

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

School of Global Studies



“Development is the new Peace”

A case study on Pastoral Social Pasto’s role as a local actor in the peacebuilding process in the Colombian region of Nariño

Master Thesis in Global Studies 30 hec

Autumn Semester 2018/ Spring Semester 2019

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Word Count: 19’984

Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze the role of Pastoral Social Pasto as a case of a local actor within the peacebuilding process in the Colombian region Nariño. Colombia suffered from an internal armed conflict that endured over five decades. In 2016, a peace agreement between the national government under president Juan Manuel Santos and the country's biggest guerrilla group, the FARC-EP, was ratified and drastically reduced the violence throughout the country. However, post-conflict peacebuilding is not a straight-lined process and especially the region of Nariño is experiencing the emergence of new conflict dynamics. Amongst others, it deals with the formation of new armed groups, drug trafficking, forced displacement and the lack of basic human needs in rural areas. As international organizations often fail to grasp the complexity of this current situation, I consider it important to assess the role of a local actor within Nariño's peacebuilding process. Inspired by the academic debate about the 'local turn', I discuss the case of Pastoral Social Pasto, an ecclesiastical organization that has performed humanitarian work in the region for over three decades and therefore possesses an extensive knowledge about Nariño's peace and conflict dynamics. I used semi-structured interviews to collect empirical data about the organization's peacebuilding vision, its relationships with other actors and its different lines of action. The data was analyzed using the theory of conflict transformation, in particular the framework of Paul Lederach, and the concept of capacity building. I argue that Pastoral Social Pasto holds the role of a middle-level actor that views peacebuilding as a long-term process which requires varying activities on different levels of society. However, scarce financial resources and a narrow range of influence limit the organization in the implementation of this holistic perspective. Instead, it mainly performs complementary work, filling in where the state fails to take responsibility. Hence, while this function is of utmost importance in Nariño, there is a lack of evidence that these tasks add to the building of sustainable peace.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to all the persons that participated in this study. Thank you for welcoming me in Pasto, for taking the time to talk to me and for openly sharing your visions and experiences. Without your help and your trust this research would not have been possible.

Second, I also want to thank my supervisor Michael Schulz for the encouragement and all the advices during the research process. His shared knowledge helped me to stay focused and to not get lost in the vast field of peacebuilding literature.

Finally, I need to thank my friends and family, who always supported me and patiently enduring my ups and downs during the development of this thesis. Thank you for listening to my ideas and doubts and for believing in me when I did not.

Abbreviations

ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army)
EPL	Ejército Popular de Liberación (Popular Liberation Army)
FARC - EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia - Ejército de Pueblo (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army)
M 19	Movimiento 19 de Abril (The 19 th of April Movement)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OHCHR	United Nation Commission of Human Rights
Pares	Fundación Paz y Reconciliación (Fundation of Peace and Reconciliation)
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UMAIC	Unidad de Manejo y Análisis de Información Colombia (Unit of information management and analysis in Colombia)
UN	United Nations
UNCHR	The United Nations Refugee Agency
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

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“Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures”

~ John F. Kennedy

1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the role of the organization Pastoral Social Pasto as a case of a local peacebuilding actor in the Colombian region Nariño. Peacebuilding is the process that seeks to solidify peace and prevent the eruption of further conflict (Bohm 2018). It is one of the key elements of conflict resolution, both in theory and in practice (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall 2016). Peacebuilding gained particular importance after the Cold War, when traditional interstate wars were increasingly replaced by protracted intrastate conflicts, fought between the groups of deeply divided societies (Lederach 1997, 11). Because of their characteristics, such conflicts are unusual to culminate in victory for one of the parties, which is why they need to be resolved by a carefully negotiated peace agreement. In this context, post-conflict intervention turned into a driving motivation of the international community (United Nations 2000) and for decades, the management of internal conflict and its consequences was considered a top-level affair (Paffenholz 2010). The interventions followed the principle of liberal peace, where democratization, free markets and the rule of law were seen as the most suitable path for achieving global security (Paris 2004).

However, scholars that analyze the success and failures of international peacebuilding associate the liberal peacebuilding approach with a number of challenges. Most importantly, they claim that such interventions often entail unintended consequences that can exacerbate conflict dynamics (Autesserre 2014). Hence, by the mid-2000s, a critical literature emerged, which dismisses external peace interventions as an imposition of international power on disempowered societies (Chandler 2006). Scholars within this literature argue that peacebuilding from outside becomes increasingly professionalized and standardized, resembling elements of a tool kit that are applied to any post-conflict setting (Donais 2009). Furthermore, they regard these processes as disconnected from local needs (Millar 2011) and with little understanding of local social and cultural dynamics (Autesserre 2014). Such a failure to understand how conflict is experienced by those who live through it, radically restricts the ability to analyze it properly and offer adequate solutions (Millar 2018, 1). Hence, scholars that support this view call for an intensified focus on locally grounded research instead, where

studies acknowledge and appreciate the complexity and diversity of global and local synergies in peace processes. Furthermore, they attempt to understand and engage with the agency of local actors (Millar 2018, 5).

Colombia's internal armed conflict endured over half a century and is one of today's oldest civil wars. It officially ended in 2016, when a peace agreement was ratified between the country's largest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces – People's Army (FARC - EP), and the Colombian government under president Juan Manuel Santos (Ríos 2018). Since at least on paper the agreement presents a comprehensive institutional framework (Tonche and Umaña 2017), it received a lot of interest from practitioners and scholars alike. On one side, there is a growing body of literature that assesses the peace agreement and its implementation, focusing on its challenges and opportunities (e.g., De Gamboa Tapias and Díaz Pabón 2018; Del Pilar Peña Huertas 2018; Jimeno 2018). On the other side, several scholars doubt the capacity of the Colombian government to implement the agreement and focus on different peace communities within the civil society instead (e.g., Naucke 2017; Courtheyn 2018; Burnyeat 2018).

Despite the studies on Colombia's post-conflict peace process, there is a scarcity of literature that investigates peacebuilding at the local level. The region of Nariño is located in the south of Colombia at the border to Ecuador. Nariño suffers from a historical lack of state presence and since the beginning of the armed conflict in the 1950s, the region had to look out for itself. When the retirement of the FARC-EP led to a power void in the area, the government did not make much effort to fill this gap. Consequently, different armed groups took advantage of this situation and reorganized themselves, which is why the levels of violence linked to the armed conflict increased since 2016 (Pares 2018), mostly affecting communities living in rural areas. While there are numerous international organizations present in the area, they often fail to recognize this local reality. Hence, inspired by the critique on liberal peacebuilding and the academic debate around the 'local turn', I consider it important to assess the role of a local actor within the peacebuilding process in Nariño. This thesis discusses the case of Pastoral Social Pasto, an organization that has been working on humanitarian issues in the region for over three decades and which consequently possesses a comprehensive knowledge about the current peace and conflict dynamics. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain empirical data about the organization's vision of peacebuilding, its relationship with other actors and the activities they perform to enhance peace in Nariño.

2. Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to investigate and understand the role of the organization Pastoral Social Pasto as a case of a local peacebuilding actor in the Colombian region Nariño, focusing on its peacebuilding vision, its relationships with other actors and the activities they perform to contribute to peace in the territory. Hence, the research process will be guided by the following, overarching question:

- *What is the role of Pastoral Social Pasto as a local actor in the peacebuilding process in the Colombian region of Nariño?*

In order to answer this overarching research question, I will discuss three specific aspects of Pastoral Social Pasto. First, I will assess what elements and which parts of society, according to the organization's perspective, need to be considered in the process of building peace:

- *What is Pastoral Social Pasto's vision of peacebuilding?*

Second, I look at the organization's relationships with other actors. Particularly, I explore how it collaborates with the different parts of society and what position it takes within these dynamics. Also, I extend the focus and include Pastoral Social Pasto's interactions with international entities:

- *How does the organization relate to other actors and what are the power structures within these relationships?*

Third, I determine Pastoral Social Pasto's different lines of action, ask if these are in accordance with the organization's peacebuilding vision and evaluate whether the different activities add to the building of sustainable peace.:

- *What are the organization's different lines of action and do these activities contribute to the building of sustainable peace?*

2.1. Delimitations

Comparing the intricacy of Colombia's peace and conflict dynamics with the narrow time frame of this thesis, I decided to delimit the study on two levels; First, I only discuss the peacebuilding process in the region of Nariño. As will be discussed in the background chapter, Nariño experiences unique post-conflict dynamics that are still unidentified by the academic

field of local peacebuilding. Hence, it is important to first analyze the dynamics separately, before assessing possible differences and similarities with other parts of the country.

Second, within the peacebuilding process in Nariño, I focus on the case of one local organization, namely Pastoral Social Pasto. Even though I included several other entities in my fieldwork to provide this thesis with more context, I describe the peacebuilding dynamics from Pastoral Social Pasto's perspective. Likewise, I analyze the relationships with other actors, both local and international, from their point of view. I recognize that assessing another organization might have brought up additional or different aspects. Also, it would be worthwhile to further interview international donors or state officials, institutions I could not get in touch with during the short time period of this thesis. Nevertheless, as I am specifically interested in the role of local actors, Pastoral Social Pasto is the most suitable organization for this case study. It has been doing humanitarian work in Nariño for over three decades and consequently possesses a fundamental knowledge about the region. Therefore, it is adequate to study its position within the current peace and conflict dynamics.

2.2. Relevance to Global Studies

According to Scholte (2005), globalization is best understood in spatial terms and can be defined as the contemporary growth of transplanetary and supraterritorial links. This increasing connectivity manifests itself in multiple ways: the most common examples of globality are the accelerated network of communication and the increasing movement of people. However, it also expresses itself in other aspects of social life, including production, markets, money and finance (Eriksen 2007). Consequently, globalization also influences the dynamics of contemporary armed conflicts.

Even though it is true that most of today's wars are internal rather than international ones (Lederach 1997, 10), they are still embedded in a global structure. Many of the weapons used in combat originate from the global arm trade, and contemporary conflicts often gain substantial funding through transnational networks of illegal drug traffic (Jung 2003). These characteristics certainly apply to the internal conflict of Colombia, where the coca industry counts as the armed actors' primary source to finance their struggle (Gray 2008). Naturally, the economy of illicit drugs does not stop at the country's border but proves to be a very globalized trade. These circumstances, in turn, brought other international actors into play,

especially the United States who supplied the Colombian government with weapons and technology to fight the guerrilla groups and the drug traffic (Ríos 2018). It justified this action as to be in the name of Bush's global war on terror.

In addition, the response to internal conflicts has become increasingly international. Thus, globalization in the form of democratization, development, human rights and free trade, brought by external organizations and institutions, have been promoted as a solution to war and conflict (Richmond 2004). These suggestions are closely related to the idea of liberal peacebuilding, a concept that is widely criticized by the literature used in this study.

3. Background

Before exploring the results of my research, this chapter aims to give a brief overview of the Colombian armed conflict. Even though I only focus on the region of Nariño, it is important to understand how the conflict dynamics came to exist on a national level. Also, it is crucial to recognize that there are other armed actors than the FARC-EP, which are responsible for ongoing violence, especially in Nariño. Given the limited space, the information provided is by no means exhaustive, but rather aims at giving some context to this thesis.

3.1. Colombian Armed Conflict

The complex history of violence in modern Colombia began in 1948, when the assassination of the left-wing liberal party leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán triggered massive riots in the capital city Bogotá (Gray 2008, 76). Within days, the violence quickly spread across the country and transmuted into a rural war, which was characterized by acute fighting between conservative and liberal party organizations, but also involved peasant organizations and the private armies of wealthy landowners (UCDP n.d.). The period, known as "the violence", ended in 1958 with the National Front coalition, in which the two traditional parties agreed to alternately participate in the government during 16 years (Restrepo, Spagat, and Vargas 2004, 399). The agreement managed to drastically reduce the violence throughout the country, but it simultaneously suppressed the emergence of new political parties (Díaz Pabón 2018, 19). Being excluded from the political arena, peasant organizations responded to the circumstances by forming leftist guerrilla groups, prepared to express their interests violently. With more than 10'000 armed soldiers, the FARC-EP represented the country's largest guerrilla groups.

Furthermore, other far-left guerrilla groups, such as the National Liberation Army (ELN), the Popular Liberation Army (EPL) and the 19th of April Movement (M-19), started their own armed struggles against the government (Palacios 2012) In order to sustain themselves, the different groups engaged in profitable kidnapping as well as in illegal drugs trade (Yaffe 2011).

