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Gender as an analytic lens for agonistic peace: insights from Colombia's Truth Commission

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ABSTRACT

Recent literature has identified a new avenue for approaching peace in the post-peace agreement sphere: agonistic peace. While much of the nascent scholarship on agonistic peace includes mentions of gender, the link between agonistic peace and gender has yet to be clarified. This paper fills this gap in the literature in three critical ways. First, it demonstrates the shared importance in both certain strands of feminist theory and agonistic theory of anti-essentialism, intersectionality, and plurality. Second, it argues that agonistic peace's emphasis on transforming existing hegemonies through non-violent contestation must include a focus on addressing patriarchal patterns of oppression. Finally, through the empirical example of Colombia's Truth Commission, it demonstrates the ways in which a post-agreement examination of gender can serve as a tool for identifying agonistic peace practices in empirical cases.

Introduction

Growing dissatisfaction with liberal peacebuilding has prompted the search for an alternative approach to addressing post-peace agreement[1] concerns.[2] One proposed alternative, drawn from radical democratic theory, has recently emerged in peacebuilding and transitional justice literature. This alternative, known as agonistic peace, emphasises an embrace of contestation, dissensus, and multiplicity within the post-agreement sphere as a means of peaceful conflict regulation. Much of the recent scholarship on agonistic peace also focuses on the role of gender in creating and maintaining post-agreement

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[1]Because of agonism's emphasis on preserving (peaceful) forms of conflict, I use the term 'post-peace agreement' or 'post-agreement' rather than 'post-conflict' to describe the spaces and times after a peace agreement has been signed and in which peacebuilding efforts take place.

[2]For critiques of the liberal peace, see Oliver P. Richmond, *A Post-Liberal Peace* (London: Routledge, 2011); Roger Mac Ginty and Oliver P. Richmond, 'The Local Turn in Peace Building: A Critical Agenda for Peace', *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 5 (2013): 763–83; and Thania Paffenholz, 'Perpetual Peacebuilding: A New Paradigm to Move Beyond the Linearity of Liberal Peacebuilding', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15, no. 3 (2021): 367–285.

peace.[3] While the inclusion of gender in agonistic peace studies is increasingly common, the exact link between gender and agonistic peace has yet to be clarified.

This study contributes to the literature on gender and agonistic peace in three critical ways. First, the paper explores the theoretical overlap between feminist scholarship and agonistic theory, clarifying that agonistic feminism is most closely related to postcolonial and diversity feminisms and shares with both an emphasis on anti-essentialism and intersectionality as well as a requirement to work towards a plural, non-unified understanding of gendered experiences. Second, the paper argues that agonistic peace's emphasis on transforming existing hegemonies through non-violent contestation must include a focus on addressing patriarchal patterns of oppression and gender-related issues. Finally, based on archival analysis and original interview data relating to Colombia's Truth Commission, I demonstrate that examining gender provisions in post-agreement peace institutions can help identify the presence of agonistic peace in action and combat the critique that agonism faces an 'institutional deficit'.[4] This clarification of agonistic peace principles demonstrates how not only gender, but also factors such as race and class, have been undertheorised in agonistic peace literature.

This research has important implications for members of the gender, peacebuilding, and agonistic communities who have been critical of liberal peace praxis. After clarifying the shared objectives of some feminist scholars and agonistic theorists, I introduce a framework for identifying progress towards these common goals and offer a way forward for those seeking a viable alternative to the dominant peace paradigm.

Agonistic politics defined

The following section highlights the relevance of agonism to questions of identity and division. I focus on three distinctive elements of agonism that are most relevant to its post-agreement application: its treatment of collective identities, its rejection of consensus as a possible or desirable end goal, and its embrace of contestation.

A core element of agonistic theory relates to its conceptualisation of identity. For agonists, identity necessarily must be constructed in opposition to an Other[5] and 'requires difference in order to be'.[6] While collective identities are critical for political action, they are not fixed; identities are never, in an agonistic conception, 'definitively established' and instead are characterised by 'a certain degree of openness and ambiguity'.[7] These perpetual shifts in identity are rooted in the agonistic idea of identity and power as mutually constitutive;

[3]See, for example, Diana González Martín, Hans Lauge Hansen, and Agustín Parra Grondona, 'A Case for Agonistic Peacebuilding in Colombia', *Third World Quarterly* 43, no. 6 (2022): 1270–87; Ayşe Betül Çelik and Zeynep Gülru Göker, 'Dialogue in Polarised Societies: Women's Encounters with Multiple Others', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 64 (2021): 31–54; Zeynep Gülru Göker and Ayşe Betül Çelik, 'Women's Dialogic Encounters: Agonistic Listening and Emotions in Multiple-Identity Conflicts', *Third World Quarterly* 43, no. 6 (2022): 1251–69; John Nagle, 'Disarticulation and Chains of Equivalence: Agonism and Non-Sectarian Movements in Post-War Beirut', *Third World Quarterly* 43, no. 6 (2022): 1343–60; and Lisa Strömbom, Isabel Bramsen, and Anne Lene Stein, 'Agonistic Peace Agreements? Analytical Tools and Dilemmas', *Review of International Studies* 48, no. 4 (2022): 689–704.
[4]Manon Westphal, 'Overcoming the Institutional Deficit of Agonistic Democracy', *Res Publica* 25 (2019): 187–210.
[5]See Mouffe, 'Democratic Politics and Conflict: An Agonistic Approach', *Política Común* 9 (2016) ; and Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically* (London: Verso, 2013).
[6]Connolly, *Identity\Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 64.
[7]Mouffe, 'Radical Democracy: Modern or Postmodern?' *Social Text* 21 (1989): 34.

identities are renegotiated as power continuously transforms. For agonists, then, 'we should not conceptualise power as an *external* relation taking place between two pre-constituted identities, but rather as constituting the identities themselves'.[8] In an agonistic conception, ultimately, collective identities are changeable, constantly renegotiated, and serve as a core component of politics.

