Peace at the expense of traditional family values?

A descriptive frame analysis of the concept *gender* within the anti-gender campaign against the Colombian peace accord
ABSTRACT
The aim of this paper is to examine and describe the framing of the concept gender within the Colombian anti-gender campaign against the peace accord between FARC-EP and the government of Colombia. By implementing a frame analysis of gender, this study examines how actors within the resistance movement framed the concept of gender, and how they linked it to the resistance of the peace accord. 14 news articles from the Colombian news websites El Espectador and Portafolio, written between 2016.08.10 and 2016.10.01, have been selected and analyzed in a profound way. The result shows that the gender resistance was often based on the theory of a gender ideology, and gender was expressed as a threat to the traditional family values. Future plausible scenarios including homosexuality, such as a homosexual dictatorship, were presented by some actors. The most prominent actors within the anti-gender movement were the right-wing politicians Alejandro Ordóñez and Álvaro Uribe, as well as Ángela Hernández from the party La U. To vote against the peace accord in the plebiscite was the only solution expressed in the material. This study encourages future research to examine any possible causality between the framing of gender and the result of the plebiscite.

Keywords:
Gender, peace agreement, plebiscite, peace resistance.
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1. INTRODUCTION

The peace accord signed by the Government of Colombia and the largest Colombian guerilla group Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC-EP, or FARC) has received worldwide attention for different reasons. In particular, the former president Juan Manuel Santos was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize "for his resolute efforts to bring the country's more than 50-year-long civil war to an end." (The Nobel Prize. 2018). Another reason for the increased attention was the comprehensive gendered perspective and inclusion of women and LGBT groups in the process (NOREF. 2018; Vargas and Díaz Pérez. 2018). Notwithstanding, the participation of women within most part of the discussions and decision-making was still lower than that of men (Vargas and Díaz Pérez. 2018). The previous foreign minister of Sweden, Margot Wallström, named it the first [gender] equal peace accord in the world (SVT. 2016). Regardless of the positive attention, there has been a polarization within the Colombian population, resulting in several complications obstructing the implementation. With less than 38% of the Colombian population voting in the plebiscite on whether to implement the accord or not, and a slight majority preferring a rejection (Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil. 2016), several paragraphs had to be renegotiated or rephrased (BBC. 2016). Polls which had been presented before the plebiscite predicted that the agreement would receive support by a majority of the voters (La Silla Vacía. 2016), thus many national and international monitors were shocked by the plebiscite result (El País. 2016; BBC. 2016 A; The New York Times. 2016 A).

Besides the extensive criticism of granted political participation and leniency towards FARC-EP ex-combattants (BBC. 2016 B; The New York Times. 2016 B), several societal groups opposed the inclusive gender approach within the treaty (The Washington Post. 2016). Vargas and Pérez argue that the greatest controversy regarding the implementation of a gender perspective was the portion regarding the promotion of non-stigmatization due to diverse gender identities or sexual orientations, which some political and religious sectors wanted to change (2018: 406). LGBT activists and women’s rights organizations have achieved progress in Colombia as well as in other Latin American countries during the last decade, despite deeply rooted gender and family norms. However, the opposition seemed to increase in strength during the peace process and culminated in extensive campaigning towards the new legislation as well as the peace accord.

Waylen explains how informal institutions, such as norms and unwritten rules, can affect formal rule change within gender change strategies. When new policies and rules go
against existing norms and traditions in a society, there is a risk that those norms will remain, and undermine the formal rules (2014). As seen in Colombia, the peace process and the accord suggested a change in formal rules, when increased rights were given to women and the LGBT community. On the other hand, the resistance and the plebiscite result lead to a reversal of the rights, especially regarding the LGBT community. Even though some argue that most of the gender-equal rights still remain, many paragraphs had to be reformulated by reducing the word gender (Shokrirezaghi. 2017). Waylen further emphasizes the importance of ensuring that preexisting informal institutions are not undermining or subverting new formal rules (2014), which may have happened in Colombia. In order to prevent this from happening, formal rule change must include efficient strategies on how to change informal rules simultaneously (Waylen. 2014).

People from the LGBT community in Colombia are still being harassed and murdered due to their sexual orientation. According to the LGBT activist organisation Colombia Diversa, pamphlets have been used along with other methods to threaten LGBT persons and spread prejudices (2015). Despite last decade’s development in the area, the LGBT community is still a highly discriminated group since the new policies regarding LGBT rights are not being implemented efficiently in all sectors and on all levels (Sida. 2014), which may be related to a lack of change in the informal rules. Some articles have brought up the possibility that the plebiscite result was affected by the anti-gender campaign, since some leaders of the campaign encouraged Colombians to vote against the accord partly because of the inclusion of gender (Botero. 2017; Céspedes-Báez. 2016).

1.1. Research question and purpose of this study

The purpose of this thesis is therefore to study the resistance towards the inclusion of gender within the peace accord. To understand the arguments behind the resistance, a frame analysis will be used to examine how the concept of gender was framed as a problem by actors within the resistance campaign. This leads up to the research question;

“How was ‘gender’ framed within the resistance campaign against the inclusion of gender in the peace accord?”

To answer this research question a frame analysis is implemented, and frames of the concept gender will be searched for within news articles presenting the resistance. Since the study
focuses on frames within the anti-gender campaign, it will only include frames formulated by actors resisting the inclusion of gender in the peace accord. The selected data where frames will be searched for consists of news articles written in Spanish and published online by Colombian newspapers. Articles including the words paz/acuerdo/plebiscito and género and that were published between 2016.08.10 and 2016.10.01 are selected. After the selection of articles, the two news websites El Espectador and Portafolio were the ones represented among the material. Four specific questions are asked to the texts, in order to examine how gender is framed as a problem, for whom it is a problem, what the possible consequences are, which actors are expressing the resistance, how gender is linked to the peace process and what solutions are presented.

This study finds that gender is mostly framed as based on the so-called gender ideology, which threatens the traditional family values. The inclusion of gender in the peace accord tramples on biblical principles and may result in a gay colonization or the Colombian youth being converted into homosexuals. Alejandro Ordóñez, Álvaro Uribe and Ángela Hernández are the most prominent actors expressing this resistance towards gender within this material. The gender resistance is linked to the resistance towards the peace accord through the gender ideology as well as previous events such as the protesting against booklets alleged to implement the gender ideology in Colombian schools. The solution presented in most articles is to vote against the peace accord in the plebiscite, which strengthens the theory that the framing of gender may have affected the result of the plebiscite.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Previous Research