In the late 1970s, wealthy landowners and drug lords responded to the guerrilla's activities by forming their own paramilitary groups. In contrast to the ideological motivations of the guerrillas, the interest of these groups was of rather economical nature. Its main objective consisted of limiting the guerrilla's access to natural resources in order to control the exploitable regions themselves (Díaz Pabón 2018, 20). Because of their rightist orientation, the Colombian government supported these paramilitary groups by establishing a legal framework that allowed for the emergence of self-defense forces (ibid.).

Hence, the Colombian armed conflict features a variety of economic, institutional and social causes. It is fought on numerous fronts and between guerrilla groups, paramilitaries and the national government. What these actors all have in common, is the one-sided violence performed against civil society (Yaffe 2011). Up until today, the Colombian armed conflict resulted in more than 220'000 deaths and almost 7 million displaced people (La Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la Paz 2016).

3.2. Peace Agreements

Over the course of the last five decades, the numerous conflict dynamics were accompanied by various peace attempts (López Hernández 2016). Some of them proved to be successful: In the early 1990s, for instance, two guerrilla groups, namely EPL and M-19, agreed to cease their armed struggle and enter into politics instead (UCDP n.d.). Other agreement attempts failed for different reasons: The Caguán process, which aimed at creating peace between the FARC-EP and the Colombian government, did not succeed as both parties still prioritized short term military and political benefits over long-term peace (Ríos 2018). Similarly, other efforts to reach a solution with Colombia's biggest guerrilla group collapsed throughout the years (Nasi 2018).

Nonetheless, despite the unsuccessful precedents, the former president Juan Manuel Santos (2010-2018) decided to pick up the negotiations with the FARC-EP once again. Hence, after

some exploratory meetings led by the Norwegian government, official peace dialogues initiated in 2012. During four years, a delegation of different stakeholders got together in Havana, Cuba, with the aim to terminate the armed conflict (Herbolzheimer 2016). The meetings centered around five substantial topics: Rural development, political participation, illicit crops, victims and conflict termination. Whereas there was a smooth progress during the first year and a half, the agreement on victims and transitional justice proved to be more complicated. Eventually they reached a peace agreement, which was signed during a public ceremony in September 2016 (Nasi 2018, 39). However, in order to legitimize the negotiation process, president Santos chose to leave the final decision on the agreement to the Colombian people and presented it in a nationwide plebiscite in October 2016 (ibid). Against all expectations, the agreement was rejected by a the very narrow result of 50.2 percent against and 48.8 percent in favor. Consequently, what followed was a phase of renegotiation, which ended in a revised agreement one month later (La Silla Vacía 2016). The new agreement was then ratified by the Colombian congress, without presenting it to the population once again.

3.3.Current Situation in Nariño

Ever since November 2016, the implementation of the Colombian peace agreement has been a slow but steady process. Some points of the agreement, such as the development programs that include a territorial approach, are already being put into practice. Other aspects, like the integral system of truth, justice, reparation and no repetitions, are still negotiated by different institutions of the state (Pares 2018). One of the most successful actions has certainly been the demobilization of the FARC-EP in 2017. Their disarmament drastically reduced the violence on a national level (ibid).

However, in Nariño, the violence associated with the armed conflict increased since 2016 (UMAIC 2017). Historically, the frontier region has been neglected by the centralized government. Consequently, in 2017, the withdrawal of the FARC-EP left behind a power void, which the state did not manage to fill (Pares 2018). This allowed for an accelerated configuration of different armed groups in the region; While some of them emerged recently, others have been active in the region for the last few decades and are just gaining strength after the FARC-EP's retreat. Furthermore, some descendants of the FARC-EP decided to join forces and form their own groups. According to the annual report of Pares (2018), four main actors currently control the region: *Gente de Orden* (People of the Order), *Guerrillas Unidas del*

Pacífico (United Guerrillas of the Pacific), *Frente Oliver Sinisterra (Oliver Sinisterra Front)* and *Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia (Gaitanist Self-Defense Forces of Colombia)*. Yet, as stated by one of my participants, more than 30 illegal armed groups were reported in 2018. Hence, one of the main challenges is to keep track of the fast-changing dynamics within the region.

The reorganization of these groups and the armed battle between them resulted in new massive displacements and restricted mobility for the communities living in the area. Also, they fear forced recruitment, especially of young adults, and attacks against social leaders (Equipo Humanitario and OCHA 2018). Additionally, the presence of armed actors also affects the communities' food security and their access to adequate health care. Their vulnerability is furthermore exacerbated by the high level of extreme poverty in the area; As will be discussed in the results chapter, farmers are not able to make a living with traditional agriculture, which is why they resort to producing illicit such as coca plants (ibid.). In this context it is important to mention that in comparison to the FARC-EP, who stood in for an ideological belief, the new armed groups follow a mainly economic interest. Hence, they are particularly interested in controlling the pacific coast of Nariño, which houses the largest number of hectares of coca grown (UMAIC 2017).

4. Previous Research

This chapter serves to embed the study in its academic context. Therefore, I will review the existing literature on the 'local turn' in peacebuilding, a debate that can be divided into two phases.

4.1. First Generation

The emergence of the 'local turn' is located within the critical school of peace and conflict studies (MacGinty and Richmond 2013). Unlike the problem-solving approach that is adopted within the more traditional disciplines like International Relations, the critical school, rather than just solving the issue, is interested in gaining an in-depth understanding of the structural factors that leads to its formation (Cox 1981). Hence, in the context of liberal peacebuilding, when the international community failed to establish a sustainable peace in countries like Rwanda, Somalia or the Balkans (Paffenholz 2015, 858), scholars started to lose trust in the

common practice of peacebuilding interventions, a concern they expressed in a new body of literature. They claimed that it is crucial to consider the particular dynamics of a post-conflict setting, requesting for local actors to play a much more central role in the peacebuilding process (Millar 2018, 3).

One of the pioneers of this perspective is John Paul Lederach, who, together with other scholar-practitioners, established the school of conflict transformation. As will be elaborated in the theory chapter of this thesis, the school grounds its assumptions directly on Galtung's work on structural violence and peacebuilding (Galtung 1969) and perceives conflict as a natural part of human interaction (Lederach 2003, 23). Consequently, rather than just ending a conflict, it aims at transforming it into constructive growth (Miall 2004, 4). The transformation process should be driven by and benefit local actors (Fetherston 2000). In Lederach's comprehensive framework of conflict transformation (1997), which will be used as analytical tool for this study, he moves away from traditional statist diplomacy and focusses on peacebuilding as the achievement of durable reconciliation within divided societies. In order to accomplish this objective, one needs to rebuild relationships between former adversaries, establish local infrastructures and train the people (Paffenholz 2015). Lederach is accompanied by Adam Curle, who investigates the transformation of asymmetric relationships into balanced ones and who argues that the best peace building capacity lies within the communities who live through the conflict themselves. Hence, he claims that efforts should be made to empower local peacebuilders (Curle 1994). Likewise, Rupesinghe (1995) and Fetherston (Fetherston 2000) consider local actors as the long-term stakeholders of peace.

But what exactly do scholars mean when they investigate 'the local'? Going through the literature, it becomes clear that 'the local' must be considered a highly contested term (Hughes, Öjendal, and Schierenbeck 2015). MacGinty, for example, shows that it can be conceptualized as both the problem and the solution of conflict. On one side, over decades 'the local' was portrayed as something dangerous and unenlightened that needs to be tamed and civilized (MacGinty 2015, 840). The lack of liberal institutions and development in countries coming from conflict led to the perception that 'the local' represents a *terra nullius*, an empty space that is waiting to be reformed with the help of northern models (MacGinty and Richmond 2013, 765). Thus, even though they consider the local particularities, first generation 'local turn' scholars still center their studies around international organizations as the unit of analysis. In particular, they discuss how international actors can assist the local community in the best

possible way. Instead of seeing it as mere beneficiary, Lederach suggests considering the local community as a resource with valuable expertise that can augment the impact of peacebuilding efforts (Lederach 1997). In this sense, the idea of a liberal peace is not inherently bad but only misguided (Paffenholz 2015). Naturally, this perspective has had very little impact on the interventionist visions of external actors, which plan and fund the main part of contemporary peacebuilding processes (Millar 2018, 3) .

According to Leonardsson and Rudd, they rather use ‘the local’ as a rhetorical tool, which serves to increase the legitimacy and accountability of peacebuilding interventions. In practice, however, they still focus mainly on governmental institutions (2015, 825) . Based on the reasoning that in a post-conflict context, the national government is often too weak for efficient administration, practitioners of international organizations started to focus on the decentralization of governance (Paris and Sisk 2007). The idea was that a well-governed decentralization would benefit peace by enhancing accountability, legitimacy as well as the inclusion and participation of citizens in democratic political structures (Leonardsson and Rudd 2015, 828). However, the presumed success of such an undertaking has been contested by various scholars. Brancati (2006), for example, shows that encouraging the rise of regional parties can reinforce regional identities and therefore increase ethnic conflict. Jackson (2005), on the other hand, emphasizes that in the case of Sierra Leone, the local government is at risk of being undermined by national politicians. Other scholars conduct comparative studies to show that the results may change in different contexts. Bland (2007) analyzed the cases of Guatemala, El Salvador and Colombia. His findings claim that on one side, the decentralization mechanisms in Guatemala and El Salvador seem to have contributed to the transformation of the conflict into a situation of peace. In Colombia, local governance reforms were not capable of attenuating the protracted armed conflict. On the contrary, they might have exacerbated the conflict by supplying the armed groups with additional resources.

However, adopting such a perspective bears the risk of romanticizing ‘the local’, robbing them of any agency (Richmond 2009). Instead, they are supposed to play part of a script that is constructed by external actors (Paffenholz 2015). Consequently, this first generation of the ‘local turn’ is criticized by various scholars; Paffenholz, for example, argues that in these dynamics, local actors are still dominated by the soft power of peacebuilding interveners, exercised through training and peace infrastructures (2015, 860). Furthermore, Mac Ginty (2010) expresses concerns that within this perspective, local actors become co-opted into what

he calls the liberal peacebuilding enterprise. Lastly, Fetherston (2000) points to the fact that the scholars of this early ‘local turn’ debate do not consider the asymmetric power structures inherent in this type of cooperation.

4.2. Second Generation

The academic criticism on liberal peacebuilding interventions then led to a second phase of the ‘local turn’ debate. Specifically, it was motivated by the failures of the international peacebuilding and statebuilding missions in Afghanistan and Iraq. According to Richmond (2014), the Western logic did not prove to be effective, which is the reason he and his colleagues started to question its conceptualization and implementation. Within this new body of literature, one can distinguish between moderate (see for instance Paris 2004; Lund 2003) and more fundamental critique (see for instance Fetherston 2000; Richmond 2006; Mac Ginty 2006). The more radical scholars presume that the liberal peacebuilding project intends to turn local structures into liberal states with market economies (Autesserre 2014). Even though the second generation of ‘local turn’ scholars emerged over a decade ago, they started to form a new school of critical peacebuilding in 2012, when Roger Mac Ginty and Oliver Richmond launched their journal “peacebuilding” (Paffenholz 2015, 859). The theoretical framework of this new scholarship stems from Foucault’s conception of knowledge and power (Foucault 1980), in which he claims that all relations deal with some sort of resistance. However, instead of defining resistance as the process of overthrowing state power (Baaz et al. 2016), he characterizes it as multiple forms of activity that occur within localities and which possess the capability to transform relations of power (Fetherston 2000, 200). Furthermore, it draws on other post-structuralist and postcolonial theories, such as Scott’s *Weapons of the Weak* (1985), where he closely investigates the everyday resistance strategies of Malaysian villagers, undermining existing power structures without engaging in open revolt.

The second generation first centered around conceptual reflections, before experiencing an empirical turn that produced an abundance of case studies (Paffenholz 2015, 859). It is crucial to mention that the majority of these case studies still focus on the intervention of international peacebuilding actors, assessing whether they interact with the local community or not. Autesserre (2008), for instance, analyses the international peace- and state building mandates in the Congo, at which she reaches the conclusion that in the long term, peace will only be sustainable if international actors tackle the core problem from the ground up. Others, in turn,

favor the concept of hybridity and argue that when the resources and norms of international institutions collide with the agency of local actors, the counterparts mutually reshape their understanding of the issues in question and together create unique forms of peace (Richmond and Mitchell 2011). Mac Ginty (2011) consolidates this idea with case studies in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Lebanon and Northern Ireland, discussing peace and governance structures that combine local and international patterns. Additionally, the concept of hybridity goes hand in hand with the concept of friction, which acknowledges the complex and unpredictable nature of the interactions between the global and the local (Tsing 2005). Nevertheless, within the growing body of literature, only few studies focus on the local as an actor in its own right. Scholars that make part of this current debate conceptualize ‘the local’ differently than the first local turn generation. Based on their theoretical fundament, many consider ‘the local’ as resistance against the dominance of international peacebuilding practice (Richmond 2011; Chandler 2013). Thus, fighting for a post-liberal order based on local agency, resistance often assumes shape of self-help strategies, such as non-cooperation, desertion, ignorance or open sabotage. Paffenholz (2015, 862), however, does not agree with this perspective and argues that the concept lacks a substantial empirical base, which would show that actually, there is less resistance but rather apathy and compliance. She receives support by Chandler (2013), who states that often, resistance is not directed against the international actors but against the national elite.