This understanding of power and identity underpins a second central tenet of agonism: the rejection of consensus as a desirable goal. In traditional liberal and deliberative democratic literature, moving towards consensus is a positive indicator of progress towards a more unified, and therefore more functional, society. Liberal theorists have described subcultural pluralism as dangerous to the operation of a successful democracy.[9] While this approach may offer a way forward for a homogenous society, it does not offer a clear path for deeply divided societies. Agonists, conversely, view consensus as impossible without exclusion, as it would require 'the constitution of an "us" that would not have a corresponding "them"'.[10] Rather than working towards consensus, politics should work to turn enemies into adversaries. In this conception, the Other remains an actor with whom one can vehemently disagree, but whose right to existence is respected. When this expectation of consensus is removed, collective identities may continue to exist in perpetuity without posing a threat to society.

A third and related core element of agonistic theory is its embrace of contestation. Given the agonistic idea of power as ineradicable, the focus of democratic politics becomes transforming power into forms more compatible with democratic values rather than trying to eliminate it entirely.[11] The key to this transformation is the institutionalisation of perpetual contestation, through which the workings of power and exclusion can be made visible and challenged.[12] This agonistic approach to democracy stands in contrast to a traditional liberal approach: from a liberal standpoint, dissent is an unavoidable aspect of democracy that should nevertheless be minimised. For agonists, it is precisely through contestation that identities can be renegotiated: patterns of power and exclusion should be made visible and contested.[13]

An agonistic approach to democracy centres on these three defining and interlinked features. For agonists, collective identities are critical and need not be eliminated to achieve a functioning society. Opportunities must exist, however, to renegotiate these identities through an institutionalised system of perpetual contestation. These characteristics have critical implications for understanding the relationship between gender and agonism, as discussed in the next section.

Feminism and agonistic theory

This section defines an agonistic feminism, focusing on its anti-essentialist, intersectional nature. As I argue, a number of strands of feminist theory share several

[8]Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso, 2000), 21.
[9]Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).
[10]Mouffe, *Agonistics*, 6.
[11]Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*, 22.
[12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid., 34.

core tenets with agonism, though the latter makes a unique contribution to the study of peace and conflict resolution.

Much of the existing agonistic literature is heavily influenced by poststructuralist and postmodernist scholarship. An agonistic embrace of contestation necessitates a feminism that contests the binary construction of sex and gender.[14] This contestation must work to deconstruct essentialist identities in order to expose the ways in which existing hegemonies have created them in the first place.[15] As well as being anti-essentialist, an agonistic feminism is intersectional in nature. In addition to holding a specific gender identity, agents are always multiple and contradictory and inhabit 'a diversity of communities (as many, really, as the social relations in which we participate and the subject-positions they define), constructed by a variety of discourses and precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those subject-positions'.[16] While agonists such as Mouffe tend to describe struggles against hegemonic systems that are reproduced through multiple lines of inequality as 'chains of equivalence', Nagle notes the resemblance between chains of equivalence and intersectionality.[17] Chains of equivalence between marginalised groups, Nagle argues, serve to sustain intersectional politics and illuminate 'gradations of power and exclusion'.[18] This vision of intersectionality is ultimately predicated on the understanding that the agent's multiple identities are always in flux and are constantly being (re)created.

Even as gendered identities are fluid and intersectional in nature, however, they are inextricably bound to power relations. Liberal feminists or feminist theorists from a Habermasian tradition might try to work towards elimination of the power structures that have led to a patriarchal society; for them, it is possible to move beyond structures of domination and oppression to achieve emancipation. Agonistic feminists, on the other hand, do not aim to 'eliminate power or aspire to undistorted communication'[19] because of their fundamental belief in the ineradicable nature of hegemonic power structures. Rather than trying to separate women from oppressive systems entirely, then, agonistic feminists would work towards transforming the ways in which power operates in a given system.

This conception of power and identity has critical implications for theorising action and solidarity in line with agonistic feminist principles, particularly in thinking about action in the (post)conflict realm. Instead of understanding feminism as 'a struggle for realising the equality of a definable empirical group with a common essence and identity', an agonistic approach treats feminism as a fight against 'the multiple forms in which the category "woman" is constructed in subordination'.[20] An agonistic feminism, then, is not just rooted in anti-essentialism, but is at its core a struggle *against* essentialism. The question for feminist activists then becomes not how to conceptualise the idea of

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[14]Bonnie Honig, 'Toward an Agonistic Feminism: Hannah Arendt and the Politics of Identity', in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (London: Routledge, 1992), 216.
[15]Mouffe, 'Feminism, Citizenship, and Radical Democratic Politics', in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (London: Routledge, 1992), 369–84.
[16]Mouffe, 'Radical Democracy', 44.
[17]Nagle, 'Disarticulation', 1352.
[18]Ibid., 1352.
[19]Mary G. Dietz, 'Current Controversies in Feminist Theory', *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (2003): 422.
[20]Mouffe, 'Feminism, Citizenship', 382.

'women', but how to mobilise a diverse, disjointed, internally heterogenous group for action. In this understanding, politics becomes an arena 'wherein the rules of the game, as well as the players, are never fully explicit, stable, or fixed; and they are always constituted through acts of power'.[21] Through new articulations of subject-positions, agonists believe, it is possible to link antiracist, antisexist, and anti-capitalist movements.[22] This intersectional action emerges in agonistic dialogue around women's movements in Tunisia, which 'accepts that different women see the world differently and that their standpoints may vary greatly due to different intersectional social, political or economic lived realities'.[23] Rather than having to overcome their differences to focus on their points of commonality, women form coalitions based around strategic action[24] and can shift and reshape gendered power relations through conflictual dialogue.

Much of the action transforming these power relations centres around the public/private realm distinction. This distinction has traditionally operated around gendered lines, with the male-dominated public realm serving as the sphere for political action and the private sphere constructed as both an apolitical space and the most appropriate arena for women's action. Agonistic feminists such as Honig argue that agonism requires contesting the boundaries of public and private, thereby allowing action and 'performative freedom' in spaces that 'escape or resist administration, regulation, and expression'.[25] Other scholars have identified these spaces in the form of practices such as public mourning, in which an activity traditionally taking place in the private realm becomes a public, political act.[26] Just as an agonistic feminism seeks to deconstruct the binary opposition between women and men, so it also aims to contest the division between public and private.