2.1.1. Gender and peace accords - Resolution 1325

Gender is a relatively new concept to be included in a peace process, especially to be included in a written peace agreement as more than merely an add-on. UNSCR 1325, linked to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS), was adopted in the year 2000 by the UN Security Council, in order to increase the female participation in peace operations and processes as well as to emphasize women’s and men’s different protection needs in conflict and post conflict settings. Thereby, the aim was to create peace that benefit men and women equally. The resolution was rooted in the 1945 UN charter for gender equal rights, and in the
UN Decade for Women. It resulted in several follow-ups, and has come to include three main themes; participation, protection and gender mainstreaming (Olsson & Gizelis. 2013: 426-427). *Participation* should include both women-dominated actors and individual women, from different sides of the conflicts as well as from affected societies. The participation must be met on all levels and include the decision-making processes. This goal was primarily created as a way to meet women’s fundamental rights, but later also began to include arguments about women’s likeliness of creating a more sustainable peace. The *protection* part of the resolution was created to emphasize the fact that not only men are affected by conflict, but also women, which requires adapted strategies of protection. The main area of research and implementation regards sexual violence against women and girls. However, women have been affected in other ways as well, for instance through reproduction and maternal health issues. A lack of attention concerning women as soldiers and not solely victims has been another issue. The inclusion of protection has also been connected with the revealing of sexual abuse committed against local populations by UN staff and other mission personnel. Lastly, the inclusion of *gender mainstreaming* aims at creating a more equal peace by, where it is appropriate, incorporating a gender perspective and a gender component within peacekeeping and field operations (Ibid.: 428-432).

Some authors have pointed out critique towards the implementation of this agenda and presented improvements that still have to be made in order to reach the desired results. Kara Ellerby claims that resource scarcity and no political pressure are two obstacles preventing UNSCR 1325 from creating an impact in the area, and that strategies and norms obstruct the ideas and activities of women within formal peace talks (2013). Another critique target the treatment of women as a homogenous group, despite the fact that women in conflict countries have had different roles, been exposed to different situations and challenges, and have different opinions and desires for the future (Erzurum & Eren. 2014; Singh. 2017). A third critique points at the absolute focus on women and the exclusion of men, and claims that we must focus on both women and men in order to solve gender issues such as sexual violence (Kirby & Shepherd. 2016). Further, Isobel Renzulli argues that the Women, peace and security agenda needs to be implemented as a human rights strategy that is based on a clear understanding of what gender equality means, and which by creating context sensitive and participatory solutions will target all kinds of discrimination towards women, also in peaceful settings (2017).

However, both the UNSCR 1325 as well as most studies connect gender with *heterosexual women*, and recently with heterosexual men later added into the concept.
Thereby, all individuals who do not fit into these categories are automatically excluded, such as the LGBTI community and individuals with diverse gender identities. As Hudson argues, the UNSCRs are based on narrow heteronormative categories of women and men, and hardly ever recognize the LGBTI community and their needs. This in turn obstructs the creation of strategies targeting for instance gender-based violence towards LGBTI persons (2016). Despite the lack of LGBT rights in UNSCR 1325, the LGBT community was, to some part, included in the Colombian peace process, due to the work done by activists and NGOs. It is therefore interesting and important to study different perceptions and meanings of gender, and if the resistance in Colombia was targeting the concept of gender presented in the UNSCR 1325 or a concept of gender which includes the LGBT community as well. A closer theoretical summary of the concept gender is presented in section 2.2.

2.1.2. Resistance towards peace processes

Colombia is not the first case where local resistance has been pointed towards parts of a peace process, and where international actors have been undesirable by some local segments. Roger Mac Ginty have studied local resistance towards liberal and international peace processes, as well as how the international and local are usually divided into two simplified categories. In peacebuilding supported by international actors and institutions, the most common form of peace that is promoted internationally today is the liberal peace. The authors argue that the liberal ideology has become so dominant within the peace and conflict discourse and practice that they claim it to be orthodoxy (Mac Ginty. 2011:207-212). According to Doyle, one of the three pillars to liberal peace is “an ideological commitment to fundamental human rights”, combined with republican representation and transnational interdependence (2005:463). However, the definition of fundamental human rights may differ between countries, cultures and individuals, which obstructs an unanimous global implementation and creates resistance towards values that some consider incontestable.

The study done by Mac Ginty suggests that pragmatism exists both among promoters of liberal peace as well as among those targeted by this kind of peace interventions; such as individuals, communities, institutions and governments. Where the latter group may act in various ways, ranging from willing cooperation to ferocious resistance, and need not completely agree with or completely resist every part of the liberal peace. The interaction between international and local actors is claimed to be dynamic, and the actors may change
their stances, rhetoric and themselves during hybrid peace processes (Mac Ginty. 2011:207-212).

Peacebuilding today often includes intrusion into local politics and social life, which partly explains why resistance may occur. Strong resistance may grow when injustices are perpetrated by the liberal peace system, as well as in areas which the system ignores or where it is inefficient. Resistance towards liberal peace processes tend to be viewed negatively, due to the dominant belief that the liberal way is the only right way to implement peace. The authors emphasize the importance of not romanticizing resistance as courageous locals withstand malicous international actors, but acknowledging that it may solely be based on local actors own selfish goals. However, resistance may on the other hand serve as a way to create a more sustainable and well adapted peace for the affected communities, by solving local concerns with the locals own solutions (Mac Ginty. 2011:207-212). In order to better understand why resistance towards peace processes occur, more studies need to focus on how each argument and problem is presented. If the inclusion of a gender approach, encouraged by external actors, creates a resistance; how is gender framed as a problem, and for whom? Thereby, we can better understand if the resistance is growing due to the aim of creating a more sustainable and well-adapted peace, or if it receives support due to framing effects. This study will contribute to this area by examining the framing of gender as one source of resistance.

2.1.3. “Gender ideology” and anti-gender campaigns

Gender resistance not only occurs in conflict torn countries, but also grow stronger in regions such as Europe. Kuhar and Paternotte describe and analyse the transnational, so called anti “gender ideology” movement in Europe, by increasing the understanding of the origin, manifestations and diffusion of this kind of oppositional groups. The authors describe gender ideology as a discourse and a strategy, and thereafter studies it as a national phenomenon (2017:3).

As a discourse, the authors explain that gender ideology grew in the beginning of the 2000s, within the opposition against women’s and LGBT rights as well as against the deconstruction of naturalistic and essentialist perspectives on gender and sexuality. The Catholic church is brought up as one of the main actors who contributed to the emergence of the gender ideology epithet. By anti-gender actors, Judith Butler is commonly described as the mother of gender ideology, which is usually framed by right-wing populists and and
conservative religious leaders as something that threatens societies and the mankind itself by undermining the identity of men and women, the marriage and the family as well the whole structure of the human being. The ideology is portrayed to generate negative effects on children in particular, who are said to be indoctrinated by these views in schools, views that are in turn promoting children’s hyper-sexualization as well as paedophilia. Several authors in the area also compare gender studies with Marxism and Fascism, and claim that the use of words such as “equality” and “anti-discrimination” is just a strategy to defeat the natural order and destroy the bond between the human being and nature. It took about ten years for the epithet of gender ideology to spread around Europe, where protests started around 2012, with some early exceptions (Kuhar and Paternotte. 2017:5-8).

