

A multitrack effort towards sustainable peace

Analyzing 53 Colombian peace
initiatives from 2012 to 2018

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This research is dedicated to all peace builders in Colombia, without whom today we would not be able to talk about a sustainable, stable, lasting, possible, complete, great nor total peace, among others. To them, thank you.

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Abstract

The multitrack analysis applied to peace processes worldwide has been limited, bearing in mind recent efforts to promote a holistic approach to a conceptual framework in the making. In the Colombian case, the analysis of 53 peace initiatives active between 2012 and 2018 allows analyzing the peace process from a holistic approach that overcomes the bias in favor of peace negotiations between the main actors of the armed conflict and takes advantage of diverse peace initiatives at local, regional and national levels. The Colombian case develops the multitrack theoretical framework with key concepts (multilevel approach, levels, peace initiative, advocacy strategies, positive, negative and neutral interactions), characterizes peace initiatives (nature, objective, tasks, type of mechanisms and types of initiatives) and yields lessons learned for peace practitioners in the current and future peace process in Colombia and the world. The article reflects on lessons learned of these peace efforts and on the need for promoting multi-stakeholder dialogue and positive interactions between initiatives in all tracks from a state peace policy that adds to the purpose of sustainable peace.

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Introduction

Estamos orgullosos. Uno sentía ser de día y sentir la noche. No se podía ir a La Jagua. A un muchacho con apendicitis salió a la Jagua y allá lo cogieron. Vivimos el flagelo, cosíamos los cuerpos desmembrados. Luego la inversión social del gobierno central fue mínima, todo lo construido aquí es por nosotros.

We are proud. One felt it was daytime and felt the night. You could not go to La Jagua. A boy with appendicitis went to La Jagua and they caught him there. We lived the scourge; we sewed the dismembered bodies. Then the social investment from the central government was minimal. Everything here was built by us.

Entrevista 19, Jesús Amado Giraldo, La Victoria de San Isidro, Cesar

The Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Rep-
etition's Final Report states that Colombia lives in a paradox: while it has
cultural, natural, economical wealth, it lacks "recognition of the other
man, the other woman, and has led to the violation of rights and contempt for the
rights of citizens" (2022a, p. 8).

So, one can affirm that peace building has been essential during Colombia's armed
conflict. In fact, a characteristic of our history has been the progress in peace building
amid armed confrontation between the State, guerrillas, paramilitary groups, and
other actors. The Colombian context includes simultaneously the persistence of armed
confrontation for more than six decades – leaving other 20th century violent events
aside-, the implementation of peace talks with armed groups since the 1980s, the
delayed and asymmetric creation of institutions in rural and urban areas, as well as
different efforts to satisfy the rights of the victims of the armed conflict and society.

The period of study of this research on Colombia's peace process between 2012 and
2018 from a multitrack approach is characterized by these four contextual elements
mentioned. The reparation to victims, the research of past violence and pedagogy,
reconciliation and coexistence efforts in the country are developed during peace
negotiations with illegal armed groups and then continue facing the challenge of
the peace agreement's implementation.

Historically, peace has usually been associated both with strictly ending armed
violence and with transforming the conditions that originated or have reproduced
different types of conflicts. Additionally, "peace process" has been understood
only as the negotiation between the main actors of the conflict. However, from the
holistic understanding proposed by this research, peace processes include not only
high-level negotiations, but all dialogues, mediations, and negotiations between
different actors at different levels of society, without any hierarchy or formal organi-
zation, in an armed conflict or in highly complex violence scenarios.

The multitrack approach, that emerged as an adaptation of the theoretical frame-
work of the "tracks" of diplomatic dialogues to peace processes and their different
lanes, seeks to develop a holistic perspective for peace processes and to analyze
all peace initiatives beyond negotiations. This approach has commonly been used
by peacebuilders around the world as a tool to understand the complexity of con-
temporary peace processes through the in-depth analysis of interactions between
different peace initiatives. However, there are multiple uses of the term multitrack

to analyze conflicts and to date there is no consensus on the definition of the approach, which represents challenges in its application, especially for peacebuilders.

This research seeks to conceptualize and ground the multitrack approach in the Colombian peace process case from a holistic perspective through the analysis of interactions between peace initiatives in the chosen period of study. This allows complementarity between initiatives, taking advantage of their positive effects, and preventing or mitigating the negative or non-visible impacts. The Colombian context of multiple peace initiatives favors this analysis.

Between 2012 and 2018, Colombia advanced in two peace talks negotiations. The first one resulted in the signed peace accord to end the armed conflict with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (Revolutionary Colombian Armed Forces – FARC-EP for its initials in Spanish) in November 2016 titled the “ Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace” (hereinafter Final Peace Agreement). The second peace talks resulted in the signed agreement to develop an agenda for dialogues with the National Liberation Army (ELN for its initials in Spanish) titled Acuerdo de diálogos para la paz entre el Gobierno Nacional y el Ejército de Liberación Nacional (Agreement on Dialogues for Peace between the National Government and the National Liberation Army).

The signing of the Final Peace Agreement between the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP marked a milestone in the history of Colombia, where the commitment to peace materialized in a triumph of society over war and the projection of an agenda of social transformations to improve the lives of all Colombians after an atrocious war. This agreement stands out due to the inclusion of the gender approach, women’s rights, sexual diversity, and the ethnic-racial exclusion issue in the negotiation framework, with few precedents in the world.

Parallel to the achievement of the agreement with the FARC-EP and the negotiation with the ELN, Colombian society promoted multiple creative and diverse peace initiatives. Some of these initiatives emerged up to 25 years before the period in which this research focuses, some as part of the peace social movement, others to promote the Asamblea Nacional Constituyente (National Constituent Assembly, see end note 9) and several others were created after the 1991 Political Constitution with a special focus on the defense of human rights, in addition to some initiatives of faith communities that focused on the defense of life in the midst of an armed conflict of high complexity and at a critical moment.

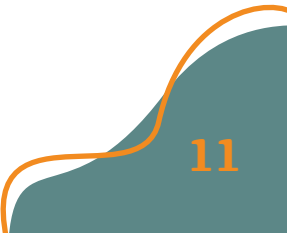
Afterwards, between late 1990s and the 2000s, prior to the peace talks with the FARC-EP, initiatives emerged to strengthen emerging citizenships, as new social movements formed by historically excluded / vulnerable groups in the context of the armed conflict, such as women, ethnic groups (indigenous, communities of African descent, black, *raizal*, *palenquero* and roma peoples), peasants, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals, intersexual, queer and victims. With their initiatives, these groups sought to be included in the country's peace agenda to support the search of a negotiated solution to the conflict with guerilla groups or to rally in favor of the peace cause.