At its core, then, an agonistic feminism is anti-essentialist, intersectional, and aimed at deconstructing binaries including the public/private distinction. Understanding these defining features helps to situate agonistic feminism within the broader realm of feminist praxis. Given the deconstructive and contestation-oriented goals of agonistic approaches, there is an element of natural overlap with postcolonial feminism, which centres on a 'contextually situated' feminism that is anti-essentialist and intersectional in nature.[27] Both postcolonial and agonistic approaches are focused on uncovering the ways in which liberal discourses and practices are 'naturalised and institutionalised'.[28] Like agonistic feminists, postcolonial feminists are 'sceptical of any attempt to construct general interest, to build unity, consensus, or coordinated political advocacy'[29] and question the desirability of national unity based on its tendency to play down differences between women.[30] These approaches are also focused on

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[21]Dietz, 'Current Controversies', 422.
[22]Mouffe, 'Radical Democracy', 42.
[23]Debuysere, 'Tunisian Women at the Crossroads: Antagonism and Agonism between Secular and Islamist Women's Rights Movements in Tunisia', *Mediterranean Politics* 21, no. 2 (2016): 226–245.
[24]Ibid., 240.
[25]Honig, 'Toward an Agonistic Feminism', 225–26.
[26]Rajeswari Sunder Rajan, 'From Antagonism to Agonism: Shifting Paradigms of Women's Opposition to the State', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, no. 2 (2010): 173.
[27]Heidi Hudson, 'Peacebuilding Through a Gender Lens and the Challenges of Implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire', *Security Studies* 18, no. 2 (2009): 289–92.
[28]Heidi Hudson, 'A Double-Edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding', *International Peacekeeping* 19, no. 4 (2012): 444.
[29]Ibid., 455.
[30]Hudson, 'Peacebuilding', 308.

transformation through the disruption of domination patterns and the need to move beyond masculinity and femininity.[31] The points of overlap with agonistic approaches are manifold: both agonistic and postcolonial feminisms aim to interrogate existing hegemonic discourses through an intersectional lens to transform power relations. Agonistic feminism also shares characteristics with diversity feminism, which is focused on the plurality of experiences related to gender. Like an agonistic feminism, diversity feminism places an explicit emphasis on multiplicities and the rejection of an essentialist idea of womanhood.[32] The idea of identity is, in both diversity and agonistic feminisms, framed in context of opposition to an Other. Both approaches also highlight the importance of rearticulating identities and subjectivities to address concerns raised in response to existing hegemonic systems.

While this discussion does not constitute an exhaustive list of all forms of overlap between agonistic and other strands of feminism, it does highlight the most significant areas of theoretical crossover between broader agonistic literature and some feminist theory. An agonistic approach to gender and feminism must be anti-essentialist, intersectional, and critical of binary divisions. Like postcolonial approaches, agonistic feminism requires an intersectional approach as part of a broader transformational strategy. Furthermore, like diversity feminism, agonistic feminism centres on the importance of multiplicity and the constant rearticulation of identity. Establishing these theoretical links is critical to understanding why agonistic analysis should incorporate a focus on gender. Diversity and postcolonial feminisms share both ontological underpinnings and ultimate objectives with agonistic approaches; they have also linked feminist struggles with broader counterhegemonic projects. Changes to the way gender is treated and conceptualised, these fields suggest, are indicative of shifts in power relations. As creating pathways for identity transformation without attempting to prohibit the perpetuation of collective identities serves as a core focus for agonistic approaches, this theoretical overlap is significant.

In addition to these points of overlap with other forms of feminist theory, agonism offers distinctive contributions to an understanding of gender. Ultimately, the agonistic vision for encouraging dissensus while still envisioning the possibility for collective action is unique in its approach. Because an agonistic feminism views both feminism itself and the idea of collective action as fundamentally struggles against essentialism, the two are closely linked. Many other forms of feminism require some form of solidarity-building or the creation of a unified identity, even when they celebrate the diversity within the category of 'woman', to justify or explain collective action. In an agonistic feminism, conversely, feminism and collective action are part of the same prescription for resisting and challenging essentialism. An agonistic feminism therefore avoids the need to reconcile the seemingly incompatible goals of encouraging contestation and fostering collective action by understanding different marginalised movements as chains of equivalence working towards 'new forms of counter-hegemony'.[33] In addition, the need for perpetual contestation in an agonistic system

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[31]Hudson, 'Double-Edged Sword', 452.
[32]Dietz, 'Current Controversies', 409.
[33]Nagle, 'Disarticulation', 1348.

allows actors to hold on to the identity of 'woman' while constantly renegotiating the meaning of womanhood itself.

Agonism's approach to identity as well as its synergy with certain ideas within feminist theory illustrate the utility of considering agonism and gender together. Given this connection between agonism and gender as well as the established literature on agonistic peace, the following section argues for the extension of gender and agonism into the post-agreement sphere.

Agonistic peace and the inclusion of gender

While the previous section illustrated some of the overlaps between feminist theory and agonism, agonistic theory has already established links to another realm of scholarship and praxis: post-agreement peace. Scholars such as Andrew Schaap and Rosemary Shinko have argued for the particular relevance of agonism in this post-agreement space, where the weaknesses of political systems are brought into sharp relief and the legitimacy of democratic institutions is questioned.[34] For Shinko, patterns of domination and hierarchy are derived from war.[35] While the post-agreement sphere is sometimes described as transformative, it also has the potential to reinscribe traditional norms[36] and reinforce these patterns of domination and hierarchy.[37] The only solution to this reification of domination and enshrinement of existing hegemonies, Shinko argues, is to transform violent conflict into sites of perpetual – but peaceful – contestation. This contestation is, crucially, different from the deliberative democratic vision of debate. Schaap notes that within divided societies in particular, requirements for 'reasonable' disagreement tend to unquestioningly privilege certain dominant viewpoints as rational.[38] The overlap with gender and feminist theory is already clear from this initial example: feminists have long pointed out the conflation of patriarchal logic with 'rationality', which has served as the justification for the exclusion of women from political spheres. Like feminist theorists, agonists point out that 'those members of society who articulate the overlapping moral consensus are likely to sound more reasonable than those who are marginalised by this dominant tradition'.[39] Traditionally marginalised groups, then, are pushed out of the political space. Even when recognition and action is possible in the private realm, recognition in the private sphere may be insufficient in restoring self-worth to groups who have been historically disrespected.[40] Given the agonistic critique of rationality and the exclusion that accompanies attempts at unity, traditional reconciliation efforts must shift. The end goal should not be to forge a common identity between conflict parties, but instead to create a space for contesting the terms of their political association.[41] This understanding of the

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[34]Andrew Schaap, 'Political Reconciliation Through a Struggle for Recognition?' *Social & Legal Studies* 13, no. 4 (2004): 523–40.