As a strategy, gender ideology is often connected to the Catholic church, right-wing populism and to some degree to political homophobia which aims for access to state power. It began to receive an increased amount of attention and support as a result from the UN recognition of sexual and reproductive rights in the nineties. Religious groups, such as the Holy See, were afraid that the sexual rights were part of a strategy to attack and undermine the natural motherhood and family. As a result, the Catholic church began to use concepts such as gender and feminism, but by implementing a different meaning to them. Thereby, the notions that liberals had been developing over decades were subverted. The gender ideology campaign were a priority for the high authorities of the Vatican for a long time, and along with the New Evangelization, it gained new strength. The new strategy to reach out to new and old Christians in the modern world included encouragement to protect traditional family values and gender roles by mobilizing in political action. However, this strategy has been used by other societal groups as well. Since the gender ideology shares some fundamental beliefs with right-wing populist ideology, the current right-wing populism in Europe has led to an increased support for the anti-gender movement (Ibid. 2017). In the case of Colombia, some of the most prominent actors within the gender resistance are right wing politicians or Evangelists. This study will contribute to this theoretical field by adding a descriptive case study of how the resistance movement frames the gender concept in Colombia. There is also a lack of frame analyses within the gender resistance literature, which this study will begin to fill. How the concept is framed is one key part in understanding the whole foundation of the movement, which is why this study, and similar studies in other regions, is needed. Lastly, there is a lack of studies exploring the combination of resistance towards peace processes and resistance towards the gender approach. This study will contribute to this area by examining
how leading actors of the resistance movement in Colombia linked their anti-LGBT and anti-gender approach with the peace accord and the plebiscite.

2.2. Gender

In order to understand gender and the resistance towards it, we need to understand the theoretical definitions and usages of gender as a concept. Historically, there has been many different definitions of gender, and it has been used in different contexts and for different purposes.

Gender was originally created as a linguistic category, but later became established within feminist scholarship as a way to separate culturally masculine and feminine characteristics from biological attributes. Early on, the concept was used to show the variation within the constructions of masculine and feminine characteristics, and it was later used when analyzing the relations between women and men. Thereafter, gender has been used as an analytical tool for many different reasons, including to examine the divisions of benefits and burdens within societies and to explain individual identities and desires (Hawkesworth. 2005).

Scott argued that gender is not a category with fixed content, or something you are in all societies, always. It is rather something that can change with time and between different societies and cultures (1986). Scott defines the concept as follows;

“(...) gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.” (Scott. 1986: 1067)

Further, Scott argues that gender is always present, and is something that is so fundamental that we cannot leave it out. Even when we believe that we are gender neutral, we still think in a gendered way. We always seek to know if someone is a man or a woman, in order to decide how we should behave towards them according to our prejudices. According to Scott, gender is present through culturally available symbols, normative concepts, social organizations and institutions as well as on the individual and subjective level (1986).

Beckwith argues that we have not had a clear common language when discussing gender within gender and politics research. The definitions of the concept have differed from being a synonym for sex to referring to the specific dynamic interactions within cultures. However, there has been two common understandings within most definitions. First, that
categories of sex do not have any intrinsic meanings or lead to any particular practices, since meanings and practices are constructed by cultures and societies. Second, that the terms masculine and feminine indicates the outermost boundaries of the politically constructed and contextualized meanings, and that they are not necessarily determined by male and female (2005). Due to the unclear application and usage of the concept, Beckwith suggest to use gender both as a category:

“By gender as category I mean the multidimensional mapping of socially constructed, fluid, politically relevant identities, values, conventions, and practices conceived of as masculine and/or feminine, with the recognition that masculinity and femininity correspond only fleetingly and roughly to “male” and “female”.” (Beckwith. 2005:131)

and as a process:

“By “process,” I mean behaviors, conventions, practices, and dynamics engaged in by individuals, organizations, movements, institutions, and nations. Gender as process has two major manifestations in recent gender and politics research: 1) as the differential effects of structures and policies upon women and men, and 2) as the means by which masculine and feminine actors (often men and women, but not perfectly congruent, and often individuals but also structures) actively work to produce favorable gendered outcomes.” (Beckwith. 2005:132)

Beckwith further describes that according to the first manifestation, gender as a process is based upon the notion that men and women are differently affected by the gendered structures and institutions. Private behaviour and possibilities are formed by public practice, for instance through privileging and normalizing heterosexual marriage where husband and wife are gendered actors and thereby hold different marital powers. According to the second manifestation, gender as a process propose that politics and institutions are not only gendered, but can also be regendered by masculine and feminine actors. These definitions in turn create a common language on how to discuss and study gender within politics, which helps to separate gender from sex as well as to map the concept of gender to sex in cautiously defined
contexts. The concept can be used to understand how masculinity and femininity are being mapped to individuals, groups, institutions and practices. (2005).

Judith Butler, mentioned in section 2.1.3., has been criticizing the whole categorization of sex and gender. The problem with categories is that they are limiting, especially by being binary, and performative, since they result in real consequences for actual people. Butler suggest that we separate gender from the biological sex and typical bodies, since you must be able to have any gender irrespective of your biological body. She further argues that even the natural sex is constructed, since we describe meaning to those biological differences, meanings that are not naturally connected with men and women (1998). If we reverse the meanings that are attributed to men and women (see e.g. Brantenberg & Mackay. 2004), we can find new ways of thinking which legitimize those reversed meanings, just as we have legitimized the meanings that exist today. The solution Butler offers is not to stop categorizing, but to be self-critical and use them with reflection. We must rethink our usages of categories such as, for instance, identity and gender. We should also explore the totalizing claims of the masculine discourse, and respect the gestures of feminism (1998).

Butler later argues that according to queer theory, gender must be separated from sexuality, since other sexualities exist which are not constrained by gender, and since having a gender does neither require any engagement in sexual practice. Further, gender should not be reduced only to the hegemonic heterosexuality, since other categories of both gender and sexuality exist (2004:54).

2.3. Framing theory

The concept of gender has demonstrably been presented and criticized in different ways by different actors. When different phenomena and concepts, such as gender, are being presented and defined in a certain way by an actor, they are said to be framed. Framing can be explained as a process in which a phenomena is given a particular conceptualization, which in turn may include implications for different areas and values (Chong and Druckman. 2007: 103-104). Frames are often transferred in many directions and between different levels; media tend to use frames that comes from politicians, citizens or social activists; political actors tend to use frames coming from the media, other political actors or citizens; and frames are also transferred between different citizens through discussions (Chong and Druckman. 2007:109-
The framing of different phenomena by media sources affects public opinion in a powerful way (De Vreese. 2005).

The framing theory is based on the belief that societal phenomena have no objective value or meaning, and can therefore be represented and perceived, framed, in different ways. (Esaiasson et al.: 213, 218-219). There has been an incongruity within the literature about framing, and according to De Vreese the major part emphasizes either frames as part of content, or frames as something affecting the perceivers in different ways. De Vreese, on the other hand, studies framing as a process (2005).