Next, new initiatives emerged during the peace negotiations (2012-2018) to nurture dialogue, support the agreements derived from these negotiations or advance in direct humanitarian dialogues with armed groups that affect the civilian population in the territory. Finally, initiatives aimed at supporting, promoting, and monitoring the implementation of the peace agreement signed in 2016 with the FARC-EP, as well as institutional initiatives to ensure its execution. This prolific period is ideal to understand different level peace initiatives' creation, interaction, and emergence of new social dialogues to address territorial conflicts, as a constant dynamic of civil society efforts for peace in Colombia.

Within the framework of peace negotiations, various initiatives derive from social or institutional processes. These initiatives can interact with each other and contribute to sustainable peace. Nevertheless, these interactions do not always have the desired positive impact, due to the complexity of the context mentioned. From the multitrack approach, sustainable peace is understood to exist when the risks of repetition of the conflict have been considerably reduced, as emphasized, among others, by the peasants when they say that *La Victoria de San Isidro ya puso todos los muertos que iba a poner*¹ (the Victory of San Isidro has already killed all the people it was going to kill). Under this understanding of seeking non-repetition, the adjective **sustainable** can be equated to many other denominations that have been used in Colombia, such as stable and lasting, complete, large, broad, total, among others.



1. Interview 16, private communication, May 5th, 2023.



Colombia, with wide peace building experience, including multiple peace initiatives of different nature, purposes, with national, regional or local scope is an exceptional case for multitrack analysis. It is for this reason that the Compaz Foundation, the Folke Bernadotte Academy and swisspeace carried out the project “The multitrack approach in the Colombian peace process”, with the aim of contributing to the international theoretical framework and to rescue lessons learned for the country and for all peace practitioners in the world.

This project had four phases:

1. Theoretical framework design and adaptation of the multitrack approach to the Colombian case.
2. Conceptual workshop with twelve local, regional, and national level peace-builders in Colombia to test the theoretical framework.
3. Multitrack approach research in the Colombian peace process between 2012 and 2018 with a sample of 53 mapped peace initiatives, 34 people interviewed, a face-to-face visit to a peace initiative and a virtual accompaniment to another initiative as participant observation.
4. Analysis of four prioritized cases to deepen the links between initiatives.

In this document we share the research’s unexpected and promising results.

Our premise was that it is necessary to understand the Colombian peace process as a holistic process, where multiple efforts, multiple actors and multiple mechanisms are considered to contribute to sustainable peace. Thus, through a participant methodology, we sought to identify what opportunities exist in terms of promoting peace initiatives and their linkages at the local, regional, and national levels to achieve sustainable peace in Colombia.

In this research we identified the peace initiatives’ creation responded to humanitarian crisis and/or surged as part of the promotion of a national dialogue on peace. We also found that temporary initiatives are usually created with specific purposes related to rallying for peace. Additionally, the research derived that international cooperation is vital, and has been vital, for the existence and strengthening of peace initiatives. Furthermore, it concluded that the linkages between peace initiatives have, for the most part, positive impacts. However, there are neutral and negative

impact linkages that represent an opportunity to improve the contribution of all initiatives to sustainable peace.

From these results we deploy 13 lessons learned which show a possible path for the promotion of a state peace policy that furthers initiatives – that have the appropriate conditions to fulfill their purposes, have the required financing and strengthen links between the different levels (local, regional, and national)-, to achieve a fluid multi-stakeholder dialogue, appropriate for the Colombian case.

This paper is developed in four sections:

- 1.** Multitrack approach research background and framework to the Colombian peace process between 2012 and 2018.
- 2.** Mapping of 53 local, regional, and national level peace initiatives that existed between 2012 and 2018, and findings on their characteristics, composition, duration, purposes and results.
- 3.** Links between initiatives in territorial cases (Caribbean, Montes de María, Cesar and La Guajira, Chocó, and Medio Atrato), in the case of the Final Peace Agreement between the national government and the FARC-EP, in relation to the gender approach and in the case of the national government's negotiation with the ELN, to identify opportunities to take advantage of positive impacts, reduce negative impacts and contribute to sustainable peace.
- 4.** Conclusions and lessons learned for the peace process in Colombia and other peace processes in the world.

The collaboration and participation of 34 peacebuilders who, through their interviews, supported the conceptual, methodological, and practical definition of this approach, made the multitrack analysis applied to the Colombian peace process possible. We extend a special thanks to them: Antonio Madariaga, Alessandro Preti, Alicia Esther Jiménez, Amaury Padilla, Andrés Gil, Angelika Rettberg, Carlos Velandia, Donka Atanassova, Elizabeth Moreno, Emiro Cañizares, Jesús Alfonso Flórez, Jonathan Tovar, Leyner Palacios, Luis Emil Sanabria, Marcela Sánchez, Pablo Abitbol, Paulo Tovar, Rafael Guarín, Rosa Emilia Salamanca, Wilson Castañeda and Zoraida Castillo, as well as the members of the Grupo Ecuménico de Mujeres constructoras de paz (Ecumenical Group of Women Peacebuilders – Gempaz for its initials in Spanish)

and leaders in La Victoria de San Isidro of the project “Biodiversity conservation and sustainable beekeeping”.

Finally, it is necessary to thank Elena Ambrosi, former Government delegate in the peace talks with the FARC-EP, and Linda Cabrera, director of Sisma Mujer, for their participation in the conceptual workshop held in 2022.



Research background and framework

“Para avanzar en la construcción de paz se requiere humildad porque se debe reconocer el aporte de cada proceso”

In order to advance in peace building, humility is required because the contribution of each process must be recognized

(Conceptual Workshop, December 15 and 16, 2022, Bogota)

Peacebuilders around the world recognize that peace agreements between the main actors in an armed conflict are an important step towards a more peaceful future, but they are insufficient to generate peace on their own. There are multiple peace initiatives, both institutional and non-institutional, which requires conceiving peace processes in a holistic, articulated, and simultaneous manner, that is, including dialogue, negotiation or mediation initiatives at different levels of society, from community dialogue to high-level negotiations, in order to bring about structural transformations.