[35]Shinko, 'Agonistic Peace: A Postmodern Reading', *Millennium* 36, no. 3 (2008): 473–91.

[36]José A. Gutiérrez and Emma Murphy, 'The Unspoken Red-Line in Colombia: Gender Reordering of Women Ex-Combatants and the Transformative Peace Agenda', *Cooperation and Conflict* 58, no. 2 (2023): 211–230.

[37]Shinko, 'Agonistic Peace', 488.

[38]Schaap, 'Agonism in Divided Societies', 261–63.

[39]Ibid., 263.

[40]Schaap, 'Political Recognition', 527.

[41]Ibid., 538.

particular difficulties associated with deeply divided societies and the subsequent shift in priorities for post-agreement reconciliation has influenced the trajectory of broader scholarship on agonistic peace.

Although Schaap and Shinko's work has explained the theoretical reasoning behind connecting agonism and the post-agreement space, it remains abstract and disconnected from empirical studies. Recent scholarship has narrowed the gap between theory and empirics, laying the foundations for analysing agonistic peace through a gender lens. Strömbom, for example, suggests two broad areas for analytical exploration: institutional inclusion and identity change.[42] This institutional inclusion requires the involvement of a diversity of interests and a dialogical process, through which participants can hold discussions in 'plural' and 'flexible' ways that allow for continued disagreement.[43] Other authors have expanded on this agonistic form of inclusion, noting that, in contrast to broad calls for inclusion or plans centred around the inclusion of closed groups, it requires a 'relational approach to the included, which neither brushes over difference, nor essentialises and augments single identity traits over others'.[44] On the identity change front, Strömbom argues that recognition is essential. This recognition must allow for the perpetuation of collective identities while also accepting their self-transformation; models such as those found in the Northern Ireland Assembly, where identities persist but do not have opportunities for transformation, do not wholly fulfil agonistic requirements.[45] Identity change, therefore, might be identified in the development of narratives as well as the acceptance of a plurality of narratives. Murphy and Walsh include similar criteria for identifying agonistic transitional justice empirically.[46] They develop five indicators for this agonistic transitional justice, including the perpetuation of multiple narratives, the encouragement of intersectional perspectives, and the institutionalisation of avenues for dissent. These studies indicate that an examination of identity-related narratives is key to recognising agonistic peace in action, a finding echoed in empirical studies of agonistic peace; Rumelili and Çelik advocate for this agonistic approach by demonstrating that the 'imposition of a singular grand peace narrative' produces ontological insecurity and threatens peace,[47] while Çelik demonstrates that a failure to make space for alternative narratives can undermine fragile peace.[48] An agonistic approach must offer an outlet for the expression of multiple identity-related narratives in an institutional setting and work towards a 'pluralist multilogue'.[49]

Under an agonistic understanding, violent conflict serves as a form of enacting dissensus when no peaceful institutional means for its expression exist. Conflict is a mode of challenging

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[42]Lisa Strömbom, 'Exploring Analytical Avenues for Agonistic Peace', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 23 (2020): 1–23.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Andreas Hirblinger and Dana Landau, 'Daring to Differ? Strategies of inclusion in peacemaking', *Security Dialogue* 51 (2020): 307.

[45]See Isabel Bramsen, 'Agonistic Interaction in Practice: Laughing, Dissensus and Hegemony in the Northern Ireland Assembly', *Third World Quarterly* 43 (2022): 1324–41.

[46]Emma Murphy and Dawn Walsh, 'Agonistic Transitional Justice: A Global Survey', *Third World Quarterly* 43, no. 6 (2022): 1380–98.

[47]Bahar Rumelili and Ayşe Betül Çelik, 'Ontological Insecurity in Asymmetric Conflicts: Reflections on Agonistic Peace in Turkey's Kurdish Issue', *Security Dialogue* 48 (2017): 292.

[48]Ayşe Betül Çelik, 'Agonistic Peace and Confronting the Past: An Analysis of a Failed Peace Process and the Role of Narratives', *Cooperation and Conflict* 56 (2021): 26–43.

[49]Bahar Rumelili and Lisa Strömbom, 'Agonistic Recognition as a Remedy for Identity Backlash: Insights from Israel and Turkey', *Third World Quarterly* 43 (2022): 1361–79.

existing hegemonies and renegotiating patterns of dominance. As such, conflict is a necessary component of social and political life. If we believe, however, that violent conflict is undesirable, the only route forward involves the creation of institutional pathways for regulating – but not eliminating – conflict. Without these pathways, societies will erupt into violent conflict, or they will stagnate in existing patterns of domination. Because a period of violent conflict is a time when power dynamics are constantly in flux – albeit in an undesirable way – the end of this period represents an ideal time for preserving the process of challenging hegemonies while also transforming this process into a more peaceful iteration.

This same logic is useful in understanding why it makes sense to consider gender alongside the more traditional concerns with conflict parties in the post-agreement space. The idea of including conflict parties in peace processes is essentially a non-issue; prevailing logic states that since the conflict is 'about' the struggles between these parties, their inclusion is natural. If we follow an agonistic line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, however, the same is true for the inclusion of gender. Mainstream conceptualisations of conflict tend to view conflict as a problem between the two (or more) conflict parties alone. Instead, agonists understand violent conflict as the inadequacy of existing 'channels of democratic change'.[50] When these channels do not exist or do not function to allow for change, actors may resort to violent conflict. Instead of representing an issue solely between the conflict parties themselves, violent conflict is rather a symptom of this broader institutional failure. Despite this understanding, there has often been a tendency even among agonistic scholars to overlook the intersectional nature of standing conflicts.[51] This attention to standing struggles has particular relevance for exploring the role of gender in the post-agreement sphere. Previous scholarship has highlighted the need for a closer examination of gender, criticising the lack of studies on the role that gender plays in shaping agonistic struggles of any kind, including social and political movements that are not limited to feminism or 'women's issues'.[52] Far from being just another consideration in post-agreement contexts, gender represents a core component of the underlying patterns of domination that sparked violent conflict in the first place. While peace scholars more generally have recognised that gender equality is 'an intrinsic aspect of any sustainable and legitimate peace',[53] this recognition has not yet been explicitly extended to agonistic peace studies.