According to Van Hulst and Yanow, it is common within social movement theory to emphasize strategic frames, created intentionally to increase the chances of coalitions or alliances. However, the authors emphasizes that frames are produced through interaction and communication. Two central aspects that are brought up are the intersubjective processes where frames are created and developed, and the situated character of the frames (2014).

3. DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1. Choice of case

Colombia was chosen for this case study due to several reasons. Firstly, the peace agreement received much attention for the progressive implementation of a gender approach and the inclusion of women and LGBT groups within the peace process. As mentioned earlier, it has been called the first gender equal peace agreement in the world and seen as an extraordinary case, which should be followed in other peace processes. By studying the Colombian case, we can learn more about the undesirable consequences that may follow this gender approach, which is needed in order to create solutions or, preferably, prevent them from occurring. Secondly, the implementation received loud critique and thereby had to be renegotiated, resulting in the reformulation and removal of many paragraphs (Shokrirezaghi. 2017). Thus, it is an important case to study further in order to create a better understanding of the resistance, and thereby how it can be prepared for or even prevented in future peace processes. Thirdly, much critique was pointed towards the previous president Juan Manuel Santos, which shortly after the rejection of the agreement received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. This incongruity further adds to the incentives of studying the Colombian case. Lastly, this is a case of resistance towards the inclusion of gender within a peace accord. As mentioned, this accord is one of the first to include gender to this extent. Therefore, it may be difficult to find
similar cases to compare with. However, if the gender approach will be implemented in more peace accords in the future, which is a goal for many international actors, more cases of this kind will presumably be created. Therefore, it is necessary to begin studying this case.

3.2. Frame analysis

This study is based on a qualitative frame analysis of text material. It analyses the concept of gender, framed by anti-gender actors who will be described further down.

According to Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson, Towns and Wängnerud, a qualitative text analysis should be used when the central part for the research is something else than the sum of the different parts, and when the main message might be hidden behind the surface. This method requires intense reading of the text, to find what parts are more important than others. The method is based on the thought that different actors behave towards other actors, objects or phenomena according to the meaning it has for the actor. A certain phenomena does not have a particular meaning in itself, but different actors create different meanings to the phenomena within different social contexts. Through a qualitative text analysis, it is possible to study the meaning of different phenomena which are expressed in, for instance, written language (2017:211-215). Since this study aims to examine the communicated resistance towards the concept of gender which was included in the peace agreement, and therefore needs to closely analyse the communication of the concept, a qualitative text analysis is a strong tool to use.

One common strategy within text analysis is to analyse frames, which is based on the framing theory. This method can be done by studying how different political actors, activists or media frame different phenomena, questions and happenings. A frame analysis often strives to understand the conscious strategy behind frames in different social contexts (Ibid.:213, 218-219). In order to examine and understand the resistance towards the concept of gender, studying how gender is represented and framed as a problem by gender opponents is a significant aspect, and is therefore the specialized purpose of this study. Hence, a frame analysis will be used in order to answer the research question.

How a phenomena is framed affect the way the audience understand and think about it, and thereby also affect how they behave towards it (Chong and Druckman. 2007:109). In the Colombian case, this would mean that the framing of gender may have affected the audience opinions and behavior in the plebiscite. The way communication and frames by elite groups affect the attitudes and frames of regular citizens is usually called the framing effect
In contrast to the closely related concept of representation, a frame analysis places more focus on the actors; the producers and the consumers of the frames that are being created. How a phenomena is framed may affect how people vote, which is why political actors and social movements often frame problems strategically (Esaiasson et al. 2017:218). Politicians commonly try to convince voters to think about a policy or topic in a specific manner, for instance by emphasizing how it relates to important values, in order to gain votes (Chong and Druckman. 2007:106). The Colombian case includes the plebiscite about the peace agreement, and - as mentioned - several studies speculate over how much influence the anti-gender campaign had on the voters choices.

In order to analyze frames in text material, it is necessary to create specific questions which should be asked to the texts. This study focuses on the gender resistance, and therefore aims at finding the framing of gender as some sort of problem or something negative. Esaiasson et al. present four questions which could be used in a frame analysis; 1. How is the ‘problem’ framed? (What kind of problem is it framed as, and for whom is it presented to be a problem)?; 2. What kind of actors are included in the framing? (With what characteristics, motives and capacities to act are they represented?); 3. How is the reason behind the problem framed? (Who or what is represented to be the cause of the problem?); 4. How is the solution to the problem framed? (What alternatives of action are enabled, in relation to how the problem is represented?) (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 218-219).

These questions are targeting the framing of a phenomena as a problem, and thereby matches the goal of this study which is to describe the framing of gender as a problem. Therefore, these four questions have inspired the creation of the specific questions for this particular study. In question number one, possible consequences to the gender approach has been added. This adds value to the question of how the problem is framed, since many phenomenon are seen as problems mainly because of the consequences that may follow. Thereafter, question number two has been changed and instead targets the linking of gender to the peace accord and the plebiscite, in order to study how the anti-gender campaign was connected to the anti-peace accord campaign. This question will help to understand if the gender resistance was solely based on the fact that the word gender was implemented in the peace accord, or if there are any other events, actors or phenomena that connected gender resistance in general with the resistance towards the peace accord. This will additionally enable later speculations about whether the anti gender campaign may have affected the result of the plebiscite. However, the focus of this study is on the framing, and therefore, this causal question will solely be discussed in order to inspire future studies aiming at examining any
possible causality between the framing and the plebiscite result. Question number three has been changed to include the actors which are presenting the resistance. As mentioned, the actors are important within a frame analysis. Since these actors may indicate what kind of people the frames are aimed to reach, this question will play an important role for the analysis. Question number four will remain unchanged since it covers the last area this study aims to examine. The questions will regard either the concept of gender, or the gender approach, depending on the formulation of the questions. The final questions are thereby;

1. **How is the problem framed?** What kind of problem is gender framed as, and for whom is it presented to be a problem? What possible consequences may follow a gender approach within the peace agreement?

2. **How is the gender resistance connected to the peace accord and the plebiscite?** Is the concept of gender connected via certain actors, the accord document, recent policies or other sources?

3. **What kind of actors are presenting the resistance?** Do they have any political positions or belong to any religious groups? Are there any particular actors recurring more often than others?

4. **How is the solution to the gender approach framed?** What alternatives of action are enabled, in relation to how the problem is represented?

After reading through the articles several times, in order to become acquainted with the material, each article is studied profoundly based on the specific questions which were systematically asked to the text material. According to the method suggested by Esaiasson et al. (2017: 229), the material is analyzed two times in order to find all possible interpretations. First, each question is asked to all articles, and second, all questions are asked to each article.