Multitrack analysis uses the metaphor of vehicle tracks to identify the different dialogues that take place or should take place between different actors at different levels of society that contribute to peacebuilding. Diplomacy attempted to theorize this concept with the denomination of up to eight tracks that differentiate, among others, high-level dialogues involving presidents and prime ministers, and dialogues between various grassroots civil society processes².

Furthermore, John Paul Lederach, in line with conflict transformation theory, also attempted to theorize by dividing society into three levels of leadership for peacebuilding, including different systems that contribute to peace in the long, medium, and short term. This theory is adapted to the multitrack approach, where the three ways to build peace, according to Lederach, translate into a three-level pyramid of society, namely: i) the dialogue of high-level leaders, such as the government; ii) the official dialogue between middle-ranking leaders; and iii) the participation of grassroots society. For Lederach, the second level of society – building peace with mid-level leadership – has the greatest potential for establishing a long term (sustainable) peace-building infrastructure (1997, p. 60).

Hence, theoretical references on the multitrack approach allude to a holistic analysis of peace processes that includes multiple dialogues at various levels of society and is developed by seeking to examine peace initiatives and their linkages to identify opportunities for improvement. For this framework under construction, a peace initiative is understood as any local, national, or international level action that seeks to promote sustainable peace through negotiation, dialogue or mediation.



2. To further this concept, consult Palmiano Federer et al. (2019).

To apply the multitrack approach to the Colombian case, the Compaz Foundation, with support from the Folke Bernadotte Academy and swisspeace, developed a first stage of design, research and validation between November 2022 and August 2023.

The project was carried out in four phases:

1. Methodological design
2. Conceptual workshop
3. Participant research
4. Feedback workshop

Firstly, the leading organizations of the project developed a methodological design defining the general theoretical framework and the research process proposal. Then, in the conceptual workshop, with the participation of 12 peacebuilders from the national and local level, the proposal was examined through a stress test, which resulted in the definition of the term peace initiative, a tentative list of 53 peace initiatives to be mapped and key concepts to apply the multitrack analysis to the peace process in Colombia, such as advocacy, which refers to strategies developed by the initiatives to impact, change or transform conditions for peace.

Subsequently, the participant research was done through 22 interviews with 34 peacebuilders from various regions of the country and at the national level, who are recognized as promoters of some of the subject initiatives. In this same phase, a literature review on Colombian peace initiatives was made and 53 peace initiatives that existed between 2012 and 2018 were mapped, according to the definition of the period decided for the study.

Additionally, we visited La Victoria de San Isidro, a village located in the department of Cesar, in the northern part of the country, where there are several coal and gold mining projects. We conducted a participant observation of a session with leaders of the “Biodiversity conservation and sustainable beekeeping” project³ with

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3. The Fondo Colombia en Paz’s project, operated by the Unión del Campo (a peasants’ association) and the Asociación de Técnicos, Profesionales y Productores en Pro de la Serranía del Perijá, a coffee growers association (Asotepros for its initials in

the Programa de Desarrollo y paz del Cesar y La Guajira (PDPCG for its initials in Spanish). Similarly, a virtual participant observation session was held with Gempaz in their second Collective Reading Meeting of the chapter “My body is the truth” of the Final Report of the Commission for the Clarification of the Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition of Colombia.

As part of the participant research, we held a workshop in June 2023 with 19 peacebuilders participating in the project, to validate the results of the mapping of the sample of 53 initiatives, the findings and lessons learned from the multitrack analysis of the Colombian peace process.

Finally, in August 2023, we socialized the results in the city of Valledupar, in partnership with the PDPCG, with leaders of La Victoria de San Isidro. At this meeting, we collected proposals on how to put the results of this research to use at the local and regional level.

When applying the existing theoretical references of the multitrack approach, we found that the dialogues that take place in the Colombian peace process, observed from a holistic approach, can be multi-actor, and, in addition, that a first level actor can participate in dialogues of any of the other two tracks. In other words, the same dialogue may include, for example, the president, armed actors, local authorities and a community leader. Hence, the official or unofficial character does not seem to determine the type of peace initiative that is relevant to the analysis. In this case, the lanes can be distinguished not only by the type of actors, but also by the scope of the initiatives and the type of mechanism they deploy, which will be discussed below. Regarding the scope, the term level is used in this research to refer to the geographic extent of the initiative’s purpose in relation to the conflict, i.e., at what level it is to be resolved.

For this research, then, in Spanish speaking of *multinivel* (multilevel), instead of *multivía* (multitrack), allows us to adapt the theoretical framework to the Colombian

Spanish), with the support of the PDPCG, is being developed since July 2021 in La Victoria de San Isidro, a territory where the Prodeco open-pit coal mine of the Swiss multinational Glencore used to operate. Seventy-three families from the township are participating in this project, which seeks to contribute to the conservation of the dry tropical and sub-Andean Forest of the Perijá mountain range and the recovery of ecosystems, prevent the expansion of the agricultural frontier, and contribute to the economic sustainability of the township's returned families. The project is currently in its final phase of signing a beekeeping governance agreement among the 73 families that will provide sustainability and autonomy to the productive project of bee columns and production and sale of honey, wax, jelly, among others. See more at: <https://pdpcesar.org/proyectos/proyecto-4/>

case without losing the essence of analyzing diverse scenarios where peace is built in a parallel/simultaneous, articulated, or disarticulated manner. Thus, to better adapt the theoretical framework to the Colombian context, the concept of tracks is replaced by that of *niveles* (levels). Hence, the multitrack approach⁴ in Colombia has been defined as one that conceives of peace processes as broad, multilevel processes, and seeks to take advantage of the interactions between various peace initiatives to enable a more sustainable holistic peace and to avoid or mitigate any negative impact that such interactions may cause.

Considering the high complexity of the armed conflict in Colombia, thousands of peace initiatives have emerged in the country. This research delimits peace initiatives as “those multi-stakeholder spaces (dialogue, mediation, negotiation and advocacy strategy), including institutional, non-institutional or mixed spaces, aimed at resolving or de-intensifying the armed conflict in specific contexts, or promoting processes for coexistence, memory or reconciliation at local, regional or national level”⁵.

The reference, on the other hand, in this research to multi-stakeholder spaces is made with the intention of narrowing the universe of initiatives for analysis and investigating in greater depth the nature of the initiatives and their interactions. Returning to the concept of *nivel* (track), in Colombia it is usual to use the territorial approach as an organizational criterion and for a simpler understanding, so, in this case, speaking of local, regional and national track is very clear and has more impact. These tracks refer here to the territorial level at which the peace initiative seeks to resolve or de-intensify the armed conflict, which may be a local, regional or national armed confrontation. It should be noted that a national track initiative may seek to implement actions with a territorial approach, however, its classification will be national if it seeks to address the armed conflict at various tracks.