The recent trend of including gender in agonistic peace studies represents an attempt to rectify this deficiency.[54] Several studies have illustrated the agonistic potential in women's groups or gender-focused movements and noted the importance of considering gender to address the conditions underpinning conflict. As part of their study of agonistic listening in Turkey, Göker and Çelik find that 'women relate to each other as differently situated along multiple axes of inequality and conflict'[55] and that, in polarised

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[50]Holloway Sparks, 'When Dissident Citizens Are Militant Mamas: Intersectional Gender and Agonistic Struggle in Welfare Rights Activism', *Politics & Gender* 12, no. 4 (2016), 624–5.

[51]Ibid., 630.

[52]Ibid., 624.

[53]Magda Lorena Cárdenas and Elisabeth Olivius, 'Building Peace in the Shadow of War: Women-to-Women Diplomacy as Alternative Peacebuilding Practice in Myanmar', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15, no. 3 (2021): 350.

[54]See Strömbom, Bramsen, and Stein, 'Agonistic Peace Agreements?'; and Nagle, 'Disarticulation'.

[55]Göker and Çelik, 'Women's Dialogic Encounters', 1251.

societies, dialogue serves as a way to bring 'alternative stories to the attention of the Other'.[56] Nagle's study of gender movements in post-war Beirut reinforces this connection between gender and agonism in its classification of 'pluralisers', who focus on patterns of oppression that have traditionally been marginalised in the context of a sectarian policy, and 'intersectionalists', who create alliances across marginalised groups 'without subsuming them within a monolithic political movement'.[57] Both groups challenge the notion of what the violent conflict was 'about' and provoke alternative responses to how best to move on in its wake. While these studies hint at the connection between gender and agonism, this link can be stated more explicitly. Ultimately, resistance to a dominant patriarchal system is not just connected to working towards agonistic peace, but rather *is a part of* agonistic peace itself. In its embrace of multiple narratives, agonistic peace rejects any approach to conflict regulation that treats the outbreak of violence as a result of a struggle between two main conflict parties alone. Agonism is, instead, focused on uncovering the 'multiplicity of relations of subordination'[58] to instil a system of perpetual contestation of hegemonies. Uncovering this multiplicity not only should, but *must* include a focus on patterns of hierarchical domination such as the patriarchal paradigm; agonistic peace should centre around 'relational framings that focus on the material, social and cultural relations between groups' to address patterns of domination and oppression.[59]

If this focus on gender is essential, then so too are focuses on other facets of identity such as race or class. To date, attention to these identity facets even within agonistic studies has been lacking; recent scholarship critiques Mouffe's democratic politics for its failure to 'adequately address issues of particular significance to Third World politics: the legacies of colonialism, the West's hegemony in current global politics, the pivotal role of the (Third World) state, and the impact of material conditions and socioeconomic (in)equality'.[60] Part of the problem with under-theorising the role of gender in agonistic peace is the tendency to also overlook critical factors such as these. When thinking critically about the ways in which agonism conceptualises identity and hegemony, it becomes clear that agonistic peace cannot exist without attention to gender, socioeconomic class, and other contextually relevant forms of identity. A relational approach to inclusion backed by these agonistic principles would pay attention to these intersectional identities in all their complexity.[61] While this agonistic approach to inclusion differs from a broad-based inclusion through closed categories,[62] gender must be a focus of agonistic peace as long as it exists as an identity facet (as, in the agonistic understanding, all articulations of identity are also laden with power differentials).

In short, the post-agreement resistance to patriarchal norm imposition and perpetuation is itself a core part of agonistic peace. While recognition of this relationship is critical to advancing agonistic peace scholarship, this recognition alone is not sufficient for

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[56]Ibid., 1253.
[57]Nagle, 'Disarticulation', 1351, emphasis added.
[58]Mouffe, 'Feminism, Citizenship', 375.
[59]Hirblinger and Landau, 'Daring to Differ?' 313.
[60]Ilan Kapoor, 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism? The Relevance of the Habermas-Mouffe Debate for Third World Politics', *Alternatives* 27, no. 4 (2002): 461.
[61]Hirblinger and Landau, 'Daring to Differ?' 316.
[62]Ibid., 313.

demonstrating the viability of agonistic peace as an alternative to liberal peacebuilding. One common critique of agonistic approaches is that, while they have a firm theoretical backing, agonistic principles cannot translate to institutionalised measures. While accusations of an 'institutional deficit' were originally levelled against agonistic democratic approaches (Westphal 2019), this critique extends to agonistic peace practices. Indeed, as the work of Nagle and other scholars shows, while agonistic peace practices are common at the grassroots level,[63] they are more difficult to find on an institutional level. While recent scholarship has demonstrated a global presence of agonistic peace principles in transitional justice institutions[64] and through plenary debates,[65] more research is still needed to understand the ways agonistic peace operates institutionally. Examining gender provisions is a crucial step to filling this gap in our understanding.

To determine whether agonistic peace can take shape at an institutional level, it is necessary to consider if and how institutions themselves are identifying and incorporating gender-related concerns such as those espoused by Nagle's pluralisers and intersectionalists. Movements with gender-focused demands exist in virtually every context, but their existence is not always accompanied by a corresponding institutionalisation of their perspectives. Post-agreement institutions, moreover, are almost always focused on allowing the conflict parties themselves to debate and express their perspectives (albeit largely with the goal of coming to a consensus-based agreement). What is required to truly test the presence of agonistic peace at the institutional level, then, is both the incorporation of a multiplicity of narratives that extends beyond those of the conflict parties as well as built-in avenues for counterhegemonic activity. Examining gender concerns at the institutional level, therefore, allows us to test for incidences of agonistic peace. By looking at measures related to gender, we can determine whether an institution adopts an agonistic approach to multiplicity of narratives or whether it simply conforms to a standard inclusion of conflict party narratives. Exploring the treatment of gender in post-agreement institutions also allows us to assess how deeply agonistic peace principles are embedded into institutional operations, moreover.