According to Leonardsson and Rudd, these studies fall into the emancipatory peacebuilding approach, which emphasize the need to listen to the voices from below (2015, 832). They elaborate the example of the peace process in Nepal, where NGO’s decided to take a bottom-up approach, recognizing that the local communities possess knowledge of the true causes of conflict and simultaneously know how to address them (ibid.). Similarly, Paffenholz (2010) thoroughly studies the role of civil society in peacebuilding. She argues that it possesses a supportive role and distinguishes seven constructive functions, which apply to different phases of the conflict. Furthermore, she identifies the factors that can potentially support or impede those functions. Autesserre (2008), on the other hand, illustrates what happens when the local is neglected in peacebuilding processes. She claims that the failure in Congo occurred because the international actors considered local tensions and conflict resolution as unmanageable, unfamiliar and unimportant.

Naturally, this critical perspective comes with a few challenges; particularly, the blurriness of ‘the local’ is considered its biggest weak point and Hughes, Öjendal, and Schierenbeck (2015) describe the term as flexible, contested and inherently relational. In this context, scholars detect different kinds of dilemmas and provide their own solutions. Schierenbeck (2015) and Paffenholz (2015) for example, consider the tendency to think in dichotomies as one of the main problems. According to Paffenholz, the understanding of the international versus the local does not recognize the agency of any actor in these categories. Chandler (2013) agrees with her argument and claims that a binary interpretation of local resistance against international interveners puts at risk the transformative aspiration of peacebuilding. Hence, in order to avoid this dichotomy, Schierenbeck (2015) suggests three different conceptions of “the local”: First, the local can be considered as institutions, that manifests through the everyday experiences and knowledges of local citizens and officials. Second, it can be understood as agency, performed by grassroots movements or civil society. Third, the local should be seen as a process that constantly needs to be contextualized. Many scholars agree with these conceptualizations; Mac Ginty (2015, 841) proposes to de-territorialize the term and regard it as networked and constituted by the activity of people. Similarly, Hughes, Öjendal, and Schierenbeck (2015) recommend to examine ‘the local’ as a product of personal experience rather than through a geographic lens. In sum, ‘the local’ is a constructed concept that “does not offer a solution, but a range of opportunities to think differently about the relationship between power, agency and freedom (ibid., 819).

4.3. This Study’s Contribution

The contribution of this study to the academic debate around the ‘local turn’ is twofold: First, I showed that the majority of existing literature still centers around the role of international peacebuilders. This thesis, on the contrary, departs from a local perspective. It discusses the organization Pastoral Social Pasto as a case of a local peacebuilding actor which, due to its long-standing presence, possesses an extensive knowledge about the peace and conflict dynamics it is working in. In particular, I consider Pastoral Social Pasto as an actor in its own right and I am interested to see to what extent the organization owns “agency” capacity. Second, I mentioned that, even though scholars are increasingly interested in post-conflict Colombia, there is a scarcity of literature that discusses the region of Nariño. Consequently, this thesis manages to extend the empirical knowledge about the dynamics of a fairly new peacebuilding process.

5. Theoretical Framework

The present chapter introduces the relevant frameworks and concepts that have been used to analyze the empirical data. This thesis approaches the subject of study, the role of Pastoral Social Pasto as a case of a local actor in the peacebuilding process in Nariño, by means of different theoretical tools: First, I use the theory of conflict transformation to highlight the organization's vision of peacebuilding. In particular, I focus on the framework of Paul Lederach, which I secondly use to situate Pastoral Social Pasto within its social structure and explore its relationships with other actors. Third, I employ the concept of capacity building as integral part of peacebuilding to classify the organization's different lines of action.

5.1. Theory of Conflict Transformation

In the field of peacebuilding, conflict transformation refers to a process in which the parties of a conflict actively work on altering the conflict's structural dimensions, with the short-term objective to reduce and prevent violence (Goetschel 2009, 92). In the long-run, the main goal of the process is to achieve a stable social equilibrium and to establish institutions with the capacity to handle both new and old conflicts in a non-violent way (Kopecek, Hoch, and Baar 2016, 446). The concept of conflict transformation first appeared in both conflict and development research during the late 1960s and quickly evolved into a school of thought. Nowadays, it is considered a theory of its own. However, it is not the only way to approach peacebuilding but represents one of three paradigms, which are summarized by Miall (2004): conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation. These paradigms, despite drawing on the same, pre-existing concepts, define the nature of conflict very differently. According to the conflict management approach, conflict is considered an inevitable result of the different interests and values between people. Rather than resolving those conflicts, conflict management aims and handling and containing them in a constructive way, ideally reaching a political settlement (Miall 2004, 3). The conflict resolution approach, in turn, does not agree with the ideas of conflict management, as it holds that people cannot compromise on their fundamental needs. Hence, instead of a compromise, conflict resolution seeks to transcend conflicts by fostering new perspectives, so the conflict parties can move from "zero-sum destructive patterns to positive-sum constructive outcomes" (ibid.)

The paradigm of conflict transformation, however, differs from these two perspectives by assuming that conflict is something natural in human nature and that it can in fact be positive,

serving as a catalyst of social change (Kriesberg 2003). This is reflected in the work of Johan Galtung (1969, 1975), according to whom conflicts emerge due to contradictions in the structure of society and manifest in the form of attitudes and behaviors. He suggests that because conflicts are natural, they can have both life-affirming and life-destroying aspects. Whether it results in something positive or negative, depends on the transformational processes that accompany the conflict (Galtung 1969). These processes are crucial, since the paradigm of conflict transformation holds that because of their dynamics, contemporary conflicts rarely permit de simple reformulation of positions (Kopecek, Hoch, and Baar 2016). Hence, to achieve a solution, it is necessary to transform the interest of the conflict parties as well as the relationships to each other. Curle (1971) picks up this notion and analyzes how unbalanced relationships can be transformed into balanced ones. Thereby, he centers his work around the concept of development, as it manages to replace conflict with collaboration, which in turn prevents it from recurring.

5.2.Lederach's Conceptual Framework

Naturally, the broad extent of the conflict transformation approach brought about numerous theoretical frameworks from different scholars, out of which I decided to focus on the one of Paul Lederach as analytical tool for this study. He sees the aim of conflict transformation in the alteration of human conflicts by “nonviolent approaches that address issues and increase understanding, equality and respect in relationships” (Lederach, 2003).

According to Lederach, peacebuilding is “a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships (1997, 20). Before elaborating this idea, he emphasizes that contemporary armed conflicts are mainly internal ones and occur within the context of deeply divided societies (ibid. 11). In such a setting, the lines of conflict are generally drawn along the ones of identity groups, each fighting for their collective rights. Also, he points out that these groups live in close geographic proximity, where grievances and enmity have compiled over decades. Much like the conflict itself, Lederach regards peace as a social construct that can only be achieved when both sides of a conflict change their mutual relationships from negative to positive ones (Lederach 1996). Consequently, in his framework, relationships serve as the basis of both conflict and its solution, including both direct interactions as well as the relationship with the political, social, economic and cultural context.

In terms of interpersonal relationships, he suggests using the concept of reconciliation, which includes two different aspects; On one side, it includes an emotional and psychological dimension, where past grievances are acknowledged and future interdependence explored. On the other side, it creates a physical space where the antagonist parties encounter each other (Lederach 1997, 35). This transformation needs to occur at every level of society. Consequently, Lederach reaches the conclusion that in order to reach the end goal of conflict transformation, namely healthy relationships and communities, a standardized formula of peacebuilding does not work. Instead, the process needs to be rooted in the reality that shapes people's perspectives and needs.

To structure his framework, Lederach proposes to use two conceptual lenses. The first one focuses on the structural component and looks at both micro-issues and more systemic concerns (Lederach 1997, 55). Therefore, he draws on Maire Dugan's "nested paradigm" (1996), which distinguishes between immediate issues, relationships and more systemic aspects. While addressing the immediate issues is crucial to alleviate a situation temporarily, one also needs to reconcile the relationships between the parties involved. However, in order to understand the whole dynamics, issues must be put into the larger systemic context (Lederach 1997, 57). The second conceptual lens is directed to the levels of society. In order to consider the affected population, Lederach finds it convenient to think of society as a pyramid (Lederach 1997, 37). The pyramid consists of three layers, which describe the number of people in simplified terms. The top-level includes only few actors, while the grassroots-level represents the majority of the population. Each group is represented by leaders and other actors, who fulfill certain functions. First, the top-level leadership is made up of the main political and military actors (Lederach 1997, 38). In an armed conflict setting, they often represent the government and opposition movements, what makes them highly visible on both national and international level. Consequently, they need to stick to their publicly stated positions regarding conflict issues and are constrained in their freedom of action (ibid. 40). Second, middle-range leaders are individuals that occupy an important position within the conflict setting but which are not confined by formal structures like the government (Lederach 1997, 41). Different forms of middle-level leaders exist. They can be individual people with key functions regarding health, education, business or agriculture; or, the leadership can contain primary networks of institutions, for example religious groups or humanitarian organizations. Another approach is to determine the identity groups of a conflict and concentrate on the people that delegate in the

name of those (ibid). The position of middle-level leaders is not based on political or military power but derives from their long-standing relationships (Lederach 1997, 42). Hence, their work does not depend on visibility, which in turn makes them more flexible. Third, grassroots leaders act for the masses. According to Lederach, the leadership on this level needs to adjust its activities to the daily needs of the community. It includes people that represent the local communities, indigenous organizations as well as refugee camp leaders (Lederach 1997, 43). They all know from personal experience of what the population is suffering.

Lederach argues that communication channels must exist between the different segments of society in order to facilitate a dialogue and the transformation of relation (Kopecek, Hoch, and Baar 2016, 446). For that matter, he pays special attention to the middle-level leaderships. They are positioned in a way they are known by the top-level leaders but simultaneously maintain connections to the grassroots level. Consequently, middle-level leaders possess more possibilities to connect the different parts of society and initiate a process of developing relationships, which, according to Lederach (1997, 60), is the reason they have the greatest potential to build a sustainable peacebuilding infrastructure. Regarding their functions, middle-level leaders dispose of a variety of skills that serve the purpose of creating an infrastructure for achieving and sustaining peace (ibid. 46). Amongst others, Ropers (2002) summarizes the following activities: youth work, assistance in the reformation of the education sector (particularly regarding peace education); monitoring activities associated with democratization and the development of human rights; giving incentives that help to create a culture of peace (through music, art and other cultural initiatives); protecting the vulnerable groups of society, as well as assuring their safety; and if necessary, their reintegration.

5.3. Capacity Building

Many of the activities listed by Ropers can be allocated within the concept of capacity building, which I chose to analytically discuss the activities carried out by Pastoral Social Pasto. As elaborated above, the conflict transformation discourse considers peacebuilding as a process that aims to alter both direct and contextual relationships. In doing so, local organizations play a crucial role, assisting the parties that are most affected by the conflict dynamics, amongst others, through capacity building (Bigdon and Korf 2004). In general terms, capacity building “refers to a wide array of activities that strengthen the ability of people and communities to formulate solutions to problems and achieve objectives (Dimitrova 2018).

The idea of capacity building first emerged in the field of development and was used as a central principle after decolonialization to facilitate the formation of self-sustaining local structures (Somé 2004, 5). During this early understanding, practitioners of capacity building put a strong emphasis on the strengthening of national and public institutions. Over time, however, the concept started to include the strengthening of the capacities of communities and civil society actors (Türk 2009, 36). Because of its origins in the development realm, most existing definitions of the concept do not specifically mention the reality of a conflict situation (see for instance UNHCR 2002). It is established, however, that capacity building activities in a post-conflict environment drastically differ from those in a country not marked by conflict. Due to the disruptive nature of conflict and its impact on society, there is a need to move away from the broad development perspective and apply the concept of capacity building to issues that only arise in peacebuilding settings. Accordingly, for the purpose of this study, I define capacity building as the “process that reinforces individual, institutional, or community skills and knowledge, develops national structures, and promotes reconciliation on a sustainable basis.” (Türk 2009, 34).