4. In the Spanish version of this document, multitrack is replaced by *multinivel*, which translated strictly to English would be *multilevel*. Additionally, in Spanish the document refers to *niveles* which translated to English are levels. Nevertheless, in the English version multitrack and tracks are still the best concepts to understand the multitrack approach in the Colombian context. Hereby, every time the concepts multitrack and tracks are used in English, they are replaced in the Spanish version by *multinivel* and *niveles*.

5. The concept was the result of the conceptual workshop held at the beginning of the project on December 15th and 16th of 2022, in Bogotá.

It is through these conceptual precisions and delimitations that the number of peace initiatives entering this research is significantly reduced, many fewer than those obtained with the mapping carried out by the Universidad de los Andes in alliance with Paso Colombia of 1900 civil society peace initiatives (Rettberg and Quischpe 2017). This mapping by Paso Colombia has been the only one conducted so far, and is therefore a relevant work, although its selection method was different from ours⁶. In that mapping only 3.59 % of the total number of initiatives collected tend to work on issues linked to the perspective of this research, such as the facilitation of dialogues with armed groups outside the law and the promotion of a political solution to the armed conflict. And only 1.3 % work on “third party intervention” issues, while 1 % do so in relation to “negotiations and peace process” (Rettberg and Quischpe, 2017, pp. 20-21).

On the other hand, we decided to study the initiatives that would have existed in the period between 2012 and 2018 because it was a prolific moment in Colombian history for peace building, where the peace talks of the national government with the FARC-EP and the ELN were a motive and served as a scenario for the deployment of multiple other initiatives and interactions. However, it is important to keep in mind that other periods have been more productive in peace initiatives, such as the 1990s, when there were peace negotiations with different guerrillas, the call for the National Constituent Assembly and increased funding and political support of initiatives by churches and European entities (Rettberg and Quischpe 2017, p. 22). This, in line with Article 22 of the 1991 Colombian Political Constitution, which established peace as a right and a mandatory duty.

Likewise, since this research limits and frames the concept of peace initiatives within a specific time-period, the most appropriate methodology for applying the multitrack approach to the Colombian case is qualitative research, which includes in-depth interviews and participant observation as its main tools. In this sense, the research characterizes a sample of 53 peace initiatives which, as has been clarified,



6. Paso Colombia’s study searched for initiatives that had the word peace in their name and those that had an organizational minimum from which the continuity of their agenda over time could be deduced. The analysis of 1900 initiatives built on previous efforts and extensive literature on the history and characterization of the civil society peace movement in Colombia between 1985 and 2016 and case studies of many peace initiatives and characterizing changes in the concept of peace over time. Rettberg and Quischpe (2017) elucidate the conditions that allow for the existence over time of diverse peace initiatives. See more at: https://pasocolombia.org/sites/default/files/1900_iniciativas_de_paz_nacional.pdf

does not constitute the total universe of initiatives, nor does it seek to be representative. Hence, the sample aims to have a significant number of cases that allow for a deeper analysis of interactions/linkages, which is the main contribution of the multitrack approach to peace studies.

In a nutshell, the research's multitrack analysis theoretical framework in the Colombian case conceives of broad, multilevel peace processes to take advantage of the positive impact of the interactions between various peace initiatives and avoid or mitigate any negative impact. It also recognizes the need for a society's political commitment to peace, considers that a peace process is more than the activities that take place at peace talks between the main actors in the conflict, thus encompassing initiatives at other tracks of society (local, regional and national), and develops gender, ethnic and territorial approaches. It is a qualitative analysis that prioritizes those who have first-hand knowledge of the functioning of the initiatives and their interactions over time.

Peace initiative mapping in Colombia between 2012 and 2018

Un líder no nace, se hace. Se construye, eso es lo que ha hecho el Programa de Desarrollo y Paz en el territorio.

(A leader is not born, they're made. That is what the Development and Peace Program has done in the territory).

Interview 18, Rebeca Durán Pacheco, La Victoria de San Isidro, Cesar

The 53 sample initiatives in this study are diverse, arise at different moments in Colombia's history and are exemplars of resilience and hope for a better future. The sample was made up, for the most part, with civil society members, and therefore mainly include initiatives of this type of platform. By analyzing their interactions/links, and impacts, it is also possible to identify opportunities to promote a more sustainable peace.

The mapping of the initiatives included:

- Best known name
- Period of existence by years
- Labeling into type of mechanism (dialogue, negotiation, mediation, advocacy strategy)
- Type of initiative (civil society platform, digital and/or rally platform, negotiation and peace agreement, humanitarian dialogue)
- Track at which the initiative seeks to impact, resolve, or de-escalate the armed conflict (local, regional, and national)
- Nature of its conformation (institutional, non-institutional or mixed)
- Whether it has support or funds from cooperation and the international community.
- Whether as part of its work it includes the development of gender, territorial and ethnic approaches.
- Its participants as main drivers
- Georeferencing of the municipalities where it carries out its activities.

The mapping also answered the following questions:

- What is the peace initiative about?
- Why was this peace initiative created (purpose)?
- How does this peace initiative operate (what does it do)?
- What type of civil society platform or alliance is it, if applicable (who)?
- Does it have links to other peace initiatives? Which ones?

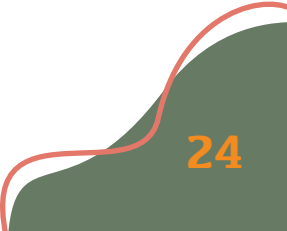
The mapping's main source were interviewees who promoted the initiatives. In other words, priority was given to the voice of those who have first-hand knowledge of the initiatives. However, we also consulted the initiatives' official web pages, academic bibliography, the Truth Commission's digital transmedia⁷ and the Open Library of the Peace Process, promoted by the Compaz Foundation⁸, which contains various resources on many of the initiatives analyzed.

The initiatives are presented and described below according to the labels used for the mapping, followed by the findings.



7. The digital transmedia is the group of documents, graphics and videos that the Truth Commission left on an open access a web site. It contains the Final Report: There is future if there is truth and the legacy of Colombia's Truth Commission. See at CEV (2022b).