While inclusion of diverse narratives related to gender is in line with agonistic principles, this inclusion must also be structured agonistically. As a core part of the agonistic struggle, agonistic feminism – and by the extension discussed above, agonistic peace – must be intersectional, anti-essentialist, opposed to binary categorisations, and accepting of dissent. In the context of institutionalisation of agonistic peace, an inclusion of a gender focus means that the institutions themselves – but not necessarily every feminist movement represented within these institutions – should conform to these agonistic feminist characteristics. The institutions themselves, in other words, must adopt an intersectional lens even when some of the individual movements with which they are working do not. Including perspectives of organisations or movements solely focused on a single facet of intersectional identity may still be key, as disagreements between several of these organisations fosters agonistic opportunities for dissent. Including only white, middle class feminist advocacy groups,

[63]Nagle, 'Disarticulation'; Leonardo Parra-Agudelo, 'Envisaging Change: Supporting Grassroots Efforts in Colombia with Agonistic Design Processes', *Proceedings of the 6th IASDR* (2015): 1606–21; and Erling Björgvinsson, Pelle Ehn, and Per-Anders Hillgren, 'Agonistic Participatory Design: Working with Marginalised Social Movements', *CoDesign* 8, no. 2–3 (2012): 127–44. http://iasdr2015.com/.

[64]Murphy and Walsh, 'Agonistic Transitional Justice'.

[65]Claske Dijkema, 'Creating Space for Agonism: Making Room for Subalternised Voices in Peace Research', *Conflict, Security & Development* 22, no. 5 (2022): 475–494. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2022.2122697

however, would not meet the criteria for agonistic inclusion, as the overall pattern of inclusion would not foster multiplicity or be intersectional. This difference in approach to gender inclusion explains why the typical approach of 'add women and stir'[66] or a simple closed approach to inclusion without attention to relational aspects of gender[67] would not meet the criteria for agonistic peace, as this uncritical incorporation of 'women' without attention to the multiplicity of narratives falling under this broader identity category does not meet agonistic requirements. While recognising the importance of including multiple perspectives, including along gender lines, is a critical component of agonistic peace, an agonistic peace institution must operate on a different standard of inclusion that extends multiplicity and contestation to all levels of its operation. This means not only including intersectional interests, but also allowing for contestation between groups about priorities for gendered concerns; as Hirblinger and Landau note, an explicit focus on fostering this contestation is critical, as 'inclusion does not automatically enable contestation'.[68]

Previous scholarship hints at the close relationship between gender and agonism but has fallen short of recognising that gendered struggles against patriarchy are part of agonistic peace. Recognising this relationship advances agonistic peace scholarship and practice, but does not confirm the viability of agonistic peace as an alternative to liberal peacebuilding. Doing so requires demonstrating agonism's feasibility as in institutional practice.[69] Given the importance of considering gender in working towards agonistic peace, the next section explores how gender can be used as a tool for identifying empirical examples of agonistic peace, using insights from the Colombian Truth Commission.

Gender as a tool for agonistic peace identification: evidence from Colombia's Truth Commission

The following section demonstrates the value of identifying agonistic peace practices through an examination of gender provisions in peace processes and institutions. I explore the possibilities and challenges of using gender as a tool for agonistic peace identification through an empirical analysis of a key peace institution in Colombia: the *Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición* (Commission for Clarification of Truth, Coexistence, and Non-Repetition; hereafter Truth Commission). Based on analysis of approximately one hundred archival documents from the Colombian government, transitional justice institutions, non-governmental organisations, and women's organisations as well as interviews with institutional officials, I demonstrate the presence of agonistic peace in Colombia and the ways in which examining institutional gender provisions can lead to its identification. These gender provisions, when structured agonistically, show evidence of a multiplicity

[66]Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, 'The Relationship of Political Settlement Analysis to Peacebuilding from a Feminist Perspective', *Peacebuilding* 4, no. 2 (2016): 151–65.
[67]See Hirblinger and Landau, 'Daring to Differ?'.
[68]Hirblinger and Landau, 'Daring to Differ?' 307.
[69]Scholars such as Vivien Lowndes and Marie Paxton have laid out the foundations for different possibilities for agonising institutions; see Lowndes and Paxton, 'Can Agonism be Institutionalised? Can Institutions be Agonised? Prospects for Democratic Design', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20, no. 3 (2018): 693–710. This paper advances their framework by extending it to the post-conflict realm and offering insights from an empirical case to help identify additional institutional examples of agonistic peace.

of narratives, intersectionality, anti-essentialism, refutation of binaries, and acceptance of dissent. Focusing on gender is not only important for those interested in monitoring progress towards feminist goals, but it is also a critical premise for any study of agonistic peace. As the example of the Truth Commission shows, looking into how gender is considered in institutions serves as a strong indicator for the presence of agonistic peace. It is critical to note that attention to gender in general is not sufficient evidence of agonistic peace; rather, treatment of gender must conform to agonistic feminist principles.

Colombia's Truth Commission illustrates the ways in which these gender provisions can take shape and their utility in determining the presence of agonistic peace at the institutional level. The Truth Commission, which is one of the three core transitional justice mechanisms set up through the 2016 Final Agreement between the FARC-EP and the Colombian government, was created as an extra-judicial mechanism to clarify the patterns and causes of the armed conflict through the collection of testimonies from a wide range of actors. The Commission released its final report in July 2022 after several years of investigation, research, and testimony collection. An examination of gender provisions in both the initial mandates of the Commission and in its operating procedures helps identify the presence of agonistic peace in Colombia and demonstrates the utility of looking into gender provisions to identify agonistic peace in other institutions and contexts. This analysis, it should be noted, is not intended to serve as a holistic assessment of the Commission's efficacy or value; instead, it uses the Commission's practices and provisions related to gender to identify the Truth Commission as an agonistic peace institution. Future scholarship might use this identification as a starting point for a more in-depth comparison of agonistic versus liberal approaches in building peace.