5.3.1. Key Components

The activities of capacity building as an integral part of peacebuilding can be grouped around four main axes, which will be discussed in this section.

First, one of the biggest challenges in an immediate post-conflict setting is to assist the population achieve a safe and secure environment. This includes the return and reintegration of displaced persons (Caplan 2005), an issue that must be directed by the responsible authorities and, if needed, supervised by the international community (Tennant 2009, 311). In addition, there must be a quick response available to the possible repetition of violence and public disorder (Türk 2009, 38). Also, there is a need to take care of the remaining antipersonnel mines and other explosive devices, as they pose a security threat to the individuals that live in or return to this region (Shimoyachi-Yuzawa 2012). Most activities of this axis, however, aim to promote a secure environment through the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, a task that usually requires external support (Muggah 2009). Simultaneously, besides ensuring a secure environment physically, it needs to be sustained institutionally. Consequently, there is a need to establish independent

institutions that monitor and report human right abuses, coupled with effective response mechanisms to redress such violations (Türk 2009, 39).

Second, the majority of post-conflict settings require the reorganization of administrative and legal structures. Consequently, in order to contribute to peacebuilding, capacity building activities must support the sustainable restoration of these systems (Gowlland-Debbas and Pergantis 2009). This axis should be handled on various levels: On one hand, it is crucial that the rights of the population, especially the rights of women, are respected. This can be achieved if capacity building activities contribute to building an independent judiciary and a civil administration (Türk 2009, 40). On the other hand, activities need to promote trust in these institutions, so the community feels confident to present its claims and needs in front of the state (Tolbert and Solomon 2006). Additionally, the capacity building efforts should assist the institutions itself with advice, training and resources during the preparation and implementation of new legislations concerning the protection of minorities, documentation and the equal access to social services (Türk 2009, 40).

The third axis of capacity building directly addresses the community. In a war-torn country, people often suffered many years of violence. Hence, once the conflict is over, they retain underlying emotions of hatred and fear. As discussed in the previous section, in order to build sustainable peace, these feelings need to be replaced by positive sentiments like openness or tolerance. In that sense, this axis overlaps with Lederach's idea of reconciliation between the different groups of society. According to Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall (2016), reconciliation describes the process in which former enemies restore their broken relationships, learn how to cope with their differences and find a way to co-exist peacefully. Besides promoting reconciliation, this axis strives to foster an active and open civil society, whose citizens are devoted to the human rights regime and possess a sense of local ownership (Pouligny 2009). Therefore, capacity building activities must include the organization of awareness programs, the training on different organizational and substantive issues as well as helping the community to elaborate their own funding strategies (Macduff 2001).

With regard to the fourth axis, capacity building returns to its development roots and considers the socioeconomic environment of people. An armed conflict always has a considerable, destructive impact on housing, infrastructure and the environment. Furthermore, it affects employment possibilities and increases the poverty and vulnerability levels within a society

(Türk 2009, 42). Consequently, the function of capacity building activities in this respect is to ensure the community's access to vital public services, such as water, health care, sanitation, transport and education (ibid.). It is important to recognize, however, that covering those basic needs goes well beyond the initial humanitarian assistance phase, as the ultimate goal is to eventually eliminate social and economic disparities. Hence, this undertaking blends into the area of long-term development (Eade 1997), which is another reason the concept of capacity building connects very well with the idea of conflict transformation.

5.3.2. Challenges

The concept of capacity building seems appropriate to transform a conflict. Nevertheless, it faces a few challenges, of which I will discuss three in this section. First, even after the decline of direct violence and the conclusion of a peace agreement, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts can be affected by simmering tensions and prevailing enmities or grievances. Thus, in accordance with the perspective of Lederach, these possible dynamics need to be considered in the implementation of a peacebuilding process (Türk 2009, 42). Salomon (2011, 52) even goes a step further and claims that in a post-conflict setting, former adversaries follow different agendas and possess conflicting narratives. Therefore, it is not suitable to regard the process of reconciliation as identical for all the parties involved. Instead, he appeals to apply a differential approach, in which the groups' different needs and goals are recognized (ibid. 53).

Second, the idea of a peacebuilding program is to not only have an impact on its immediate participants but to spread to the wider circles of society (Salomon 2011, 48). Thus, it is supposed to have a ripple-effect, a challenge that particularly applies to the third axis of capacity building, as its activities aim to alter the underlying attitudes and perspectives of people. As can be observed, peace education programs are often directed to youths, forming them into responsible, peace supporting adults (Oppenheimer 2009). However, a few participants will not change the larger social context if the rest of society is not committed to the same values. Hence, in order to contribute to sustainable peace, capacity building activities must transform the collective narrative. According to Salomon, such a ripple effect can only be achieved if the peacebuilding process is accompanied by a top-down political change (2011, 49).

Third, much like the critical perspective of ‘local turn’ scholars, Türk (2009, 43) considers it a dilemma that most peacebuilding actors are external to the local context. He comments that in an immediate post-conflict setting, most international organizations concentrate on implementing their own programs as prompt as possible, without investing adequately in local structures. Consequently, this often creates tensions between the international initiatives that offer emergency relief and those that are committed to empower local capacities (Minear in Smillie 2001, foreword).

6. Methods

The present chapter outlines the methods that were used to conduct this research. First, it will elaborate on how the data was collected through semi-structured interviews. Second, it will describe the method of analysis, the challenges that arose due to the Spanish language and the ethical considerations that had to be acknowledged during the process. The research is designed as a case study. Hence, its main objective is not to make generalizations (Bryman 2012, 70), but to investigate the complexity of a relevant entity (Stake 1995).

6.1. Collection of Data

Even though the region of Nariño possesses unique conflict and peace dynamics within Colombia, it has rarely been a subject of study. The only published peer-reviewed work that is specifically concerned with the need for local peace infrastructure in Nariño, is the one of Adell, who draws on his personal experiences in the region, working as a practitioner for the UNDP. (Adell 2012). Also, he conducted his study during a time where a peace agreement was still far away. Hence, in order to understand the current regional dynamics and to gather the relevant information about the organization Pastoral Social Pasto, fieldwork was conducted during three weeks in December 2018 and January 2019. At the beginning of December, I travelled to Colombia. I visited the capital city of Bogotá and I travelled to Pasto, the capital city of Nariño, on two occasions; one week in December and two weeks in January.

The main method used to collect the data was qualitative, semi-structured interviews. In order to analyze the role of Pastoral Social Pasto in Nariño’s peacebuilding process, I needed to understand the organization’s peacebuilding vision and gain insight into their way of working. This type of data cannot be obtained through quantitative methodologies, as they do not manage to grasp the in-depth dynamics of NGOs (van Leeuwen 2008). The interviews

conducted during the first week were exploratory, with the purpose of understanding the local peace and conflict dynamics and mapping the different activities performed by Pastoral Social Pasto and other actors in the area. The interviews took place with up to three persons involved in the same project and lasted between 40 and 60 minutes. In this phase, the chosen method was the most suitable, since it did not force the respondents into structured responses but allowed them to express the issues they believe to be most relevant (Bryman 2012; DeWalt and DeWalt 2011).

For the interviews, a guide was designed beforehand. Its main part consisted of a questionnaire, which I developed based on the knowledge I obtained through the study of Lederach's framework of conflict transformation and the concept of capacity building. Additionally, I consulted the existing literature of the 'local turn' (Jacob and Furgerson 2012). Furthermore, it included a script with important information, such as the purpose of the study and the statement of informed consent. Most interviews, however, deviated from the guide and the respondents were able to bring up new topics that I did not consider beforehand (Jacob and Furgerson 2012). During my first visit, I was allowed to record all the interviews with my phone, from where I transferred and secured the data to my Dropbox account. I transcribed the interviews before my second travel to Nariño and based on the information obtained, I developed more specific questions that served to clarify or deepen certain aspects in a second, shorter interview with the respondent in question (ibid). Besides conducting follow-up interviews during my second visit, I also talked to two additional international organizations, one of which requested to be anonymous. Since they preferred to not be recorded either, I took notes during the interview instead. All the other interviews were again transcribed after my return to Sweden.

Besides conducting semi-structured interviews, I tried to give this thesis as much context as possible. Hence, in order to gain deeper insights about the local dynamics, I joined Pastoral in some of their activities and travelled around the area. During my visits in Nariño, I attended two workshops organized by Pastoral Social Pasto: One in the shelter for displaced people and one with the local peace initiative, both of which will be discussed in the results chapter. By actively taking part in the activities led by the organization, I could experience their work first-hand and discover aspects that might not have been expressed during the interviews. Furthermore, during my second visit I could attend three meetings between the local government and community leaders in Tumaco. The meetings took place in the context of the

formulation of a project and had the objective to identify the needs of local communities. Consequently, they provided me with a good overview of the local problematics.

6.2. Sampling Method and Description of Respondents

During the three weeks of fieldwork, I interviewed 14 persons in total, 7 men and 7 women, who all work for organizations located in Pasto. While the majority of respondents were employed by Pastoral Social Pasto, I also talked to 5 persons from other organizations in order to get some points of comparison. All respondents were selected through the method of snowball sampling (Bryman 2012); With the aid of the local government of Nariño, I was able to establish initial contact with the director of Pastoral Social Pasto before travelling to Colombia. Once I arrived in Pasto, he then introduced me to the different teams within the organization. This way I could gain their trust and set up the interviews personally. Similarly, through the office of international cooperation of the government of Nariño, I received a list with all the organizations working in Pasto, and I contacted some of them. Even though not all organizations answered my request, the ones that did were very helpful and referred me to other people I might be interested to talk to.

During the interview process, only two participants requested to be anonymous, none of them employed by Pastoral Social Pasto. Nevertheless, due to the ongoing assaults on social leaders, I chose to keep the personal identity of all my interview partners hidden, as it could pose a potential security threat to them. I decided, however, to still use the organization's real name and location, especially since they were very enthusiastic about me sharing their work.

6.3. Coding and Data Analysis

In order to interpret the acquired data and to see whether my data follows or deviates from the theoretical framework, I conducted a qualitative thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006). According to Creswell (2014, 195), qualitative research usually produces very dense bits of information. Therefore, it is crucial to select the data that is most relevant for the study among the raw material. To start with this coding process, I thoroughly read through the transcripts several times. By doing so, I could familiarize myself with the material and simultaneously detect recurring topics within the collected data. Based on these topics, I then wrote down a list with initial codes. Specifically, I searched for both codes that conform with the key issues

identified in my analytical frameworks and new codes which emerged while reading through the data. To structure the codes, I joined the relevant parts of the transcript in a separate document. Afterwards, I used visual representation to reflect on the codes and gain a sense of possible linkages between them (Braun and Clarke 2006). By doing so, I could cluster the codes into different themes, which were then compared and analyzed in regard to the ones acknowledged throughout the existing literature and the theoretical framework.

6.4. Language

The interviews were performed and transcribed in Spanish. Hence, it was not until the stage of analysis that the relevant information was translated into an English written text. Since I am proficient in the Spanish language, I decided to not use an interpreter. However, the fact that it is not my mother tongue might have challenged the accuracy of my interpretations during the analysis process, especially if the respondents were using a lot of Colombian terms. Consequently, it was crucial to work with follow up questions during the interview already, in order to verify the meaning of certain statements (Kvale 1996). Additionally, it was beneficial that I traveled to Nariño twice, as I could clarify questions that occurred to me while transcribing the first interviews.

6.5. Ethical Considerations

When conducting research that involves other individuals, there are some ethical considerations that need to be addressed. Regarding the interview situation, as an interviewer I had to make sure to not invade the respondent's privacy and to not harm or deceive him or her in any way (Diener and Crandall 1978). However, the fact that the study is centered around one single organization affects the criteria of anonymity (Bryman 2012). In order to avoid any misunderstanding, a consent form was discussed and signed before the interview, in which I informed the respondent and guaranteed to not use any personal names throughout the study. As mentioned previously, all interviewees agreed to these conditions. Furthermore, it is important to be aware of the power relations that are created during an interview. Generally, the interviewer is considered the dominant force (Kvale 2006), since he or she possesses the power of interpretation. The respondent, in turn, decides about what answers he or she wants to give. Therefore, I needed to be conscious about the positionality of both answers and interpretations. According to Rose (1997), positionality represents the post-colonial idea that

knowledge is always produced under specific circumstances, in this particular case shaped by interviewer and respondent.