8. See at: <https://bapp.com.co/>



Peace initiative tracks

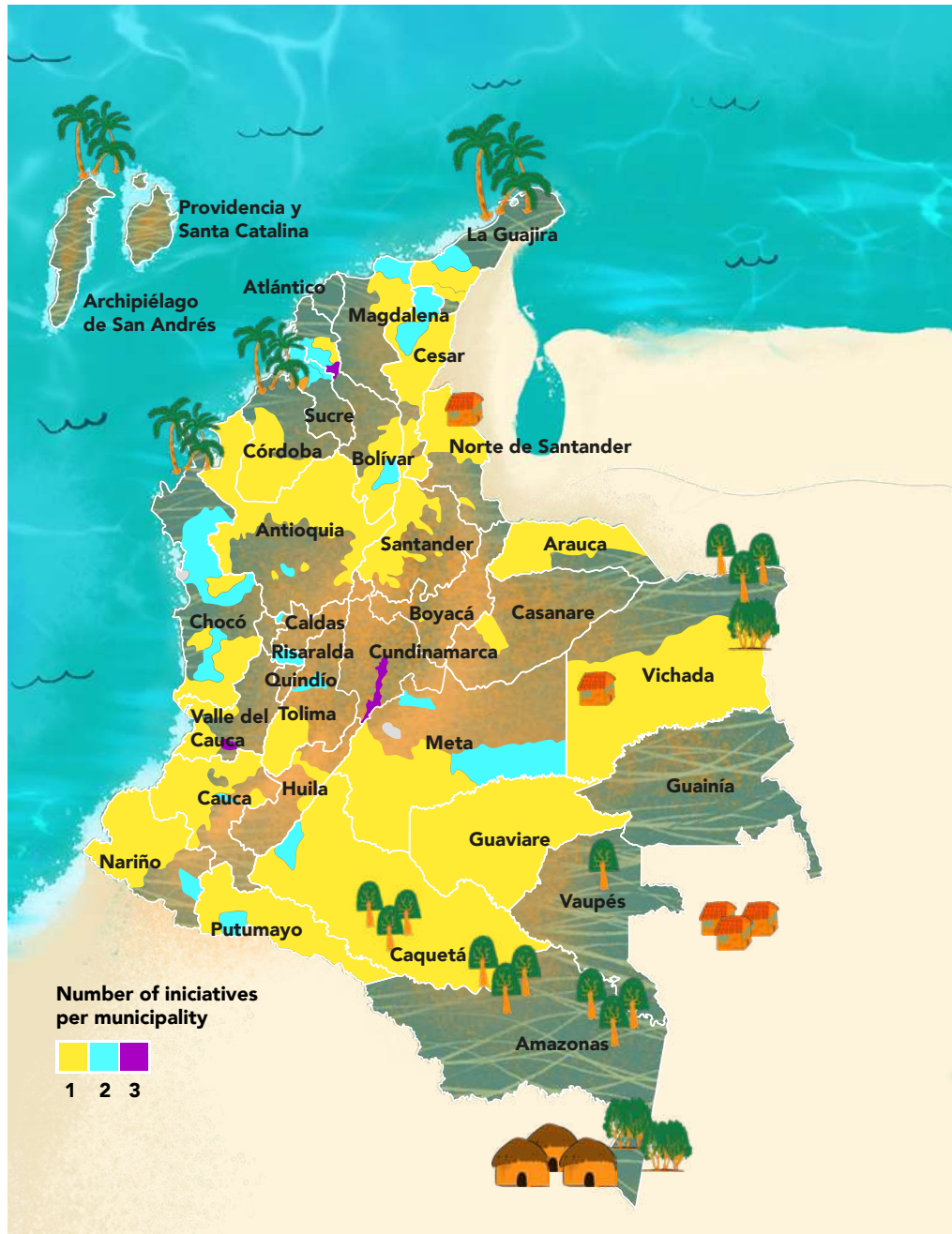


Figure 1. Colombia’s map with the number of initiatives per municipality

Note. The map shows the number of initiatives found per municipality. It only shows 24 initiatives that are identified with a specific geographic location out of 53 mapped

Thirty-nine initiatives of the sample, i.e., 73.6 %, are part of the national track. However, 11 of them have a territorial presence in their work, or 28.2 %. The remaining 14 include 8 at the regional track, representing 15.1 % of the total sample, and 6 initiatives at the local track, representing 11.3 %.

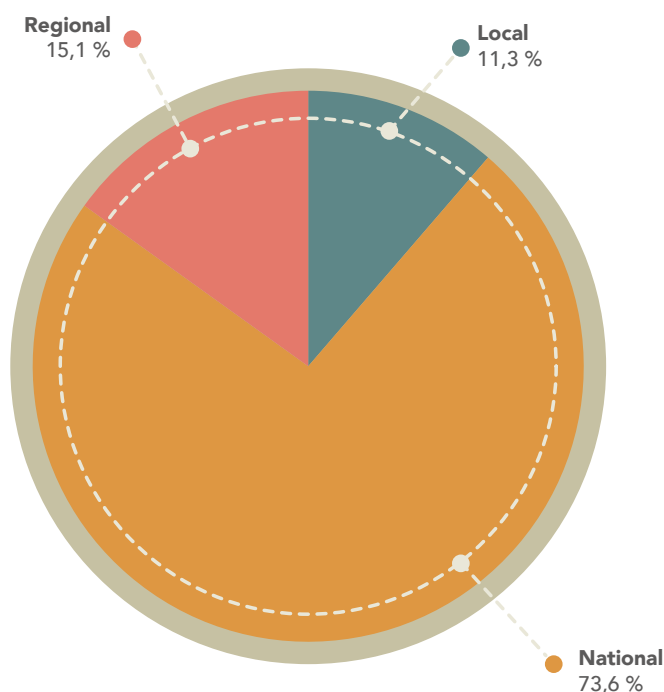


Figure 2. Initiatives per track

Peace initiative types

To map and cluster the initiatives in the sample and deepen the analysis of their interactions, they were classified by distinguishing the type of mechanism they use in their work (negotiation, dialogue, mediation or advocacy strategy) and the nature of their conformation (nature of the initiative), i.e., whether they are created from the union of institutional, non-institutional or mixed actors and subjects (civil society platforms, negotiations and implementation of peace agreements, humanitarian dialogues or digital and/or rally platforms).