**3.3. Data selection**

Chong and Druckman explains that typical material to study within frame analyses are media sources such as newspapers, websites, magazines and news broadcasted on television, and that the specific selection should be according to the intent of the researcher (2007:107). This study focuses on the gender frames within the anti-gender campaign opposing the peace accord, based on the theory that these frames may have affected the result of the plebiscite. According to a study by Woong Rhee as well as a study by Druckman, frames within written
news articles affect how people interpret and describe political campaigns as well as play an important role in the communication of information to voters. Broadcasted news, on the contrary, do not affect the receivers to the same extent (Woong Rhee. 1997; Druckman. 2005). Based on these studies, broadcasted news will not be included as material for this study. Also De Vreese argues that frames within news texts may affect how certain phenomenon are being interpreted and evaluated. Further, De Vreese argues that frames presented within news articles are results from interactions between journalists and elites as well as social movements, and that external actors are important for the frame-building processes within news texts (2005:52). Therefore, one can argue that the frames used by the most prominent anti-gender campaign actors in Colombia were also reflected within Colombian news articles, and in turn imbibed by the readers and presumably affecting voters in the plebiscite. Therefore, Colombian news articles have been selected as part of the data the analysis is based on. Further, news articles that have been published online are easily accessible despite the two years that have passed since the phenomena occurred, and are also accessible from outside Colombia, which both are necessary in order to complete this study. Thereby, only news articles which have been published by online news websites have been selected.

Esaiasson et al. divides a qualitative text analysis into several subcategories regarding the choice of data. Firstly, the authors divide between studies that focus on the actors, also called the producers of the text material, and studies which focus on the ideas in the texts (2017:224-225). Here, focus will be placed on the ideas, in order to examine the frames which were consumed by Colombians before the plebiscite regardless of the actors. However, the actors expressing the resistance and appearing in the material play an important role as well, according to the frame analysis.

Further, one must decide whether to choose a narrow or wide range of producers, where a wide range is taken from many actors with different relations to the chosen phenomena (Ibid.). In the Colombian case, several actors, both individual and more diffuse, officially presented their opposition towards the gender perspective, as mentioned previously. Many of these actors have some common denominators, but nevertheless covered different areas such as politicians, religious leaders and other individuals. To choose one or a few producers may result in the exclusion of important material needed for this study, since the aim is to describe the gender frames within the whole resistance campaign. Therefore, no actors have been selected in advance. All relevant actors found in the selected material are included, in order to cover as much of the resistance as possible. Esaiasson et al. further
mentions the risk of choosing too few or the wrong producers, which might produce skewed results (2017:225). The limited amount of time and resources for this study, which obstructs the ability to meticulously examine which should be the main actors to include, is therefore another reason to choose a wide range of actors.

Regarding the amount of material, a bigger amount of data decreases the time which can be used to analyse each text (Esaiasson et al. 2017:225-226). Therefore, the limited amount of time for this study requires a smaller amount of material. This choice allows me to read and re-read the material closely, in order to find and collect all details needed to give a profound answer to the research question. There is always a risk of missing relevant and important material by choosing a limited amount of material, therefore all data selection strategies and the chosen data are explained in a clear and transparent way, in order to inform the reader about which data the results and conclusions are based on.

In order to cover the different frames of gender within the resistance campaign in Colombia, only Colombian news websites will be selected. This choice is based on the thought that some of the Colombian frames may be excluded or changed in foreign media sources that target foreign or international readers. Also, since the thesis is based on the theory that these frames may have affected voters in the plebiscite, this choice has been made according to the assumption that the amount of Colombians reading national newspapers is bigger than the amount reading international newspapers. Lastly, only articles written in Spanish are selected, since it is the official language in Colombia, and due to the lack of resources to translate articles written in any of the other languages spoken in the country. English articles have been excluded due to the finding that many of the articles are based on similar articles originally written in Spanish.

The dates of publication have been limited to between 2016.08.10 and 2016.10.01. The primary date is when protests were held in Colombia against the alleged implementation of gender ideology in schools (The Bogota Post. 2016). The latter date is the day before the plebiscite. This time limit is based on several factors. Primary, the articles must have been published before the plebiscite in order to have an affect on the voters. For the same reasons, it is also crucial for this study to exclude articles written too long before the plebiscite, which is why the two month period was decided. The primary date was thereafter selected due to the fact that the demonstrations occurred, which increased the intensiveness of the gender debate. Also, few articles were found from the months before the date of the protests, and those primarily focused on other gender related topics which were unrelated to the peace accord.
The search for news articles is done through the database Factiva. The exact search method will be explained further down, and possible limitations resulting from this choice will be discussed in section 3.3. No news websites have been selected beforehand. All Colombian news websites which appeared in the result of the search have been read through carefully, whereafter the final selection has been made, which consists of 14 articles. However, only two news websites had published articles which matched all criterias for this study; El Espectador and Portafolio. There were no significant division between the news websites regarding how the phenomena was described within the articles. Some articles differed from each others, regardless of the publisher, but most articles expressed similar views. Therefore, when coding the articles, they were given a number from 1 to 14 without any identification of the publisher. The majority of the articles are published by El Espectador, which is another reason why an identification of the publisher was decided not to be added to the article codes, since a comparison between the news websites would require a more even amount of articles from the two sites.

On Factiva, the search consisted of the words paz OR acuerdo OR plebiscito AND género, (English: peace OR accord OR plebiscite AND gender). The selection of the first three words were made in order to cover the resistance related to the peace accord or the plebiscite. All articles needed to include the word gender (género) since this word is the basis of the whole study. Articles which included some of these words but which were not referring to the peace process; for instance, where acuerdo meant something else than the peace accord, have been excluded.

3.3.1. Presentation of actors

Here, the individual actors which appeared in the selected articles and are included in the analysis are described shortly, in order to ease the understanding of the analysis.

**Alejandro Ordóñez** is a right-wing Colombian politician, as well as an ambassador in the OAS (the Organization of American States). Ordóñez is a Catholic, and has expressed support for the current president Ivan Duque (Colombia Reports. 2018. A).

**Alvaro Uribe** is a senator and former president of Colombia, and is seen as a very influential person. Uribe also created the political party Centro Democrático, and is a supporter of right-wing politics (Colombia Reports. 2018. B).

**Ángela Hernández** is a deputy from the political party La U (El Tiempo. 2016).
**Eduardo Cañas** is a pastor within the Springs Church (Iglesia Manantial) (Iglesia Manantial. 2018).

**Marco Fidel Ramírez** is a councilman in Bogotá, and pastor within the International Family church (la iglesia Familiar Internacional) (Marco Fidel Ramirez. 2018).

### 3.3.2. Problems and Limitations

Since this study is based on online news articles describing the gender resistance that was presented on different platforms in Colombia, some frames will inevitably be excluded as news articles do not cover all voices within a campaign. Further, the authors of the selected news articles may have chosen only to describe certain types of arguments and frames, on purpose or unconsciously. This is something which cannot be prevented in this study, due to the limited amount of time and resources. It has therefore been taken into consideration during the analysis and in the conclusions. However, even if the frames presented within this material would not be representative for the whole gender resistance in Colombia, they are still frames that have been published and read, and may therefore have had an impact on voters just like other possible frames may have had. Therefore, this study would still serve an important purpose by analysing these frames. Also, the biggest and most controversial happenings are usually being represented in the newspapers, and therefore it is possible to believe that the most prominent formulations and quotes that circulated within the anti-gender campaign were also described within these news articles.