7. Results

This chapter presents the results of the thematic analysis I conducted to make sense of the empirical data. I divided the analysis in accordance to my research questions: First, I introduce Pastoral Social Pasto's vision of peacebuilding. Second, I outline the different types of relationships the organization maintains with other actors. Third, I identify the activities with which it aims to contribute to peace. As it is essential to assess the sustainability of the activities, I lastly explain how Pastoral Social Pasto monitors and evaluates the work it does.

7.1. Peacebuilding Vision

Even though Pastoral Social Pasto deems emergency aid, for example providing accommodation to the displaced or looking after victims of antipersonnel mines, as irremissible, all my interview partners agreed on the fact that the achievement of durable peace consists of a long-term process. One of them brings the organization's peacebuilding vision to the point:

“We want to transform the underlying social dynamics so that the communities have the capacities to contribute to a sustainable peace themselves”.

More precisely, they aim to develop the communities' economic, social and formative conditions. Naturally, this cannot be accomplished by merely diminishing the threat of armed actors, especially in a region like Nariño. Therefore, Pastoral Social Pasto focusses on two main dimensions: First, one big priority is to advance the socioeconomic situation of the community because, as one of my interview partners mentions: *“it is inappropriate to talk about peace if people are still poor”* Trying to illustrate this, he explains the reality of a local farmer in Nariño. Currently, cultivating illicit coca crops is the easiest way a farmer to maintain his family. Someone who cultivates traditional crops, such as banana, cocoa or coffee, not only needs to care for them every day but faces arduous routes of transport. He points out that *“the farmers from the mountains, for example, still carry their goods by horse, as there is no road network that would allow for buses to pass. Once they get down to Leiva, they price they earn*

selling their crop does not cover the cost of bringing them there. Thus, it is very hard to follow the legal way, unless there is someone to improve these conditions or help to overcome them”. In this context, the organization feels that it is preferable to approach the community through development, as the mention of peace can evoke negative connotations among the people. He points out that for many, peace implies a political posture of the government, which often is not trusted by the community. Acknowledging this, Pastoral Social Pasto select their word choice carefully, adopting their slogan to “*development is the new peace*”.

Second, besides improving the socioeconomic conditions of society, the organization deems it essential to reconstruct the social fabric of the communities. Hence, this dimension of conflict transformation centers around social and formative issues, promoting reconciliation and peace education. Regarding reconciliation, the organization stresses that such a process is not limited to the relationships between former armed actors and the community, but also includes the coexistence between displaced people and the host community. As Pastoral Social Pasto manages a shelter for victims that have been displaced because of the armed conflict, the person in charge explains: “*The displaced ones are often blamed for the violence in the area. The neighbors say that the black people are bad, that they only bring harm*” Thus, in order to transform these dynamics, they consider it important to strengthen the interpersonal relationships between these two groups. Furthermore, one interviewee points to the need of working on the relationships and interpersonal communication within families. As to peace education, Pastoral Social Pasto aims to transform the behaviors and attitudes within the communities. In particular, it wants to “*provide them with the necessary tools to solve their personal, familial and communal problems independently and democratically*”.

7.2. Relationships

In this section, I discuss how Pastoral Social Pasto relates to other actors that are relevant to the peacebuilding process of the area. Therefore, according to my analytical framework, I divide the society into three levels: top, middle, and grassroots. Ultimately, I assess the cooperation with international donors, who are located outside of Lederach’s pyramid.

7.2.1. Top-level: State Actors

Regarding the top-level of society, Pastoral Social Pasto seldomly interacts with the Colombian president personally. However, the state in itself consists of various levels and the organization occasionally partners with local governmental institutions, even though one of my interviewees insists that *“if we can choose, we prefer not to depend too much on them”*. Similarly, most of the people I talked to during my fieldwork take a very critical stand towards the role of the national government in the region. As my first participant points out *“The main problem is that the national government does not show any interest in maintaining a dialogue with the local community. Instead, it reaches the territory with decisions taken from above, imposing them through policies or with military force”*. Consequently, he calls this a compelled peace, not a constructed one.

Concerning the local governmental institutions within the area, several participants claim that these are not adequately prepared for the implementation of the peace agreement. Someone says: *“The mayors that are in charge of the municipalities are merely political figures, without the ability to organize, lead, coordinate or articulate. They do not know the local reality or how to transform it.”* Within this context, they furthermore link the problem of inoperative institutions to the issue of corruption. They emphasize that especially in light of the upcoming elections, resources are misused to cover campaign expenditures instead of investing them in the local community or in building peace.

In addition to the national government’s general reputation of not bearing its responsibilities, Pastoral Social Pasto lists other reasons why they avoid cooperation with the former. According to them, one of the biggest challenges are the short time periods: *“As the government changes every four years, one needs to reconstruct the relationship, negotiate financial issues and get familiar with the administrative management each time”*. Lastly, the organization avoids this kind of collaboration in order not to take a specific, political posture.

7.2.2. Middle-level: Ecclesiastical Actors and other Humanitarian Organizations

During the analysis, I identified two groups of actors that can be allocated on the middle-level of Lederach’s pyramid: ecclesiastical actors and other humanitarian organizations.

7.2.2.1. Ecclesiastical Actors

Before I began the fieldwork for this study, I regarded Pastoral Social Pasto as a purely local actor from Nariño; after all, it has been doing humanitarian work in the region for more than three decades. In total, it employs 35 people from the area, ranging from the concierges to the ones that are in charge of the different projects. However, even though it is a local organization, it also makes part of the catholic Church in Colombia and is thus closely connected to other ecclesiastical actors. One of my interview partners explains that every diocese, that is every territorial jurisdiction of a bishop, counts with its own Pastoral Social as the entity in charge of humanitarian concerns. He elaborates:

“In the region of Nariño, for example, we count with three dioceses, one in Ipiales, one in Tumaco and this one here in Pasto. Each diocese has its own Pastoral Social, which is completely self-governed and possesses the liberty to constantly adjust its work to the local needs. As we are all part of the same bigger structure, however, we coordinate our projects and team up wherever possible.”

As this structure applies to all the regions in Colombia, the different Pastoral Social then form a national network, also known as Caritas Colombia. Yet, rather than being the head organization, one participant emphasizes that *“there is no hierarchy and no dependency within the national association”*. Its main purpose is to assist the local entities coordinate their work among each other, especially when it comes to issues that concern several regions. One such example is the current situation of Venezuelan migrants, which require assistance throughout the country. Furthermore, Caritas Colombia facilitates the cooperation with ecclesiastical actors from abroad. Being representative for all Pastoral Social in Colombia, it provides a basis for initial contact with the international congregation, through which relationships and work agreements are then established.

7.2.2.2. Other Humanitarian Organizations

The second, middle-level actors that Pastoral Social Pasto collaborates with are other humanitarian organizations that operate within the region. One interviewee recognizes that *“even though Pastoral Social is an important actor within the territory, it is only one piece of an entire puzzle”*. Hence, they coordinate their work in different ways. On one side, other actors sometimes add to Pastoral Social Pasto’s projects by donating specific material. For example,

in the organization's shelter for displaced people, the Norwegian Refugee Council contributed with didactic equipment to the children's playroom. On the other side, they work together on common projects. ProInco, one of the other organizations I had the chance to interview, mentioned a project in Policarpa, which is a town in the mountains: *"In Policarpa, we wanted to collectively build a public toy library. Even though the project was designed by the local government, there was a number of us (organizations) that contributed our part. Pastoral Social Pasto, for example, accounted for various music instruments"*.

Also, the various organizations that are present in the region organize their work through the local team of coordination. Its main objective is to make sure that the different projects do not overlap, because, as one of my participants explains: *"Humanitarian resources are very scarce in the area and the impact of what we can do is already limited. Hence, it is important to be efficient and complement each other. Thus, if we know that someone is already bringing drinking water to a community, we are not going to do likewise"*. He reports that on another occasion, Pastoral Social decided to relocate their project to a different area after they learned that another organization already established a similar initiative in that town. He points out that furthermore, this type of consultation is crucial to not fatigue the community because otherwise *"they will lose trust in our work"*.

7.2.3. Grassroots-level: Community Actors

Community actors are possibly the most important partners for Pastoral Social Pasto's work. One of my interviewees comments: *"it is crucial to foster a peacebuilding that comes from within the region. We do not want a peace that is sent from above, from Bogotá, but a peace that is constructed from below, together with the society"*. Hence, within this relationship, the organization considers itself more as a facilitator.

First, in order to access the territory, they depend on the local parishes, which can be found in every municipality. They usually consist of a bishop and a small team of people. The contact with the parishes can be seen as one of the organization's strongest advantages, since it allows for a fast and easy access to even remote areas. However, Pastoral Social Pasto does not only rely on the parishes as an established infrastructure but wants to actively work with them. The person that manages these liaisons explains: *"Our aim is to help the parishes identify the local needs. Therefore, we conduct a context analysis and define appropriate lines of action, together*

with the community's social leaders". Currently, the organization distinguishes five possible lines of action, which range from taking care of the elderly community members to environmental issues. Furthermore, as the parishes usually lack resources, the organization developed a saving system that helps the parishes to achieve a certain financial independence. It is managed at the level of small, ecclesiastical solidarity groups, each consisting of approximately ten parishes. Once a month, they organize a meeting, to which Pastoral Social Pasto brings a crate with three bags of money in it; one for emergencies, one for saving and one for fines which are collected among the bishops based on rules determined previously. Each month, every parish contributes as much as possible and at the end of a period, the money is equally divided.

Second, Pastoral Social Pasto supports development initiatives of local individuals, especially in the agricultural sector. As mentioned in the background chapter, one of the region's main conflict factors is the existence of a vast number of coca plantations, which in turn attract different armed groups with economic interest. Hence, the aim of this interaction is to substitute the coca crops in the rural areas with legal crops like coffee, cocoa and vegetables. However, as one interviewee points out, this should actually be the role of the state: *"The substitution of coca crops is an integral part of the peace agreement and should take place in two steps; So far, they arranged collective contracts, in which the community agrees to the substitutions. Now they need to establish individual agreements with the families, providing technical and financial assistance. This is where the process fails; in Policarpa, for example, the government did not spend a single peso on the substitution of coca last year"*. Consequently, the community neither possesses the necessary resources nor the skills to perform the change themselves. Pastoral Social Pasto tries to bridge that gap by selectively supporting local initiatives.

Third, the organization also supports projects that were developed on the grassroots level. One example is the local peace initiative in Gualmatan, of which I had the possibility to attend a workshop during my visit. Gualmatan is a rural neighborhood just outside Pasto, where farming is still an important source of income. Hence, while the parents are working long hours on the field, the young people easily slide into drug habits and gangsterism. Being aware of this problem, the initiative organizes two workshops per week, *"with the main goal to transform and improve the interpersonal relationships of these teenagers, both on an institutional and a communal level"*, as the person in charge of these activities points out. The aim is to turn the teenagers into responsible citizens and form them into future social leaders. Furthermore, the

initiative tries to connect the youths with their cultural roots, teaching them traditional crafts while lecturing about social values and coexistence. Within the initiative, Pastoral Social Pasto mainly contributes through financial resources, even though they sometimes get involved with the planning of special events.

Naturally, the interaction with actors on the grassroots level also bear its challenges. Regarding the work with the parishes, someone points out that *“One of the biggest difficulties is the time available. The committees of the parishes are composed of volunteers, which means that people have other jobs and responsibilities to attend”*. Usually, a parish is managed by five to ten people which divide the workload between each other, but sometimes there is only one person in charge. In this case, it can be complicated for the person to fulfill all the given duties and to attend the scheduled meetings. Also, one has to be aware that not all social leaders show the same level of interest in peace and development issues. One participant asserts that because of past experiences with the state, some social leaders foster negative sentiments to everything that is relation to institutional issues. Furthermore, he explains that there is a prevailing image that the cultivation of coca crops generates wealth; *“If it is efficient and produces a continuous income, many peasants do not understand why they should bother with the whole tale of honest citizenship”*

7.2.4. International Donors

International donors are not included in Lederach’s pyramid model. Nevertheless, as he assumes that local actors always depend on the support from the international community, it is crucial to assess Pastoral Social Pasto’s relationship to those. It results from my data that approximately eighty percent of the organization’s funding comes from outside the country. Hence, in this category, I identify two different types of actors;

First, Pastoral Social Pasto works with a number of catholic relief services from different countries. One of the most important is Caritas Germany, which has been supporting the organization for more than twenty years, especially in the area of development, in a project against antipersonnel mines and more recently in regard to peacebuilding. Counting with such a long-standing associate comes with many positive aspects, as one interviewee points out:

“The long-term relationship with Caritas Germany helped us to move away from the concept of projects and made us understand that durable change should be seen more of a process. Having the same partner for so many years allows us to adopt a long-term perspective, in which a durable transformation is more important than immediate outputs”.