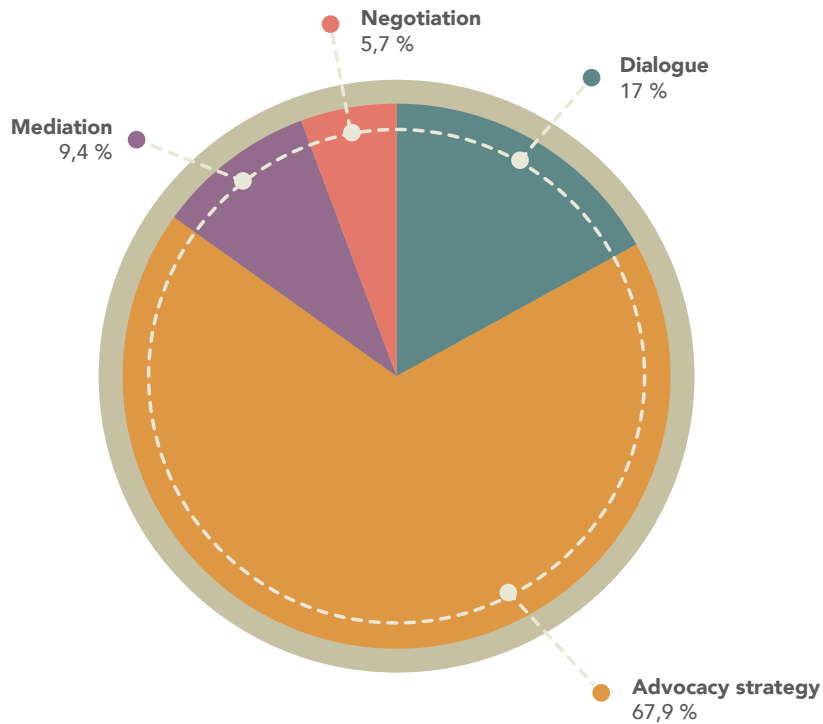


Figure 3. Initiative mechanism type

The mapping found that 36 initiatives, representing two thirds of the sample (67.92 %), develop advocacy strategies. This is associated with civil society’s organization around peace in Colombia, where political advocacy is necessary to ensure that actions and efforts have relevance in the panorama of a peace process analyzed holistically. This category of advocacy is characteristic of the Colombian case and can contribute to the theoretical framework of the multitrack approach in the world.

Nine initiatives develop dialogue mechanisms (Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio, Comisión Intereclesial Justicia y Paz, Fundación Red de Desarrollo y Paz de los Montes de María, the acknowledgment of accountability in the Bojayá massacre (see page 68), Mesa Social para la Paz, the national Government’s Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement signed with the FARC-EP, Mesa de Iniciativas de Reconciliación- – MIR for its initials in Spanish, Comisión por la Vida, la Reconciliación y la Paz del Catatumbo, y Diálogos Improbables), which represent 16.98 % of the sample.

Likewise, 5 initiatives develop mediation mechanisms, which involve mediation in a conflict by a third party (community, academics, civil society organization), including humanitarian dialogues. The latter are dialogues in which the community seeks the cessation of damages caused by the armed confrontation between vari-

ous groups in the conflict. Hence, initiatives with mediation mechanisms represent 9.43 % of the sample. Specifically, humanitarian dialogues (4 mediation initiatives) address the conflict at the local level, responding to the need of communities that continue under the yoke of armed confrontation to protect life and achieve dignified and respectful conditions in their territories (Diálogos pastorales de la Iglesia católica, Laboratorios para la paz de Bogotá, Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! en el Chocó y Tregua de San Juan).

Additionally, there are 3 initiatives that develop negotiation mechanisms (the peace talks with the FARC-EP, the national government's negotiation with the ELN and the Special Development Programs with a Regional Perspective – PDET for its initials in Spanish), which represent 5.66 % of the sample.

On the other hand, the initiatives are classified by type, taking into consideration who is involved (civil society platforms, digital and/or rally platforms, negotiations and peace agreement, humanitarian dialogues).