The following sections show how an examination of gender provisions in the Truth Commission demonstrates the presence of agonistic peace through the Commission's embrace of multiple narratives and anti-essentialism, intersectionality, and acceptance of dissent and refutation of binaries. These areas represent the core factors distinguishing an agonistic approach to peacebuilding from either a standard liberal peacebuilding approach or a non-agonistic feminist approach. Looking for these facets in the treatment of gender within a peace institution allows us to distinguish agonistic peace from: a) institutions focused on fostering a non-agonistic, 'add women and stir' approach to gender; and b) institutions adopting a liberal peacebuilding approach.

Multiple narratives and anti-essentialism

Like other Colombian transitional justice institutions, the Truth Commission adopts a 'gender and differential focus' in its operations; the Commission approaches this gender focus as a way to analyse the distinct effects of the conflict on women, girls, and a wide range of members of the LGBTQI+ community.[70] This initial operating principle demonstrates a commitment to multiplicity that

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[70]Comisión de la Verdad, Balance anual, Grupo de Trabajo de Género: Noviembre de 2018 a diciembre de 2019 (2020), 25.

extends far beyond an inclusion of conflict party narratives alone. This commitment to multiplicity is reflected in the Commission's testimony collection, which included over 12,000 testimonies as of May 2022.[71] The inclusion of multiple narratives is clear in the Commission's outputs: the website based on the Commission's findings, for example, includes a section devoted specifically to narratives of women and LGBTQI+ individuals.

The Commission deepens its anti-essentialist tendencies through its deconstruction of the monolithic narrative of women in conflict as victims of sexual violence. It combats the singularity of this narrative in two ways: by raising awareness about women's agency and expanding the concept of gendered harm. The website for the Commission's Final Report includes a section entitled '*Así suena mi resistencia*' ('this is how my resistance sounds'), which includes oral testimonies from a range of Colombian women.[72] These testimonies, which include narratives from Indigenous women like María Flor/Jainane, the first woman to be elected governor in her town council, centre around active resistance during and after the conflict and disrupt the hegemonic narrative of women as victims.

In addition to this contribution to multiplicity and anti-essentialism through its amplification of women's narratives of agency, the Commission has also provided institutional recognition of an expanded range of gendered harms. In its 'Guide to Addressing Sexual Violences in the Truth Commission', for example, the Commission states that sexual violences are only one facet of gendered violence and that the idea of 'sexual violence' itself actually encompasses a wide range of harms, many of which are not yet widely recognised in Colombian society.[73] After speaking to and collecting testimony from a wide range of women and members of the LGBTQI+ community, the Commission also expanded its conception of gendered harm to include new categories such as forced maternity and forced contraception.[74] These operating principles and approaches to testimony analysis demonstrate an agonistic multiplicity in action; an examination of gendered narratives in the Truth Commission's operations shows an agonistic commitment to multiplicity going beyond the perspectives of the conflict parties.

Intersectionality

Transitional justice institutions like the Truth Commission have the potential to produce elite actors and interests.[75] Efforts towards gender justice, moreover, have often been dominated by a 'gender essentialism' that marginalises issues of race, class, ethnicity, and culture.[76] While the Truth Commission does not avoid these pitfalls entirely, its cooperation with civil society groups and explicit commitment to intersectional principles demonstrate its recognition of the importance of intersecting identity facets. The

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[71]Emilce Garzon, expert investigator for the Truth Commission, interview with author, May 4, 2022.

[72]'Así suena mi resistencia', Comisión de la Verdad, https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/mujeres-y-personas-lgbtiq#.

[73]'Guía para el abordaje de las violencias sexuales en la Comisión de la Verdad' (2021), Comisión de la Verdad, https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/guia-para-el-abordaje-de-las-violencias-sexuales.

[74]Alejandra Coll Agudelo, interview with author *Former Member of the Gender Working Group for the Commission*, April 29, 2022.

[75]Eilish Rooney and Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, 'Transitional Justice from the Margins: Intersections of Identities, Power and Human Rights', *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 12, no. 1 (2018): 1–8.

[76]Berta Esperanza Hernández-Truyol, 'Las Olvidadas – Gendered in Justice/Gendered Injustice: Latinas, Fronteras, and the Law', *Journal of Gender, Race & Justice* 1 (1998), 400.

Commission describes its ethnic-gender perspective as 'a tool through which the acknowledgement of the different and historic effects on indigenous women and LGBTI people, black Afro-descendants, Raizal women, Palenquera women, and Rom women is sought' and notes that the Commission's task is to 'clarify the links between the patriarchy, racism, and colonialism and the presence of these three systems of oppression in the context of the internal armed conflict'.[77] This intersectional approach also comes into play in the Commission's exploration of gendered harms; the Commission notes, for example, that various forms of violence have had 'different expressions and effects, which require a careful review of the victims' ethnic-racial identity, as well as their sexual orientation and gender identity'.[78]

A core component of the Truth Commission's operations centred around its collaboration with civil society. An examination of its collaboration with gender-focused institutions demonstrate the intersectional pattern of inclusion within the Truth Commission's work; whereas top-down institutions like the Truth Commission are at risk of focusing solely or mainly on the voices of elites, the Commission's creation of direct participation avenues for gender-focused civil society groups indicates a commitment to including a more diverse group of gendered narratives, including those of rural women. The Commission worked with women's organisations such as *Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres* (Peaceful Route of Women; hereafter *Ruta Pacifica*) to collect testimony in areas where the Commission did not have an active presence, such as Bajo Cauca.[79] *Ruta Pacifica*'s earlier work on creating a women's truth commission directly informed the Truth Commission's operations.[80] The Commission also collaborated with organisations such as *Historias en Kilómetros* (Stories in Kilometres), which trains local organisations to make their own films about gender violence and the conflict.[81] Films like those about Kelly, an Indigenous woman and former combatant, which centre around gendered experiences and which were created with Stories in Kilometre's assistance, appear in the Truth Commission's final report. The Truth Commission's direct work with these organisations allowed for a deeper intersectional approach in its operations; while many top-down institutions work only or primarily with elites, the Commission's collaboration with gender-focused civil society organisations created a more diverse group of testimonies from women of different ethnic, racial, cultural, and class backgrounds.