However, being involved for that long also means that Caritas Germany demands more authority than most other donors. My interviewee emphasizes that even though a long-term vision is essential, immediate needs should not be neglected. Lately, Caritas Germany has been asking Pastoral Social to innovate their humanitarian work in order to keep funding them. He finds the reason for this request in the peace agreement: *“Because there is a peace agreement, Germany thinks that there is no more conflict in Colombia, so they do not see the need for certain types of assistance anymore. However, they do not understand that things do not change from one day to the other”* Luckily, the same interviewee continues, the long-term relationship holds enough confidence so that the two parties could discuss the issue and compromise on a line of action that combines both humanitarian assistance and peacebuilding.

Second, another important way to receive funding is by following the various calls for proposals announced by international institution such as the United Nation agencies throughout the year. In order to apply, the organization formulates and presents a well-reasoned project. If they win the call, the implementation then resides completely in their hands, without the donor interfering. However, comparing this type of projects to the long-term collaboration with Caritas Germany mentioned above, on interviewee stresses: *“The downside is that mostly, these calls only fund projects that last a few months, maximum a year. After that, there is an evaluation to see if the objectives were satisfied but the process does usually not continue. Obviously, it is very difficult to achieve a sustainable impact like this”.*

Furthermore, the cooperation with international institutions come with some other challenges; On one side, available resources are continually decreasing and consequently, the criteria within a call for proposal become more demanding. One of the international institutions I interviewed confirmed: *“In the global context of humanitarian work, this is a well-known issue, as there is an ever-growing number of NGOs competing over a declining amount of funding”.* Hence, while this is a general problem, the situation in Colombia has been particularly difficult since the peace agreement. For the same reasons Caritas Germany asked for innovation, one participant of this study explains that *“Since 2016, international organizations are less*

interested in the area, as they are convinced that their support is no longer needed in post-conflict Colombia". Certainly, these conditions are difficult for every organization that depends on international funding. Pastoral Social Pasto, however, has to deal with some additional obstacles; the fact that it is affiliated with the catholic church can limit de organization's access to international funding in two ways. First, many calls of proposal expect the organization applying to not be based on any religious belief. Hence, being an ecclesiastical actor requires a lot of explanation, as one interviewee points out "*Even though our origin might be catholic, our mission is to attend the civil society. And if a displaced person needs shelter or transportation, we don't ask about his or her belief first*". Second, because of their background, the type of issues they prioritize is not always consistent with the focus of the international community. For example, women and gender issues are currently very popular within the world of humanitarian assistance. Pastoral Social Pasto admits that being a catholic organization, they are not particularly skilled in this area. Consequently, this lessens their possibilities of funding, as many calls for proposal are specifically designed for this kind of project.

Lastly, it is important to mention that Pastoral Social Pasto represents a valuable partner for the international organizations that established themselves in the area: "*International actors like to rely on us because we can facilitate their access to the area. We enter the territory through the parishes, which are present in every municipality, and this established network allows us to act fast and efficient, especially in the case of an emergency. Other actors, in contrast, first need to acquaint themselves with the region, meet the social leaders and gain their trust. We already completed this task, which makes it a lot easier to work in the area*"

7.3. Capacity Building Activities

In the last section of the results chapter, I discuss the activities with which Pastoral Social Pasto aims to contribute to peace. In accordance with the concept of capacity building, I divide its work along four axes; (1) safe and secure environment, (2) rule of law reform, (3) confidence building, reconciliation and civil society and (4) socioeconomic environment.

7.3.1. Safe and Secure Environment

As explained in the theory chapter of this study, establishing a safe and secure environment for the affected population mainly focusses on the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration

of former actors. However, as mentioned in the background section, this is not sufficient in Nariño. Even though a disarmament of the FARC-EP took place within the scope of the peace agreement, various new groups keep forcing people to leave their home. Thus, during the time of fieldwork, several massive displacements took place in the area of Tumaco, displacing up to 1000 people at a time. In such a situation, the first thing these people need is a safe place to go. Pastoral Social Pasto attends this rather immediate concern and operates a shelter called “*hogar de paso*” in the city of Pasto. The accommodation is able to host a maximum of 150 people: “*In the facility, the displaced receive housing food and also clothes, because coming from the coast, they are not equipped for the cold climate in Pasto. Also, we help them to get psychological help and education for their children, if necessary.*”. According to the law 1448, issued in 2011, the displaced are allowed to stay in the shelter for three months, as this is how long it should take the institutions to verify them as victims of the armed conflict. In reality, however, the process often takes much longer. Even though the shelter is supposed to represent a safe place, security is sometimes an issue within the accommodation. Talking to one of the residents, I learned that “*Many people who arrive hold delicate information about armed actors and sometimes, the groups come and look for them*”. If this is the case, the person in question needs to be relocated to not pose a threat to others.

Furthermore, another security threat in the area are the antipersonnel mines that are still hidden in the rural areas. One interview partner emphasizes that “*nationally, there is a lot of funding available for this issue, of which most is invested in removing the mines from the territory*”. However, in Nariño the explosives regularly injure people from the civil society, which is the reason why since 2007, Pastoral Social Pasto complements the demining efforts by attending the victims of antipersonnel mines. Similar to assisting the displaced victims, they look after the more immediate needs of antipersonnel mines victims, accompanying them during hospitalization until the moment they finish rehabilitation. “*The attendance is important as most of the victims come from a very vulnerable part of society, so they don’t have the means to pay for their stay in the hospital. Hence, we help them covering the costs but also provide them with more basic supplies such as clothes or a hygiene kit. Lastly, we offer psychological support for the victim and its family*”. In addition to this immediate assistance, the organization aims to increase the security of the population, educating the society about the risk of antipersonnel mines and how to protect themselves from them. The issue is tackled mostly through workshops and volunteers within the society who multiply the messages. In areas that

are more difficult to access directly, the word is spread through material that reaches a lot of people, calendars for example.

Regarding both security issues, the organization furthermore advocates the human rights of the people affected. In the case of displacement, on one hand, they exert political pressure, so the responsible authorities recognize the victims as such. As to the antipersonnel mines, they fight for the people's rights relating to health care, so they receive fast medical attendance and a prosthesis when necessary. Additionally, a participant states proudly "*we managed to obtain the country's first disability pension for an antipersonnel mine victim last year*".

7.3.2. Rule of Law Reform

The action of standing up for the victims' rights, trying to make the authorities take responsibility, is called political advocacy. Thereby, Pastoral Social Pasto does not only focus on the individual cases but aims to alter the rule of law so that ultimately, the system functions on its own. One interviewee reflects on the role of the church in terms of political advocacy:

"I think that in this regard, the Colombian catholic church is very different compared to ecclesiastical actors in other countries. They limit themselves to charity work. But we believe that if we do not try to simultaneously change the system, the rest is worth nothing".

To keep up with the example of antipersonnel mines, one structural change is the provision of implants. For decades, certain implants like ocular ones were considered an esthetic issue and not a necessity, which is why they were not covered by the health insurance. Consequently, victims had to rely on international donors to obtain their implants. Through political advocacy, Pastoral Social Pasto accomplished the integration of ocular implants into the regular health insurance system last year. Similarly, their efforts provided several victims with disability pensions.

Furthermore, the organization teams up with other actors of the region and create associations with the goal to have a bigger impact. For example, Pastoral Social Pasto is an active member of the regional platform of human rights defenders. The platform's main function is to monitor and document the human rights abuses in the area, as they claim that "*there is a systematic neglect of human rights abuses by the national government. When it comes to threats and killings of social leaders, the state fails to acknowledge these incidents as political matters*".

Hence, the platform assumes the responsibility of raising attention to these cases. They receive assistance by the United Nation Commission of Human Rights (OHCHR), who dedicates its work in the area to the documentation and verification of human rights abuses. The platform is a civil society organization without permanent funding, a circumstance that can restrain the fluency of its work dynamics. In this sense, the support of OHCHR is an important asset for the platform.

However, as this type of activities would actually be the responsibility of the state, Pastoral Social tries, together with the platform, to encourage the establishment of governmental institutions with the capacity to take care of these issues; *“This year, our goal is to reactivate the guarantee committee of human rights defenders. It is a format that was originally initiated by the government and which had two successful work periods before closing down for unknown reasons”*. The guarantee committee’s main task was to conduct risk analyses and protect the social leaders if necessary. In order to reactivate the committee, the platform organized a regional forum, in which the national and local government, advocacy agencies and civil society organizations took part. One interviewee argues that *“the forum provided a valuable space where the approximately 100 delegates could present their claims to one another and together revise the regional situation.”* By the end of the forum, the attending parties agreed to reactivate the guarantee commission of human rights defenders. The process of doing so, however, is still ongoing.

Lastly, Pastoral Social Pasto deems it essential to not only restore the public institutions but help the community to access those. Therefore, on one side, they aim to build confidence in the system, creating opportunities for the community to present its claims and needs in front of the state. On the other side, they focus on strengthening the confidence of people in themselves, an approach that will be discussed in the next section.

7.3.3. Confidence Building, Reconciliation and Civil Society

Up until now, I focus on how Pastoral Social Pasto addresses immediate matters, decrease the risk of security threats and build institutional structures. For a transformation to be sustainable, however, it is crucial to furthermore change the dynamics of society, enhancing community skills and attitudes. As I learned from the social leaders I met during the meetings in Tumaco *“there is a great necessity for this kind of work in the region. Unfortunately, the people do not*

understand their rights and duties as citizens of Colombia. Also, they are not informed about the content of the peace agreement, which is a problem since they do not claim what they are entitled to". Consequently, one of the organization's biggest concerns is the formation processes they conduct on different levels of society. One interviewee emphasizes: *"We want to educate the community in topics related to human rights, peacebuilding and current national politics. By doing so, they learn how to solve conflicts democratically and how to negotiate in front of the state"*.

One of Pastoral Social Pasto's more recent projects specifically aims to assist the community in the aftermath of the peace agreement. It launched approximately one year ago and is designed in various stages. During its first four months, the project primarily worked with social leaders, conducting an educational process in which they were taught how to take ownership and elaborate their own development strategies; *"The idea was to provide them with the necessary legal and organizational tools, so they can manage their necessities themselves"*. Therefore, the initiative was developed and implemented in accordance with the local community action boards, furthermore integrating the educational institutions. Throughout the process, it became clear that the social leaders already command such tools, namely the community life plans. A participant explains *"The life plans are a tool employed by the indigenous communities, in which they develop a proposal containing prospective goals regarding environmental, productive and political issues"*. Hence, instead of developing something new, the initiative then provided support in revising these existing plans. One of the problems, however, is that on an institutional level, the community live plans are not compulsive. Instead, local authorities are bound to pursue the official development strategies, which often neglect the requests of the community. During the following stage, Pastoral Social Pasto then expanded the formation process to the broader community, intending to raise the public awareness of political rights and duties. Furthermore, the project wants to improve the interpersonal relationships within the community. Therefore, besides the educational component, it applies the concept of *Minga*, which dates back to pre-Columbian times and refers to a group of people working in favor of the community; *"the advantage is that everyone understands and accepts the concept of Minga, it is deeply rooted in the society"*. Hence, by regularly involving different parts of the community in activities that eventually benefit everyone, the organization tries to foster reconciliation and coexistence.

Second, Pastoral Social Pasto considers it important to promote reconciliation between the displaced victims that arrive to the shelter and the people that live in the same neighborhood. Adapting to this new situation can be difficult for everyone and as mentioned previously, the displaced ones are often blamed for the violence in the area. To diminish this kind of hostility, the organization repeatedly organizes activities thought to bring the two parties together. During fieldwork, I could attend such an event in which they invited a music teacher to perform different exercise with the participating families. In the opening speech, the person in charge of the activity explained that *the main objective of this event is for the two groups to spend some time together and create a feeling of equality trough art and music*".