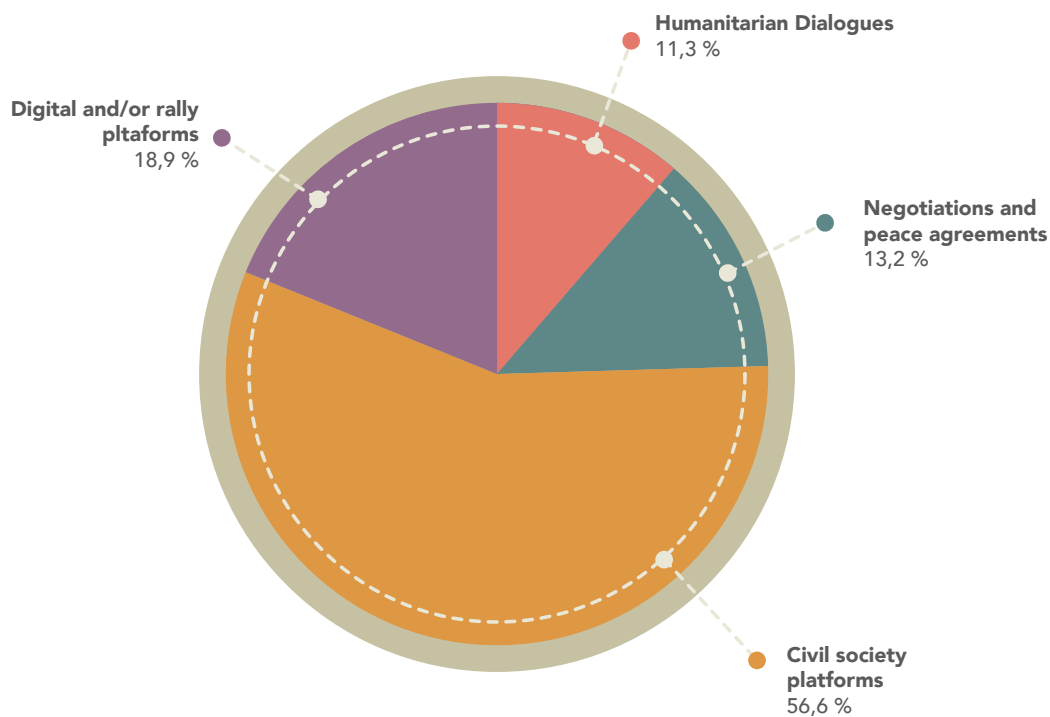


Figure 4. Initiative type

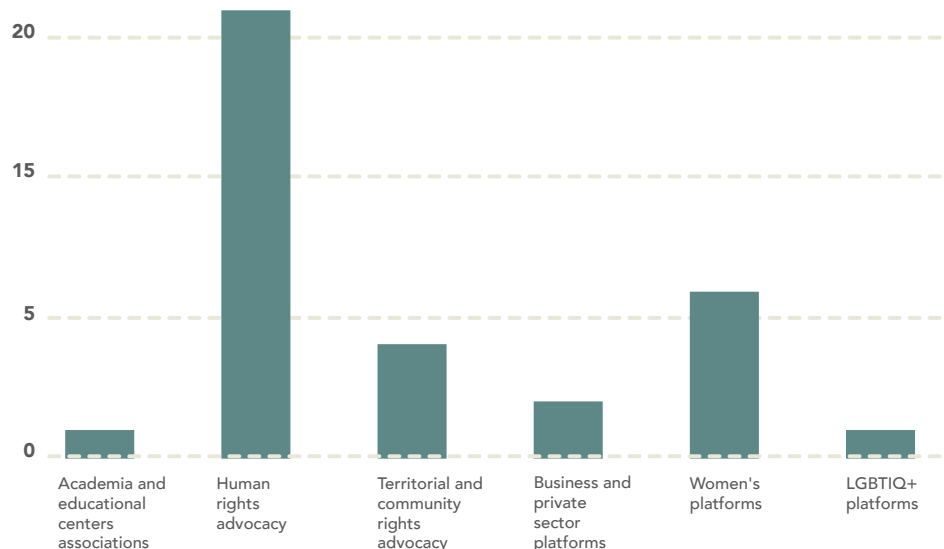


Figure 5. Subtypes of civil society platforms

The mapping also classified civil society platforms by subtypes. These subtypes respond to the specific social groups that promote the initiatives (academic and educational associations, human rights advocacy, territorial and community rights advocacy, business and private sector platforms, women’s platforms and LGBTQI+ platforms).

With respect to who forms, promotes, or leads the initiatives, the analysis differentiates this characteristic from who participates, since many initiatives develop participation strategies, and this does not imply that in practice all convened actors determine the work of the initiatives.

Thirty initiatives in the sample (56.6 %) are civil society platforms, as they are formed by civil society organizations to advance some peace-related purpose. Of these, more than half (16, representing 53.3 % of all civil society initiatives) are human rights platforms – which explicitly include the defense of human rights.

Likewise, the sample includes: 6 women’s platform initiatives (20 %) – they explain in their conformation to be an initiative promoted by women’s organizations-, 4 platforms that defend land and community rights (13.3 %) – formed by territorial and ethnic organizations-, 2 platforms of companies and the private sector (6, 7 %) – specifically driven by these actors ,1 association driven by academia and the educational sector (3.3 %), and 1 platform driven by organizations defending lesbi-

an, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersex, queer, among others (hereinafter LGBTQ+) rights (3.3 %).

Peace initiatives that focus on territorial and community rights advocacy represent 7.54 % of the total sample (Red Nacional de Iniciativas Ciudadanas por la Paz y contra la Guerra-Redepaz, Foro Interétnico de Solidaridad Chocó-FISCH, Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Cesar y La Guajira-PDPCG and Mesa de Iniciativas de Reconciliación-MIR). These initiatives are part of the history of the formation of the human rights movement and the participation of ethnic communities in the Colombian national agenda.

The labels by type of initiative are not exclusive, since, for example, digital platforms can also be civil society platforms, just as LGBTQ+ platforms are also human rights advocates. However, the research distinguishes these categories to identify points of encounter and disagreement and thus deepen the analysis of interactions between peace initiatives.

Peace initiative nature

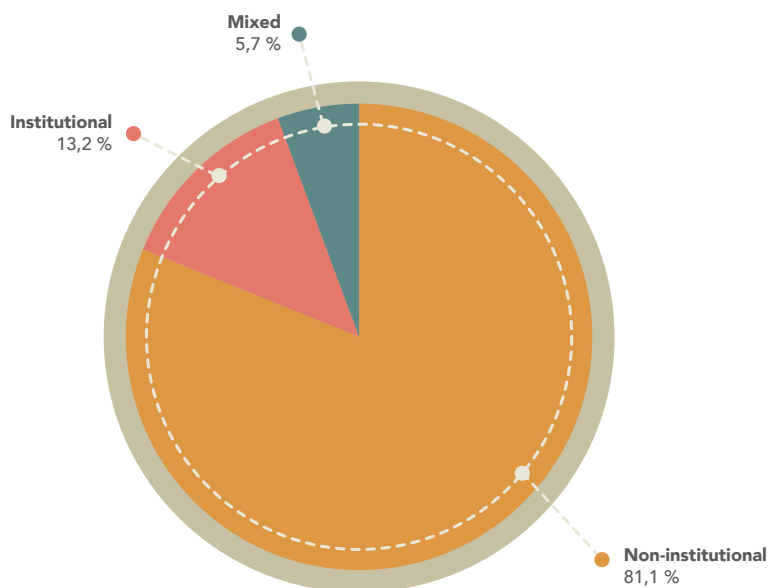


Figure 6. Nature of the initiatives

The approach to the initiatives from the perspective of their nature shows that only 7 of the 53 are institutional initiatives. These are those promoted mainly by

the Government or the State, which represent 13.21 % of the sample: The National Government's peace talks with the FARC-EP, the National Government's negotiation with the ELN, the participation mechanisms of the Havana peace talks, the preparatory hearings as a participation mechanism of the negotiation with the ELN, the opposition to the Government's negotiation with the FARC-EP, the national Government's Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement signed with the FARC-EP after the "No" victory in the 2016 plebiscite (called Renegotiation) and the Special Development Programs with a Regional Perspective (PDET). On the other hand, there are 3 mixed initiatives, which have institutional and non-institutional components: Consejo Nacional de Paz, Reconciliación y Convivencia (Consejo Nacional de Paz for its abbreviation in Spanish), and the plebiscite's "No" and "Yes" campaigns, where political parties and civil society participated. Finally, most of the sample, 43 initiatives, 81.1 %, are of a non-institutional nature, i.e., mainly driven by civil society.

The research, by defining a peace initiative as any multi-stakeholder dialogue that seeks to confront or mitigate the armed conflict in Colombia, could analyze not only civil society initiatives, but also institutional initiatives such as the peace negotiations and their participation mechanisms, along with mixed initiatives such as the plebiscite campaigns and purely civil society initiatives such as the PDP del Cesar y La Guajira. This allows for a better understanding of the interactions between initiatives from the holistic analysis of a peace process and avoids centrality or bias in favor of exclusively official mechanisms such as the peace negotiations.