The usage of Factiva as a search method results in some limitations regarding what material will be shown in the results, due to some restrictions in the subscription used. However, most news websites are included in the results, and the database was used due to the efficiency that comes with it, as well as the ability to do a systematic research which is easy to redo afterwards and by others.

Lastly, the low amount of news articles chosen for this study will increase the uncertainty regarding the results. This amount is based on the results from Factiva, where few articles were found from the months before the first date of the time limit for this study. Therefore, an increased time limit would not have changed this amount considerably. Also, this is a shorter study completed during a limited amount of time. Future studies including a greater amount of data are encouraged. However, the lower number of articles allows for a deep and thorough reading of the texts, which is significant for this qualitative analysis.
4. ANALYSIS

4.1. Endangering the traditional family values

The inclusion of gender within the peace accord is commonly presented as a problem which endangers the so-called traditional family values in Colombia (Articles 2, 3, 4, 8, 11 and 12). The gender approach in the peace accord is presented as a way to attack the traditional family, by blurring the roles of the family in the written accord (article 3), ignoring the principles of the bible (article 4) and the family (article 8), creating an anarchy (article 11) or by criticizing people who tries to defend the respect and rights of the family values (article 12). This is similar to Kuhar and Paternotte’s description of arguments within anti-gender movements, that gender and gender ideology is something endangering families (2017:5-8). The urgency of the issue, and the presentation of it as more than just respect and tolerance towards minorities, can be seen in this quote from article 11;

Quote 1: “Ella [Ángela Hernández] ha sido cooptada por el uribismo, como se vio en reciente visita a Bucaramanga del senador Álvaro Uribe, quien le expresó su apoyo y agregó que “hemos respetado a las minorías, pero una cosa es la tolerancia y el respeto y otra cosa es la anarquía que acaba con los valores de la familia”.”

Translation: “She [Ángela Hernández] has been co-opted by the uribismo [referring to the groups supporting the politics of Uribe], which was seen in a recent visit to Bucaramanga by senator Álvaro Uribe, who expressed his support for her and added that “we have respected the minorities, but tolerance and respect is one thing and an anarchy which ends the family values is another”.” (translated by the author)

The resistance towards gender, and the alleged attacks on the traditional family, is often connected to the so-called gender ideology (article 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14). The reasons why the peace accord should be based on a gender ideology has been presented as the amount of times the word gender is present in the written accord (before it was revised) and the different usages of the word which implicitly are based on the gender ideology (article 2), and through the connection of the accord to the booklet published by the Ministry of
education, which as well are presented to be based on the gender ideology (article 3, 5, 11, 12 and 14). This booklet, called *Ambientes escolares libres de discriminación* (School environments free of discrimination), was created in order to inform schools and teachers on how to prevent discrimination against students, after the suicide of a teenager who had been harassed because of his sexual orientation. Due to resistance and protests, the booklet was withdrawn (The Bogota Post. 2016). In article 5, the deputy Ángela Hernández expressed that the same gender ideology which was included in this booklet is also included in the peace accord, and will therefore be a part of the Colombian constitution if the accord is accepted in the plebiscite, as shown in the following quote from the article;

Quote 2: “*La diputada santandereana Ángela Hernández, una de las mayores defensoras de esta tesis, sostuvo a través de Facebook que le preocupaba mucho "que ahora pretendan incluir la misma ideología de género en nuestra Constitución utilizando el plebiscito".*”

Translation: “*The deputy of Santander, Ángela Hernández, one of the major defenders of this thesis [the gender ideology], maintained through Facebook that she was very worried “that now they strive to include the same gender ideology in our Constitution using the plebiscite”.*” (translated by the author)

This makes it possible to assume that the resistance towards the accord and the plebiscite may have been expressed differently if the event with the booklet would not have occurred. The anger created by the booklet may have infected and increased the anger towards the inclusion of gender within the peace accord.

In article 4, *equality* is mentioned as something the proponents of gender ideology uses as an excuse to legitimize the implementation of the ideology. This coincides with the argument of Kuhar and Paternotte who write that *equality* is, within anti-gender movements, commonly described as a strategy used in order to defeat the natural order (2017:5-8). However, this statement did not appear in any other of the other articles. In article 7, the peace accord is, together with the booklets, instead referred to as “gender politics” (política de género) by Álvaro Uribe;
Possible consequences from the implementation of the gender approach within the peace accord is, except from the diminishing of family values and the imposition of the gender ideology, presented to be; the loss of benefits which has been gained through the freedom of religion (article 4), the implementation of a so-called gay dictatorship (article 5), Santos ability to turn the Colombian youth into homosexuals (article 10), and the implementation of an anarchy and a homosexual colonization (article 11). These statements are all based on homosexuality as something negative and connected with the concept of gender, and coincides with the gender ideology. This finding is interesting in this case, since the UNSCR 1325, as mentioned, has been criticized for being heteronormative. Thereby, despite that international actors such as the UN aim to include gender mostly as a synonym for women, the resistance towards the concept of gender in the Colombian peace process target homosexuality.

None of the articles mentions any specific group for whom the gender inclusion in the accord is a problem. However, since the gender inclusion within the peace accord is often presented as endangering the family values, one can assume that the people who should see the issue as threatening are heterosexual Colombians who are promoting these traditional family values. Further, since the accord has been presented as opposing the bible, as mentioned previously, it is thereby possible to interpret that also Catholics and other religious groups believing in the bible should see the the gender inclusion as threatening. This can be interpreted from, for instance, the following quote in article 4;

Quote 4: “Una postura similar ha tenido la iglesia Familiar Internacional, cuyo líder es el pastor y concejal Marco Fidel Ramírez, quien demandó la pregunta del plebiscito y ha dicho: “Voto no al plebiscito. El Sí pisotea los principios bíblicos y ataca a la familia”.”
Translation: “The International Family church has had a similar position, whose leader is the pastor and councilman Marco Fidel Ramírez, who demanded the questioning of the plebiscite and said “Vote no in the plebiscite. The Yes tramples on the biblical principles and attacks the family”. (translated by the author)

4.2. Previous events mobilizing the gender resistance

Something brought up by several articles and often connected with the gender resistance against the peace accord is the event with the booklets, as well as the ruling of the court in the same matter (article 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11). The court decision was about the student who committed suicide, Sergio Urrego, where his school was ordered to apologize since Sergio should have been provided a discrimination free education (The Bogota Post. 2016). The previous event is sometimes connected explicitly, as seen in the following quote from article 3 where the peace accord is expressed as following the ruling of the court;

Quote 5: “El ex procurador aprovechó también para criticar, aunque de manera rápida, los Acuerdos de Paz del gobierno con las Farc. Sobre ellos, Alejandro Ordóñez dijo que es plausible deducir "una intención de desdibujar el papel de la familia en la formación y en donde se promueve de una manera explícita una revolución educativa como la ordenada a través de la Sentencia".”