Third, Pastoral Social Pasto pays special attention to the confidence building among young adults and women. On one side, they approach this by supporting the local peace initiative I mentioned in the section about community actors. During weekly workshops, young adults learn about social values and the political commitment of each citizen; *"The idea is to help them develop into responsible adults with the capacity to vouch for their rights and demands"*. On the other side, the organization supports women with the aid of the local parishes. Similar to their work with the youth, they arrange workshops in which the women can learn different crafts, for example making dolls. One interviewee explains that *"these workshops do not only provide the women with a safe space where they can exchange experiences. They furthermore learn how to make and sell their own products, a skill that might improve their socioeconomic situation"*.

7.3.4. Socioeconomic Environment

In order to sustainably change the underlying dynamics of society, it is not sufficient to educate the people in political and peace issues. Instead, it is equally important to provide them with a solid livelihood. In general, Colombia is a country that experiences a large degree of inequality. In Nariño, however, the situation is additionally aggravated by the historical lack of central state presence. Many rural areas lack a proper infrastructure and do not count with a developed road network, permanent electricity or accessible health care. Also, according to one interviewee *"more than sixty percent of Nariño's population does not have the means to satisfy their basic human needs"*. Consequently, Pastoral Social Pasto considers it crucial to react to these circumstances:

“We, Pastoral Social Pasto, understand that one of the most valuable support we can give is to improve the social justice of vulnerable communities; not only by giving them the means to handle their conflicts autonomously but also by helping them to satisfy their fundamental human needs. This is how we contribute to peace”

An important aspect of this is to enhance the people’s socioeconomic condition, so they do not need to rely on external assistance in the future. The organization approaches this objective in different ways. First, picking up the example from above, they support women in increasing their financial independence. Many women in the region act as head of their families, since their husbands joined the armed groups. Consequently, they also resume responsibility of providing for their children. Hence, by organizing the workshops, Pastoral Social Pasto provides them with the possibility to learn a craft and sell their own products informally.

Second, the organization also aims to improve the socioeconomic situation of displaced victims; *“The individuals that arrive to the shelter encounter themselves in extremely vulnerable conditions. Most of them do not possess any documentation or financial means”*. Hence, during the stay in the shelter, Pastoral Social Pasto assists them with building a new livelihood. They contact the educational institutions, so the displaced children can go back to school. They also assist the adults in finding employment in Pasto. This can be a particular challenge, since the displaced often come from a low academic background and previously worked in agriculture.

Third, as mentioned previously, Pastoral Social Pasto also supports several productive initiatives of local farmers. Similar to the monitoring of human rights issues, this task should be the responsibility of the state, as it is an integral part of the peace agreement. However, according to one participant: *“the government fulfills this duty only in regions where it can profit from the economic development, for example in Antioquia. In this regard, the peace agreement is very exclusive”*. Consequently, the organization tries to assume this role and selectively supports the initiatives with financial resources and technical assistance. Their objective is to substitute the coca crops for legal crops, simultaneously retrieving the diversity of native plants and helping the farmers to earn an honest living again.

7.4. Monitoring and Evaluation

Naturally, not all activities mentioned above can be equally effective. Consequently, it is essential for an organization to have a monitoring and evaluating system that allows to draw lessons during and after a project. This way they can identify the approaches that works best.

Pastoral Social Pasto states that “*all big projects, that is those who count with a budget of 300'000 dollars or more, are monitored and evaluated*”. Thereby, the process is always performed externally, by one of two different options: On one hand, when projects are financed by international institutions, these concurrently take responsibility of evaluating the former. However, often it is not the donor itself but a hired consultant that performs the monitoring and evaluation. The audit, as it is called by the organization, usually runs in different stages; First, they review the financial and administrative aspects of a project, going through its papers. Second, they visit the community that is supposed to benefit and evaluate the actual advancement. On the other hand, once in a while Pastoral Social Pasto receives the possibility to be audited by one of the UN agencies. These audits are assigned through an internal draw, which means that the agencies decide which of its associates will be monitored and evaluated. Consequently, they are more difficult to obtain.

Lastly, in addition to these external processes, Pastoral Social Pasto always conducts its own financial monitoring, even though they are not obliged to do so. One interviewee explains: “*We do this internal evaluation because we consider it a useful exercise and a good mechanism to ensure the effectiveness of our work. For example, if the project's report lists the purchase of a community radio, we need to verify the existence of this radio and additionally check its usefulness.*” Certainly, he furthermore emphasizes, this internal evaluation then facilitates the work of the external inspectors.

8. Discussion

After the rather descriptive results chapter, this discussion aims to examine the different themes in relation to the theoretical framework used in this study.

8.1. Peacebuilding Vision

As seen in the background chapter the Colombian armed conflict features characteristics that Lederach (1997, 17) identifies in his framework. Colombia's conflict is fueled by ideological beliefs and long-term grievances, many of which are still visible nowadays. In this context, Pastoral Social Pasto recognizes that building peace is a complex and continuous process that requires a variety of approaches with the objective of transforming the conflict dynamics (ibid. 24). Pastoral Social Pasto adopts a holistic perspective and works on all three levels of Dugan's nested paradigm (1996). Taking the example of displaced and antipersonnel mines victims, the organization: (1) addresses micro-issues by covering the basic needs of the people affected; (2) considers the relationships of these groups with others and tries to reconcile them in order to avoid the emergence of new conflict issues; and (3) sets the issues into the broader context, aiming to alter the social and legal structures in the long-term.

Also, Pastoral Social Pasto supports the idea that sustainable change needs to arise from the base of society and that it is not sufficient to only work with the main conflict parties. It reflects Galtung's idea of positive and negative peace (1969), emphasizing that in Colombia, especially in a marginalized region like Nariño, the absence of direct violence does not automatically make peace fall into place. It is necessary to simultaneously remove the structural and cultural violence that affects the community. Consequently, even though Pastoral Social Pasto never specifically identifies conflict as part of human nature, it is reasonable to say that its approach to peacebuilding conforms with the idea of conflict transformation.

Similar to Lederach, the organization aims to transform both interpersonal relationships and relationships with the political, social, economic and cultural context. However, while Lederach prioritizes the reconciliation between the antagonistic groups of an armed conflict (1997, 35), Pastoral Social Pasto focusses on the improvement of the community's economic, social and formative context. First, it concentrates on promoting co-existence between displaced victims and host community and works on relationships within the communities themselves. Furthermore, it aims to transform the people's behaviors and attitudes and teach them how to solve conflicts independently and democratically. Second, the organization emphasizes the importance of development processes and aims to enhance people's socioeconomic situation, so they can cover their basic human needs and contribute to peace in the region themselves. Especially the development aspect does not receive much attention

within Lederach's framework. Instead, this focus is more consistent with the research of Curle (1971), who focusses on development as a way to transform relationships and replace conflict with collaboration.

8.2. Relationships

Pastoral Social Pasto does not operate in a void but is embedded in a social structure. Hence, to assess the role of the organization in the peacebuilding process, it is appropriate to look at its position within society and at its relations with other actors. Drawing on Lederach's pyramid model (1997, 37), Pastoral Social Pasto can be located as a middle-level actor within its social environment, since it assumes an important leadership position without being controlled by governmental structures. This position is not based on political or military power but derives from long-term relationships they established throughout the region. As a catholic actor, it benefits from a fast and easy access to the territory through local parishes, where they are well received and enjoy a good reputation. Similarly, it earned the community's trust during many years of commitment. Most importantly, however, it maintains connections to actors from both the top- and the grassroots-level.

They are known and respected by the top-level leaderships and yet they are acquainted with what people experience at the grassroots-level (Lederach 1997, 46). Hence, they use their contact to the top-level to exert political advocacy and present the community's needs to different governmental institutions. On the grassroots-level, they work with the social leaders from the parishes and support local initiatives directed to development and peace issues. The data indicates that for Pastoral Social Pasto, it is easier access the grassroots level than to establish contact with the top-level. Even though it maintains a good relationship with local governmental institutions, they rarely interact with political leaders directly. Furthermore, besides working with each level separately, the organization sees itself as an intermediary, trying to connect the two by providing spaces where the communities can present their claims in front of the state themselves (Paffenholz 2015). In this sense, Pastoral Social Pasto fulfills the function that Lederach ascribes to middle-level actors, creating communication channels and initiating a process of developing relationships. Finally, it teams up with other middle-level actors, both building an ecclesiastical network with other Pastoral Social entities and cooperating with other humanitarian organizations that operate in the area. By coordinating activities through regional platforms and committees, they follow an important aspect of

Lederach's framework, as he emphasizes that one should focus on "creating strategic points of contact and coordination (Lederach 2003).

In addition to coordination with other local organizations, Pastoral Social Pasto has established relationships with actors from the international community. Approximately eighty percent of its funding comes from abroad. This agrees with Lederach's assumption that local actors require the support of international institutions (Paris 2004), mainly because they lack financial resources. This dependency is highly criticized by many scholars of the second 'local turn', who perceive that the local actor is dominated by the soft power of international peacebuilders' logic (Paffenholz 2015). In this research, different asymmetric power structures (Fetherston 2000) can be identified. There is the example of ecclesiastical donors, who, despite their long-term partnership, takes the right to interfere in Pastoral Social Pasto's project planning, asking for innovation. Also, the organization needs to adapt its projects to the focus and requirements of international institutions in order to successfully apply to calls for proposals. Therefore, this research shows that international actors still possess a dominant power within the relationship, even though they do not necessarily recognize the local reality (Richmond 2006; MacGinty 2006).

Nevertheless, Pastoral Social Pasto neither considers itself as a victim of these power structures (MacGinty and Richmond 2013) nor offers resistance to them. In fact, they prefer to work with the international community, rather than obtaining financial resources from the Colombian government. They claim that international cooperation is faster, more efficient and less political than with national institutions. Hence, this supports Paffenholz's (2015) argument that empirically, there is more compliance than resistance as well as Chandlers (2013) observation that distrust is often directed to the national elite instead. In the relationship with an international actor, Pastoral Social Pasto deems its role to "*make sure the light passes the way it should*". Thus, they try to readjust the universalism of liberal peacebuilding projects to the local reality, following a more particularistic approach (MacGinty and Richmond 2013).

To conclude, I consider it relevant to reflect on the "locality" of Pastoral Social Pasto. Even though it is a local actor that has been working in the region for decades, it also forms part of a national, ecclesiastical network, known as Caritas Colombia. Additionally, it maintains close ties with the international community, as it could not sustain its work without them. Hence, the assessment of the organization's relationships supports Hughes, Öjendal, and Schierenbeck's

(2015, 818) perspective that the local is a flexible, contested and inherently relational concept. It does not seem adequate to simply use the dichotomy of local versus international, as it does not acknowledge the agency of the different parties involved (Paffenholz 2015). Instead, I suggest thinking of the relationship as a complex dynamic in which both local and international actors each fulfill their functions. By cooperating, the local and international counterparts mutually reshape their perspectives and together create hybrid forms of peacebuilding (MacGinty 2011; Richmond and Mitchell 2011).

8.3. Capacity Building Activities

So far, I reviewed Pastoral Social Pasto's vision of peacebuilding as well as its relationships with other actors. In order to understand the role of the organization, however, it is essential to furthermore discuss the different activities they perform in Nariño. The data shows that the organization follows different lines of action, which can be located within the theoretical concept of capacity building.

First, Pastoral Social Pasto focusses on providing a safe and secure environment for the affected population (Caplan 2005), namely displaced people and victims of antipersonnel mines. Because of the armed groups that control many parts of Nariño, massive displacements still occur and people are not able to return to their place of origin. Therefore, the organization assists them, facilitating things they need to cover their basic needs and helping them to integrate in their new environment. However, even if the circumstances would allow a return, Pastoral Social Pasto recognizes that it would not have the capacity to perform this process (Tennant 2009). Similarly, referring to the work with antipersonnel mines, the organization does not possess the ability to remove the security threat itself. Instead, they limit their activities to prevention and assist the victims in the case of injuries. Hence, although these functions are important, they hold a rather complementary nature. While sustainable activities such as disarmament and reintegration of former combatants or demining is left to other entities, Pastoral Social Pasto fills in where governmental structures fail. These activities are the responsibility of the state and often requires external support (Muggah 2009). On an institutional level, the organization enhances a secure environment by monitoring and reporting human rights abuses through the platform of human rights defenders. Yet, even though the platform raises awareness, it does not count with effective response mechanisms to redress the violations sustainably (Türk 2009).