Acceptance of dissent and refutation of binaries

The above sections have described the diversity and breadth of testimonies collected by the Truth Commission. Within these testimonies are a range of conflicting narratives about the armed conflict; there are, for example, stories from women victimised by the FARC-EP as well as narratives from former *guerrilleras*. The latter category, moreover, includes statements such as the one from a woman who states that she 'never felt helpless in the war', though she did feel 'supremely abandoned'

[77]*Balance anual*, Comisión de la Verdad, 3.
[78]'Guía para el abordaje', Comisión de la Verdad.
[79]*Balance Anual*, Comisión de la Verdad, 25.
[80]Ibid., 24.
[81]Paola Andrea Díaz Gómez, interview with author, *Coordinator of Historias en Kilómetros*, March 1, 2022.

in rehabilitation programs[82]; this narrative actively preserves dissent about the functioning and effectiveness of existing institutions. The inclusion of conflicting perspectives on the causes of and perpetrators in the conflict, moreover, showcases the Commission's willingness to perpetuate divergent, irreconcilable perspectives within the broader category of 'woman' and to deconstruct simplistic binaries such as victim/perpetrator. Whereas a more liberal approach would be satisfied with a singular narrative of womanhood, this more agonistic example explores the range of identities falling under a larger gender identity and actively promotes counterhegemonic narratives about, for example, the role of the FARC-EP.

This embrace of dissent is also found in the operations of the Commission's gender working group. The Commission created this gender working group after several activists, scholars, and policymakers lobbied for its creation.[83] Part of the gender working group's operations involved creating spaces in which women's organisations, including NGOs representing Indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and *campesina* women, could critique the work of the Truth Commission.[84] This approach demonstrates a clear acceptance of dissent, a fostering of institutional avenues for contestation, and an intersectional incorporation of women's organisations representing a broad spectrum of identities.

Discussion

The above section has illustrated the importance of looking not just at conflict party narratives, but also at other forms of inclusion to determine whether an institution is agonistic. The Colombian Truth Commission's practices related to gender demonstrate its agonistic embrace of multiplicity and anti-essentialism, dissent, intersectionality, and binary refutation. If agonistic peace requires us to consider multiple identity facets, however, why focus on gender instead of another identity facet? Part of the utility of examining gender lies in its inextricable connection to other components of identity. Intersectional feminism builds in a requirement to consider these additional dimensions of identity and oppression.[85] Considering not only whether gender is included, but *how* it is included is therefore critical to determining whether an institutional response is emblematic of agonistic peace. If gender-based inclusion is present in line with agonistic feminist principles, however, looking at gender also offers insights into both the treatment of other forms of collective identity and the presence of agonistic peace itself.

Ultimately, gender's status as an identity facet that is always present, but never the attributed 'cause' of a conflict, positions it well to illuminate an institution's treatment of identities going beyond those of the conflict parties alone. Other strands of literature focusing on race or class could also serve this purpose. Given the clear overlap between feminist literature and agonism, as well as the intersectional feminist requirement to consider multiplicity and varying forms of domination and oppression, an exploration of the ways in which gender is approached in post-agreement institutions allows it to serve as a proxy for the presence of agonism. Investigating how gender is approached in

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[82]'Mariana', Comisión de la Verdad, https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/mariana.
[83]Alejandra Coll Agudelo, interview with author, 2022.
[84]Ibid.
[85]Kimberlé W. Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color', in *The Public Nature of Private Violence*, ed. Martha Fineman and Roxanne Mykitiuk (New York: Routledge, 1994), 93–118.

institutions allows us to not only identify, but also understand, the ways in which agonistic peace takes shape institutionally. Additionally, a gender approach to agonistic peace institutions requires looking at other forms of counterhegemonic perspectives, including those centred around race, ethnicity, sexuality, or class. In this way, exploring gender in institutions helps demonstrate the extent to which an institution is fosters counterhegemonic projects through the perpetuation of dissent and multiplicity.

There are, however, limitations to the use of gender as a tool for agonistic peace identification. Because of the prevalence of gender as a focus for post-agreement peace-building, especially following the advent of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820, there is a danger that rhetorical commitments to multiplicity along gendered lines will remain superficial and will not include attention to other relevant facets of identity. Examining the intersectional aspects of institutional operations becomes particularly important in this environment. The above sections have highlighted the need to consider *how* gender provisions are included rather than simply *whether* they appear in peace institutions.

Conclusion

While agonistic theory is not a new concept, its application to the field of peace studies is novel. Recent scholarship has shown that there is an emerging agonistic paradigm in subfields such as transitional justice,[86] but additional research is still required to combat the 'institutional deficit' critique of agonistic peace. To this end, several recent studies have included a focus on gender in their analysis of agonistic peace. This article has delineated *why* this focus on gender is not only helpful, but necessary, to understanding how agonistic peace operates institutionally. The article has made three contributions to the field. First, it has clarified the overlap between agonistic feminism and existing strands of feminist theory, focusing on an agonistic feminism's anti-essentialist, inter-sectional, and binary-refuting nature. Second, it has illustrated that anti-patriarchal movements are not just akin to, but *part of*, the struggle for agonistic peace. Finally, using the example of the Colombian Truth Commission, the article has demonstrated the necessity and utility of looking at how gender-focused movements are incorporated into peace processes to identify an institutional presence of agonistic peace.

The overall aim of this article is to provide a way forward for scholars and practitioners seeking an alternative to liberal peacebuilding practices. An agonistic approach eschews the need for giving up collective identities in favour of a new, unified national identity. Moreover, it offers the possibility for peaceful conflict regulation rather than the difficult-to-realise goal of conflict minimisation. Despite the potential advantages of an agonistic approach to peace, however, more research is needed to understand how an agonistic peace might take shape institutionally. This future research could, I have argued, use gender as a starting point from which to examine institutional agonistic practice in post-agreement societies.

Disclosure statement

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[86]Murphy and Walsh, 'Agonistic Transitional Justice'.

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Emma Murphy is a PhD Candidate in the School of Politics and International Relations at University College Dublin, Ireland. Her research centres on the intersections of agonistic peace, transitional justice, and gender from a comparative perspective. Her doctoral research investigates empirical realisations of agonistic transitional justice in Northern Ireland, Colombia, and Uganda. Her research has been published in journals including *Third World Quarterly and Cooperation and Conflict*.

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