Translation: “The former attorney took the opportunity to criticize, albeit quickly, the government’s peace accords with FARC. Regarding them, Alejandro Ordóñez said that it is plausible to deduce “an intention to blur the role of the family in the formation and where an educational revolution is promoted is explicitly promoted as the one ordered through the Sentence [referring to the ruling of the court].” (translated by the author)

In other articles (7, 8, 9, 10) the gender resistance towards the previous event is presented together with the gender resistance towards the peace accord, and can thereby be interpreted as being connected to each other since the resistance targets the gender approach both in the booklets as well as in the peace accord. Thus, this connection is more implicit.
In article 6, there is a description of a misconception that the Ministry of education received money from the UN in order to create the booklets (this was later denied by the ministry and Gina Parody). Jorge Parra, who represented the UNFPA in Colombia at that time, confirmed that the UN had signed a contract in order to elaborate for instance themes such as education for peace and post-conflict education. Thereby, it is possible to connect the UN to the booklets, as well as to connect the UN to peace related education in Colombia. If some gender resisting actors may have seen the UN as an actor promoting the gender inclusion, it is also possible to connect the booklets to the peace accord by seeing the UN as a common denominator, since the UN was promoting the accord and played a role in the peace process. This coincides with the study by Mac Ginty, which argues that local communities may strongly resist projects and interventions by international liberal peace actors, such as the UN (2011: 207-212). However, this was only presented in article 6, and is therefore not seen as something included in the general gender resistance within the articles.

In article 4, the gender resistance against the peace accord is not only presented to be connected to the booklets but also to the previous debate about same-sex marriage in Colombia. It is important to mention that this connection has been made by the author of the article and is therefore not presented by the resisting actors themselves. The following quote from the article shows this explicit connection:

Quote 6: "Y el pulso por la bendición de los pastores y altos jerarcas de las iglesias ha sido intenso. Con un elemento adicional: el enrejecimiento de la relación entre líderes religiosos y el Gobierno por cuenta de dos situaciones: la polémica por las cartillas de educación de género impulsadas por el Ministerio de Educación y el proyecto de ley que convoca a un referendo contra la adopción por parte de parejas del mismo sexo. De alguna manera, la posición del Ejecutivo en estas dos iniciativas determina el apoyo o rechazo al plebiscito para la paz."

Translation: “And the battle for the blessing of pastors and senior church leaders has been intense. With an additional element: a worsening of the relationship between religious leaders and the government because of two situations: the controversy of the educational booklets of gender promoted by the Ministry of Education, and the call for a referendum against adoption by same-sex couples. In some way, the Executives position regarding these
initiatives will determine whether the peace will be supported or rejected in the plebiscite.” (translated by the author)

The gender resistance has also been expressed as based on the word gender within the accord, as mentioned previously. In article 2, Ordóñez comments that the word gender is written 114 times in the peace accord, and that in many of those sections the gender ideology is present, although he says that it is implicit. Also in article 5 it is mentioned, this time by Hernández, that the word gender is included 114 times in the accord, together with the comment that the peace accord will become a special agreement (Acuerdo Especial) and also together with the information about that the gender is not included in the Colombian constitution;

Quote 7: “Como prueba de ello, Hernández denunció que la palabra género, "que no está hoy en nuestra Constitución, aparece 114 veces en el Acuerdo Final, que ahora pasará a ser Acuerdo Especial".”

Translation: “As proof of this, Hernández denounced that the word gender “which is not included in our Constitution today, appears 114 times in the Final Accord, which will now become a Special Agreement”. ” (translated by the author)

This can be interpreted both as a way to express that the gender approach goes against the constitution, and as a warning that the gender approach will be included in the constitution as well, if the peace accord is accepted. It also indicates that some actors have based their arguments against the inclusion of gender on undeniable facts, such as the number of times gender was written in the accord. These facts can, however, be interpreted in many different ways, which shows the importance of thoroughly informing the population on the definitions and objectives behind the language used when writing accords.

4.3. Right-wing leaders most prominent within the anti-gender campaign

The actor that appears the most amount of times within these articles is Alejandro Ordóñez, which appears 18 times in total within the articles. He is mentioned in article 1, 2, 3, 7, 10 and 11 as a resisting actor against gender, the peace accord and the government. Article 2 is based on a video where Ordóñez explains why he will vote against the accord in the plebiscite.
Ordóñez is often mentioned together with Álvaro Uribe, who appears 14 times in total within the articles. Uribe is, like Ordóñez, mentioned as an opponent to gender, the accord and the government, and is mentioned in article 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 12. Thereby, Uribe is mentioned in the most amount of articles. Centro Democrático is in turn mentioned 3 times in total, in article 4, 6 and 7, as being in opposition towards gender and the peace accord. This strengthens the theory that anti-gender campaigns are often connected with right-wing politicians or populists (Kuhar and Paternotte. 2017).

The deputy Ángela Hernández is mentioned 5 times in total within the articles 5 and 11. She is described as defending the theory of gender ideology (article 5) and being against homosexuality (article 11).

The Catholic church, and Catholic values, are mentioned 11 times in total within the articles. However, only in article 9 is the catholic church described as being a user of the term gender ideology, but it is not expressed by the Catholic church itself, only from the author of the article. No resistance towards gender in the peace accord is expressed by the Catholic church as a whole, within these articles. Therefore, this case does not cohere with the Kuhar and Paternotte study which presents the Catholic church as one of the main users of gender ideology and being resistant towards the gender approach (2017: 5-8). Neither any gender resistance against the peace accord from the Evangelist movement in Colombia was found, despite them being included. These findings were surprising since leaders from the Evangelists and the Catholic church were joining the ‘No’ campaign against the peace accord partly because of other gender related issues such as the same-sex marriage (The New York Times. 2016. B). However, this may be due to the lower number of articles studied, which may result in some actors and frames being excluded. Or, it may also indicate that these churches did not express resistance towards the specific word gender related to the peace process in particular. A third reason may be that their resistance was expressed through different platforms, and not within news articles.

Nevertheless, other religious actors are mentioned occasionally. One of them is the pastor Eduardo Cañas, from the Springs Church (Iglesia Manantial), who appears in article 4 where he expresses his critique of the gender inclusion in the peace accord. Another pastor and councilman, Marco Fidel Ramírez from the International Family church (la iglesia Familiar Internacional), appears in the same article and explains that he will vote against the peace accord due to the attack on family values and the bible. This statement coincides with the view on family values and marriage which is presented on the website of the International
Family church (2018). This shows that religious leaders have publicly opposed the gender inclusion within the peace accord.

In article 5, some arguments are presented without connection to any particular actor. For instance, the following quote which only refers to “some”;

Quote 8: “Por otra parte, algunos aseguran que con estos acuerdos se busca imponer una "dictadura gay".”

