsUp_Web.pdf

31. Enloe, Cynthia. (2017). "The Persistence of Patriarchy." New Internationalist. October 1. Available at: https://newint.org/columns/essays/2017/10/01/patriarchy-persistence; Sjoberg, Laura (2016). "What, and Where, is Feminist Security Studies?", *Journal of Regional Security*, 11:2, 143–161.; Shepherd, Laura J., & Sjoberg, L. (2012). "Trans- bodies In/Of War(s): Cisprivilege and Contemporary Security Strategy," *Feminist Review* 101: 5-23.; Peterson, V. Spike. (1999). "Sexing Political Identities/Nationalism as Heterosexism," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1(1): 34-65.

32. Serena Bassi, Greta LaFleur; Introduction: TERFs, Gender-Critical Movements, and Postfascist Feminisms. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* (2022) 9 (3): 311-333.. doi: https://doi.org/10.1215/23289252-9836008.

33. Nagarajan, Chitra and Jamie Hagen, (2023) Supporting Queer Feminist Mobilisations for Peace and Security, Centre for Gender in Politics policy brief series: https://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/centre-for-gender-in-politics/PolicyBriefs/PolicyBriefs/Filetoupload,1722887,en.pdf

34. Hagen, Jamie J. (2016) Sexual orientation and gender identity as part of the WPS project. LSE Centre for Women, Peace and Security Working Paper Series, Kirby, Paul and Shepherd, Laura J. (eds.) (2/2016). Centre for Women, Peace & Security, London, UK. See also this podcast recording of a 2017 discussion at the LSE WPS Centre about the policy brief: https://www.lse.ac.uk/women-peace-security/events/Previous-Events/2019/Sexual-Orientation-and-Gender-Identity.

35. Colombia Diversa (2020). Orders of Prejudice: Systemic Crimes Committed Against LGBT People in the Colombian Armed Conflict. https://colombiadiversa.org/colombiadiversa2016/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/english-version-Orders-Of-Prejudice.pdf

36. For example, Human Rights Watch (2023) "This is Why We Became Activists: Violence against lesbian, bisexual and trans women as well as non-binary people." https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/02/14/why-we-became-activists/violence-against-lesbian-bisexual-and-queer-women-and-non

37. One resource we recommend to guide such a deep dive is AWID's Feminist realities toolkit: https://www.awid.org/

resources/feminist-realities-our-power-action-exploratory-toolkit

39. Avoid making assumptions. We all have a habit of making assumptions about gender based on appearance and other indications, but it is impossible to know immediately what a person's gender identity is, whether they are transgender or cisgender and what pronouns you should use. Tools to Support LGBTIQ+ Youth in Care. p.17. Available here: https://www.lambdalegal.org/sites/default/files/getting_down_to_basics_-_2015.pdf

40. For more on practicing trans-inclusive workplaces see Building Trans-Inclusive Scientific Workplaces: https://www.rsc.org/globalassets/22-new-perspectives/talent/inclusion-and-diversity/resources/lgbt-toolkit/building-trans-inclusive-workplaces.pdf

41. Colombia Diversa (2022) Someone is Searching For You: A Guidebook to Search for LGBTQ+ Missing Persons. https://colombiadiversa.org/publicaciones/someone-is-searching-for-you/

42. Am important of acknowledging this history is understanding the way that sexuality has been sidelined by feminist organizing for fear of women's rights organizations losing power. For more about this see: Rothschild, Cynthia (2001) Written Out: How Sexuality is Used to Attack Women's Organizing. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317037519_Written_Out_How_Sexuality_Is_Used_to_Attack_Women's_Organizing

43. Boyd, A., Mitchell, D. O. (2013). Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox For Revolution (Pocket Edition). United Kingdom: OR Books, LLC

44. Community Organizing and Community Building for Health and Social Equity, 4th Edition. (2021). United Kingdom: Rutgers University Press.

45. For more about understanding the relationship between gender and power see: GIPP: Gender, Inclusion, Power & Politics Analysis Toolkit: https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2022-08/gipp-toolkit-part-two-toolkit-june-2021.pdf

46. Women, Peace and Security NAPS are available to review via the WILPF Monitoring and Analysis of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security. WILPF also has a toolkit for NAP development: https://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/national_action_plan_development_toolkit.pdf; See also the Annex in LGBTQ Lives in Conflict and Crisis: A Queer Agenda for Peace, Security and Accountability, p. 31: https://outrightinternational.org/sites/default/files/2023-02/LGBTQLivesConflictCrisis_0.pdf

47. To learn more about this queer inclusion see: Pinheiro, Gabriela (2023). "(En)gendering Peace: A Queer Feminist Analysis of South Africa's (2020-2025) National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security". *Revista de Estudios Sociales*. 83: 99 119. https://doi.org/10.7440/res83.2023.06. The piece is part of a special issue about queer peacebuilding: 'Cuir/Queer Peacebuilding', (special issue edited with Melanie Judge, Samuel Ritholtz and José Fernando Serrano Amaya, *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, January 2023.

48. These concerns were discussed at the workshop organized by Colombia Diversa in October 2022 in Bogotá with a focus group of feminist and LBT leaders interested in working together within the framework of the WPS agenda. There it was jointly decided to request the Colombian state the include "LBT" women in promoting an intersectional feminista agenda with the forthcoming Colombian NAP.

49. The differential approach is complimentary to intersectionality and recognizes that people's experiences are different based on their sexual orientation, gender identity, race, class and indigeneity. This differential approach is a central component of the Colombian 2016 Peace Agreement.

51. Saleh, L and Sood, N, (2020). Vibrant Yet Under Resourced: The State of Lesbian, Bisexual, and Queer Movements. New York and Amsterdam: Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice and Mama Cash.

52. Colombia Diversa. Violence does not prevent us from being and loving. Report on the situation of Human Rights LGBT persons 2021.

53. See Outright's rights report The Global State of LGBTIQ Organizing: The Right to Register and the Freedom to Operate 2023: https://outrightinternational.org/right-to-register2023

54. For more on mutual aid see: https://www.deanspade.net/mutual-aid-building-solidarity-during-this-crisis-and-the-next/

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Partner organizations

Christian Aid is the relief and development agency of 41 Christian churches in the UK and Ireland, and works to support sustainable development, eradicate poverty, support civil society and provide disaster relief in South America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia.

Colombia Diversa is a non-governmental organization that since 2004 has fought for the rights of those people who have been discriminated against for loving, being or appearing "different." In order to live in an equal society for all, Colombia Diversa carries out strategic litigation, advocacy and research on the human rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals and trans people in Colombia.

Centre for Gender in Politics, Queen's University Belfast examines how gender impacts politics in Northern Ireland, foreign policy, peace and security, reproductive justice, responding to climate change and the day to day lives of students at Queen's University Belfast. The Centre promotes interdisciplinary and cross-faculty dialogue at Queen's. We at the Centre seek to engage with policymakers and sustain connections with the wider community of feminist and LGBTQ+ activists and cultural organizations in Belfast and beyond. The Centre prioritizes initiatives that support collaborations between civil society, academics and students in the Queen's University Belfast community.