Second, while the activities directed to provide a safe and secure environment for the victims of the conflict are more practical, Pastoral Social Pasto brings them into their broader context. It aims to restore administrative and legal structures through political advocacy (Gowlland-Debbas and Pergantis 2009). They present the needs of the affected population in front of the responsible institutions and make sure vulnerable individuals obtain the medical attention and social services they are entitled to. Hence, they approach the institutions in the name of the community, rather than assisting them with advice, training or resources (Türk 2009). Through political advocacy, they managed to durably alter the public health insurance system by introducing the coverage of selective implants and disability pensions. However, for these legal structures to be sustainable, the community must feel comfortable to resort to them (Tolbert and Solomon 2006). My data attests a difficulty concerning this matter, as the communities living in the rural parts of Nariño still do not trust in state institutions and hesitate to access the social services.

Third, one of Pastoral Social's most important lines of action directly targets the skills and attitudes of the communities, with the objective to transform social dynamics. It promotes reconciliation between different parts of society (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall 2016, 286), for example by bringing displaced victims and neighbors together, encouraging them to adapt to the new living situation. Also, they aim to improve interpersonal relations and co-existence within the communities by applying the concept of *Minga*. Finally, the organization intends to increase the capacities of the communities by fostering an active and open civil society (Poulligny 2009). Therefore, social leaders receive training in organizational skills, so they are able to develop prospective strategies and manage their own demands (Macduff 2001). On the community level, Pastoral Social Pasto conducts awareness programs that teach the people about human rights issues and the political responsibilities of being a Colombian citizen. Nevertheless, if these activities are to have a sustainable impact, they must spread from the projects' participants to the broader society (Salomon 2011). The organization recognizes this challenge and tries to achieve a ripple effect by relying on social leaders to transmit messages and values. However, because financial resources limit their work to only a few municipalities, potential effects occur on a small scale and are unlikely to reach other area. Also, many of Pastoral Social Pasto's awareness programs particularly focus on young adults. While it is no doubt essential to form them into responsible adults and political citizens, they are not the most influential agents to promote a ripple effect at this time (Oppenheimer 2009). Finally, the

communities' acquired skills and attitudes can only transform the social dynamics if they are taken serious by local authorities and accompanied by political change (Salomon 2011). The research shows that in Nariño, political figures are either unprepared or uninterested in including the community in their strategies. This reassures the conclusion of Bland (2007), who figures that in Colombia, local governance structures are not capable of transforming conflict dynamics.

Fourth, the organization puts a great effort in enhancing the communities' socioeconomic environment. According to Azar (1990), protracted conflicts occur when communities are deprived of their basic human needs. However, the lack of human needs is not only a cause but simultaneously a consequence of armed conflicts, as their destructive nature increases poverty and vulnerability, which then in turn can exacerbate conflict dynamics (Türk 2009). On a short-term level, Pastoral Social Pasto helps the most vulnerable groups of society to access vital public services. Taking a long-term perspective, however, they stress the importance of development issues to transform a conflict (Eade 1997). Therefore, they work toward the improvement of the people's livelihood, so they can become independent of external assistance. However, the organization admits that such a process would also be the responsibility of the state and that rather than building sustainable dynamics, it fills in where the responsible structures fail.

In sum, Pastoral Social Pasto's lines of action fit into Türk's (2009) definition of capacity building; On a small scale level, it reinforces individual, institutional and community skills and knowledge and promotes reconciliation. It adopts a holistic perspective and works on both a short- and long-term level. However, my data shows that the different projects either focus on emergency relief or on the empowerment of society, rarely combining the two perspective in a way it would be adequate for a region like Nariño (Minear in Smillie 2001, foreword).

8.4. Evaluation Process

In the previous section, I discussed Pastoral Social Pasto's different lines of action and assessed those in regard to their sustainability. To conclude this chapter, I will discuss on how the organization evaluates the peacebuilding activities itself, as such processes are essential to identify good practices and learn from past projects (Türk 2009). Pastoral Social Pasto emphasizes that it always conducts a financial monitoring, providing evidence that the projects

are effective (Paffenholz and Spurk 2006). However, all the other evaluation processes are not performed by the organization itself but by international donors and institutions. Being assessed by an external evaluator might save time and resources but also entails some challenges. Generally, there is little consensus about the ultimate goal of peacebuilding (Çuhadar-Gürkaynak, Dayton, and Paffenholz 2009), especially between local and international actors. Thus, when developed externally, evaluation indicators might be based on locally irrelevant measures (Millar 2014, 15). In this research, that circumstance is intensified by the fact that within each of Pastoral Social Pasto's projects, the evaluation and monitoring processes are handled differently. Consequently, it is difficult for the organization to make systematic claims about the effectiveness of its work.

9. Conclusion and Future Research

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the role of Pastoral Social Pasto as a case of a local actor in the peacebuilding process in the Colombian region of Nariño. I assessed the organization's peacebuilding vision, its relationships with other actors as well as its different lines of action. To answer the research questions, empirical data has been collected by means of semi-structured interviews.

The results show that Pastoral Social Pasto deems peacebuilding a long-term process that goes beyond the immediate post-conflict period and which requires varying activities on different levels of society. It argues that sustainable peace needs to arise from the grassroots level, by changing the dynamics that underlie a conflict. This vision of peacebuilding conforms with the school of conflict transformation. Regarding Pastoral Social Pasto's relationships, I used Lederach's pyramid model to characterize the organization as a middle-level actor that maintains close ties with both governmental structures and the communities. Besides working with both levels independently, it aims to connect the top-and the grassroots-level, creating communication channels between them. Furthermore, it collaborates with other middle-level actors through ecclesiastical networks and local teams of coordination. Also, I discussed Pastoral Social Pasto's relationship with external peacebuilders, focusing on the financial dependence on the latter. It receives the major part of its funding from outside the country, both relying on long-term ecclesiastical partners and collaborating with international agencies in short-term projects. Lastly, I assessed the organization's different lines of action, with which

it aims to trigger changes in the personal, relational, cultural and structural aspects of the conflict dynamics. Drawing on the concept of capacity building, I identified four lines of action of Pastoral Social Pasto: (1) it provides a safe and secure environment for displaced people and victims of antipersonnel mines; (2) it makes an effort to alter the rule of law through political advocacy; (3) it enhances confidence and reconciliation among the communities, and (4) it strives to improve people's socioeconomic conditions.

This study can be situated within the academic field of local peacebuilding and generally supports the theory of conflict transformation and the concept of capacity building. Yet, by considering the local actor as a unit of analysis on its own, my results provide some observations that deviate from the theoretical framework used in this thesis. Therefore, it makes a valid contribution to the existing literature of local peacebuilding. First, Pastoral Social Pasto's vision of conflict transformation differs from the one in the theoretical framework. According to Lederach, peacebuilding should center around reconciliation and the reconstruction of relationships among former adversaries. Pastoral Social Pasto, in contrast, concentrates on the community and attempts to foster development of economic, social and formative conditions. In Nariño, farmers grow coca crops in order to sustain their families. This, in turn, attracts several armed groups that have an economic interest in the area and which fight each other over the territory. Hence, the organization aims to improve the socioeconomic situation of the communities in the area, claiming that if people manage to substitute the coca with legal cultivation, this breaks the vicious cycle that involves them in the violent dynamics. Simultaneously, it then strives to transform the social fabric of the communities, changing their attitudes and behaviors so they can resolve their own conflicts democratically. Hence, this study shows a different way to tackle conflict from the base of society.

Second, the reason for this particular focus lies within the organization's range of influence. Pastoral Social Pasto does not possess the capacity to interact with armed actors directly. As highlighted in the discussion, its work is rather complementary and at a small scale, filling in where governmental structures fail. Therefore, I claim that Lederach might overestimate the importance of middle-level actors. Certainly, Pastoral Social Pasto acts as an intermediary and creates communication channels between the top-level and the grassroots-level. In this sense, it possesses the potential to initiate the development of relationships. However, such a peacebuilding infrastructure can only be durable if the respective parties commit to it. In the case of Nariño, the national government does not pay much attention to the region.

Consequently, the community does not trust in the institutions and prefers to not interact with them. Thus, I argue that there is a necessity to take notice of such political dynamics, an aspect that does not receive much attention in Lederach's model.

Third, Lederach does not consider the power structures that exist within relationships, particularly between local and international actors. He considers the role of external peacebuilders to provide support, without further engaging in the dynamics of such a collaboration. In this research, I show that even if international actors only assist with financial resources, such relationships still hold asymmetric power structures and donors are able to dictate the conditions of the partnership. Including these dynamics in my analysis, the thesis ties into the second phase of the 'local turn'. However, the results do not indicate any resistance to this dominance of international actors, as some scholars would assume. On the contrary, Pastoral Social prefers this cooperation to the one with national entities, as it is faster, more efficient and less political. By collaborating with external peacebuilders, Pastoral Social Pasto claims to adapt the universalism of liberal peacebuilding to the local reality and make sure the money goes to the right places. In view of these complex dynamics, I agree with the perspective that it is inadequate to see the local and the international as a dichotomy. Instead, I propose to apply the concept of hybridity, where both actors are part of the same process, each fulfilling their functions. Thereby, they mutually reshape their understandings and together create unique forms of peace.

Fourth, the study demonstrates that the activities of Pastoral Social Pasto match the four axes identified in the concept of capacity building. However, all the actions are carried out on a small scale, covering only a few municipalities within the region. Consequently, they are less likely to create a ripple effect and spread to the broader society. Also, the organization does not engage in tasks that are essential for sustainable peacebuilding, such as disarmament, demining or the return of displaced people. This observation supports my argument that Lederach might overestimate the importance of middle-level actors like Pastoral Social Pasto. In conclusion, Pastoral Social Pasto holds the role of a middle-level actor which, due to its long-term presence in the area, enjoys the confidence of actors from all levels of society. It considers peacebuilding as the process of conflict transformation and seeks to alter the underlying dynamics through different approaches. However, scarce financial resources as well as a narrow range of influence sometimes limit the successful implementation of this holistic perspective. Instead, the organization mainly performs complementary work, filling in where

the government fails to take responsibility. Considering the historical lack of national state presence in Nariño, this function is of utmost importance in the area. Nevertheless, lacking a consistent evaluation system, the organization fails to provide evidence that these tasks add to the building of sustainable peace.

9.1.Future Research

This study offers an insight on the case of a local peacebuilding actor in Nariño. Yet, it is adequate to finish with some critical reflections. First, to acquire an extensive picture of Pastoral Social Pasto as an organization, I attempted to include all its different relations as well as its four lines of action in the analysis. Admittedly, each of these aspects would yield enough material for a thesis of this scope. Second, during my internship at the office of international cooperation in Nariño I experienced the complexity of the peacebuilding dynamics in the area first hand. Hence, to fully understand the process, it is not sufficient to only consider the perspective of one actor. While these aspects were not considered in this thesis, they could serve as possible starting points for future research. On one side, a follow-up study could narrow its focus and discuss one of Pastoral Social Pasto's lines of action (e.g., development) in detail. Such a project could draw on extensive participant observation to assess the organization's work dynamics. Furthermore, to make an impact evaluation, it should include beneficiaries as participants, using interviews or surveys to obtain their opinion. On the other side, with a larger timeframe and the appropriate funding, this research could be extended to investigate other peacebuilding actors in the area, both local and international. To paint a more comprehensive picture of the peace and conflict dynamics in Nariño, one needs to investigate the working interactions as well as the power dynamics between local and international actors within the local team of coordination, which is led by agencies of the United Nations. Lastly, future research needs to compare the results of this study with other areas of Colombia. Adopting a comparative perspective could reveal similarities, differences and interrelations between the regions and would allow to make broader claims about post-conflict peacebuilding in Colombia.

10. Bibliography

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11. Appendix

11.1. Interview Guide

1. Introduction of myself and the research project
2. Discuss ambiguities and sign the consent form
3. Interview questions

3.1. Personal information

- Background. Can you start telling me about yourself? (Name, age, etc.)
- How long have you been working for Pastoral Social?

- What is your position in the organization?
- Can you describe your responsibilities and your daily tasks?

3.2. Information about peace and projects

- How would you say Pastoral Social Pasto understands peace?
- What are the current challenges that hinder this peace in the region of Nariño?
- How does the project you are working in contributes to the construction of this peace?
- How does the implementation of this project look like?
- When did the project start and how long will it be running?
- Who finances the projects?
- What are the project's strengths? What are its weaknesses?

3.3. Information about relationships

- What other peacebuilding actors are working within the area? Are these actors mainly international or local ones?
 - How does Pastoral Social Pasto interact with these other peacebuilding actors?
 - How do you coordinate your work with these other actors?
 - Is this coordination successful? (Advantages, challenges etc.)
- How do you work with / support local community actors?
- How do you collaborate with governmental entities on a local/regional/national level?

4. Conclusion and information about follow up interviews in January

11.2. Map of Nariño