Translation: “On the other hand, some assure that these agreements seek to impose a “gay dictatorship”.” (translated by the author)

This decreases the reliability of the statement to some degree, since no specific actor is presented which makes it difficult to check the expression with other sources.

4.4. Solution: Vote against the peace accord

Most articles lack an explicit presentation of a solution to the issue with the gender inclusion in the peace accord. However, some articles present voting against the peace accord in the plebiscite as the necessary measure (article 2, 4, and 7). In article 2, for instance, Ordóñez expresses in the following quote that the solution for the religious Christians is to vote No in the plebiscite;

Quote 9: "Agrega que si hace unas semanas se marchó para defender la familia y la niñez, "la Colombia creyente tendrá que votar tiene la obligación de votar No"."  

Translation: “He adds that if they marched to defend the family and the children a few weeks ago, “the believing Colombia have to vote with the obligation of voting No”. ” (translated by the author)

In other articles (3, 5, 10, 12 and 13) it can be interpreted that the actors want the readers to vote against the peace accord, since heavy critique is pointed at either the accord or at promoters of the accord. For instance, in article 13 the author Miguel Gómez Martínez explains through the whole article why he will personally vote against the accord in the
plebiscite, in order to let his future grandchildren know why he chose to do so. This may be seen as a way to implicitly encourage the readers to vote against it as well, by convincing them that the accord has many serious downsides. Gómez Martínez also explains that he does not want to be among some of the people who will vote yes;

Quote 10: "Cuando reviso el listado de los fervorosos partidarios del SÍ encuentro a Samper, Serpa, Teodora, Gaviria, Roy, los conservadores enmermelados, los gremios, los periodistas prepago, que son los causantes de la crisis nacional y que ahora posan de salvadores. Con ese grupo no quiero estar."

Translation: "When I review the list of the passionate supporters of the YES, I encounter Samper, Serpa, Teodora, Gaviria, Roy, the enameled conservatives [referring to conservative congressmen], the unions, the prepaid journalists, which are the cause to the national crisis and now pose as the saviors. I do not want to be with this group." (translated by the author)

This can be viewed as an attempt to shame readers who may be considering to vote ‘yes’ to the peace accord, and making them change their minds by creating a feeling of guilt.

5. CONCLUSION

So, how was gender framed within the gender resistance towards the peace accord in Colombia? As presented in the analysis, the concept of gender was often described as a problem connected with the so-called gender ideology, which was a recurring term used by many different actors and mentioned in most of the articles. Thus, the term gender was mostly opposed when gender was defined by referring to the gender ideology. Thereby, most anti gender actors seems to have based their resistance on this one common definition, and no exceptional definitions could be found in the material. By using the same definition, it may have been easier to convince voters to believe in and imbibe the frames, than if different definitions and perspectives would have circulated at the same time.

Further, the interpretation was made that gender should be seen as a problem threatening religious Colombians in particular, since the concept of gender was presented as something opposing the bible and religious beliefs. However, it may also be seen as
something threatening all heterosexual families in Colombia as well as every Colombian who wish to keep the traditional family values, since the inclusion of gender within the peace accord was commonly described as a threat towards these values, and sometimes even as an attack against the traditional family. This finding increases the importance of investigating how to prevent this kind of framings in future cases, since there is not only a small group of people who may be targeted by such frames. The bigger group of “victims” threatened by a problem, the bigger resistance will presumably occur.

Since gender was presented as based on a gender ideology, also the peace accord was alleged to be based on the same ideology. A few actors claimed to prove the connection between gender ideology and the peace accord by pointing at the fact that the word gender was written 114 times in the first peace accord (which was later revised). It has also been pointed out that the word gender is not included in the Colombian Constitution, which was interpreted as a way to express either that the peace accord clashes with the Constitution, or that the gender concept will be included in the Constitution along with the implementation of the peace accord.

Further, the booklets created by the Ministry on Education in Colombia was another phenomena which was brought up in most of the articles, and connected with the peace agreement. The resistance towards the gender concept in these booklets was often merged together with the resistance towards the word gender in the peace accord, through the statement that they were both based on a gender ideology. It is thereby interesting for future studies to investigate if there is any causal relationship between the controversy of the booklets and the resistance of the peace accord.

Other scenarios which were presented as plausible consequences from the usage of the gender concept was a gay dictatorship, the conversion of the Colombian youth into homosexuals, and a homosexual colonization. These indicates the connection made between gender and homosexuality, which is common within the theory of gender ideology. This indicates the importance of informing the population on which definition of gender is used in the peace accord, in order to prevent misunderstandings. If the resistance only targets homosexuals or the LGBT community, different measures need to be implemented than if the resistance targets the inclusion of women, for instance. This is also important to take into consideration when debating the UNSCR 1325. Despite being criticized for heteronormativity, an inclusion of the LGBT community within the resolution may create new obstacles which need to be prepared for.
The most prominent actors within the gender resistance movement against the peace accord was the former attorney Alejandro Ordóñez, and former president and founder of Centro Democrático, Álvaro Uribe. Thereby, much of the resistance comes from right-wing politicians. Also, deputy Ángela Hernández, from the political party La U, appears several times within the articles. Two pastors, Eduardo Cañas, from the Springs Church (Iglesia Manantial) and Marco Fidel Ramírez from the International Family Church expressed critique towards the gender inclusion within the peace agreement as well. However, no significant resistance from the Catholic church was found within these articles.

Lastly, the most frequent solution to the issue of gender within the peace accord, which was both explicitly and implicitly presented, was to vote against the accord in the plebiscite. While some actors criticized the accord or members of the ‘Yes’ campaign, others explained why they would vote against the accord. A few went further and explicitly encouraged Colombians to vote ‘No’. Except from this measure, no other solution could be found in the articles. This finding strengthens the belief that the framing of gender might have affected voters in the plebiscite, since polls suggested that the accord would be accepted by the majority and the rejection became a shock for many. Therefore, future research examining a possible causality between the frames and the plebiscite is encouraged. However, it is important to take into consideration that many different factors may have affected the results, which has been discussed intensively after the plebiscite.

Thus, the purpose of this study has been fulfilled, since the research question of how the concept of gender was framed has been answered, by answering the four specific questions which were used in the analysis.

This study has thereby contributed to the lack of studies of resistance towards the inclusion of gender within peace accords, especially the lack of frame analyses. It has further connected previous research about resistance towards peace missions to the research about anti gender campaigns, which is of great importance as national and international actors strive to include gender within other peace processes and Colombia plays an exemplary role within this area.

The relatively low amount of articles included in this study increases the uncertainty regarding the results and whether they represent the reality. Therefore, more studies are needed and more areas need to be examined when searching for frames, especially when much of the framing appear on the streets and on platforms that are more difficult to access.
afterwards. Because of this uncertainty, each step of the process within this study has been described and explained in order to inform the reader of how the results were reached.
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6.1. Material used in the analysis

Article 1

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