Figure 7. Initiatives with international cooperation sponsorship

Additionally, in relation to the nature of the initiatives in the sample, as made explicit below, to analyze their creation and conformation it is very important to bear in mind that most of them operate or operated with international cooperation funds (88.68 %).

Initiative starting periods

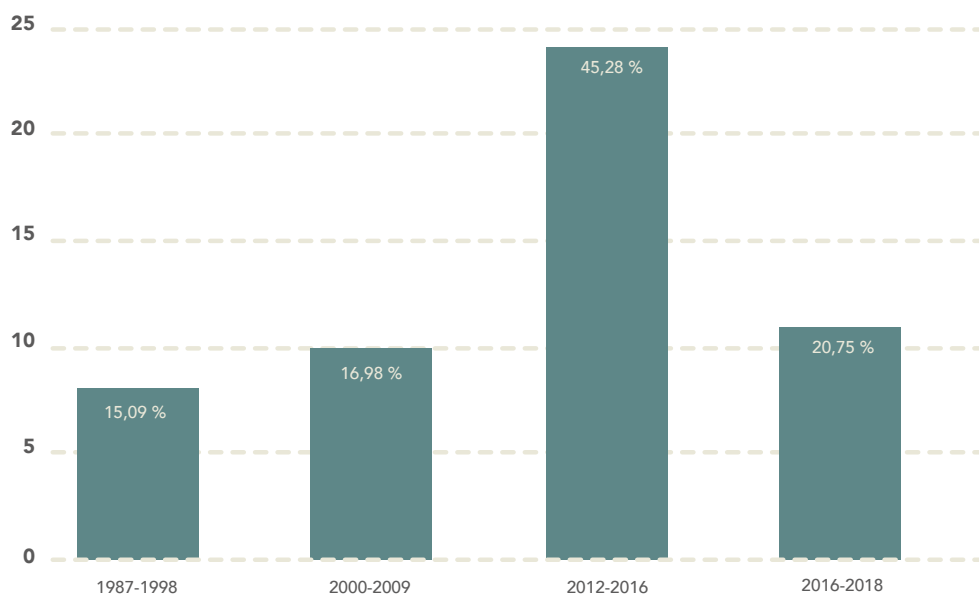


Figure 8. Periods of time of creation of initiatives

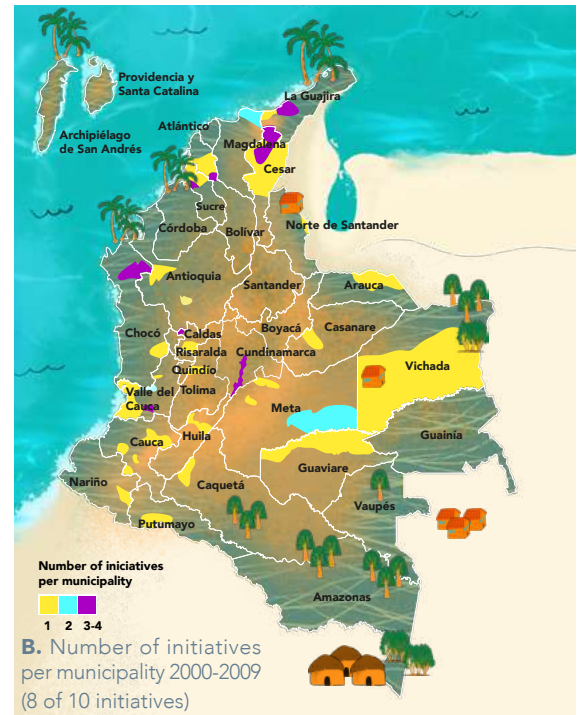
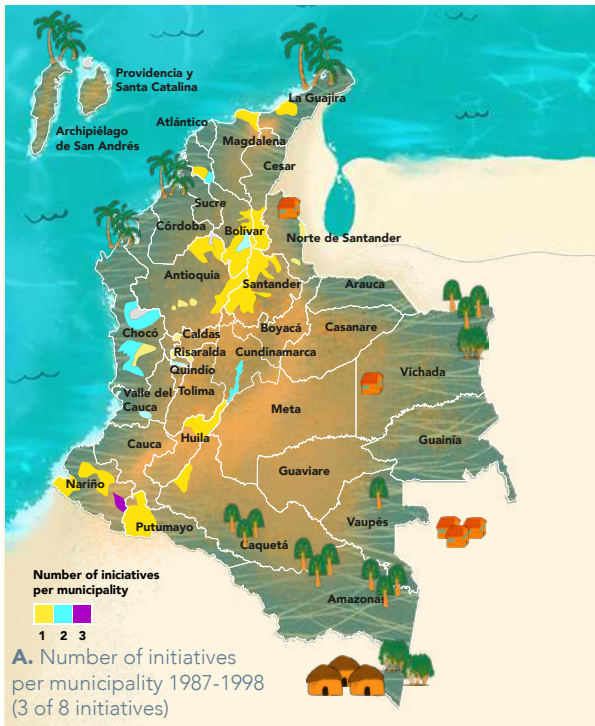


Figure 9. Comparative Maps of the number of initiatives per municipality per period of time

Note. The maps only show initiatives with specific geographic location

Eight of the initiatives in the sample (15.09 %) were created between 1987 and 1998, most of them promoted in the context of the new political constitution. All these initiatives continue today. Among them is the Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio, a regional peacebuilding model that was later replicated in other territories of the country with different purposes and in different formats and is still in force today. However, due to the study's period (2012-2018), the sample does not include other initiatives that occurred in the framework of the National Constituent Assembly⁹ (which occurred between January and July 1991), such as the Civil Society Assembly for Peace, which was a clear precedent of fluid dialogue between the local, regional, and national levels, but ended its functions in 2008. The non-inclusion of initiatives such as this in the mapping does not, however, detract from their importance for the historical understanding of peace efforts in the country.

These initiatives created in the late 1980s and 1990s (Semana por la Paz, Diálogos pastorales, Asociación Cristiana Menonita para Justicia, Paz y Acción No Violenta–Justapaz, Viva la Ciudadanía, Red Nacional de Iniciativas Ciudadanas por la Paz y contra la Guerra–Redepaz, PDP del Magdalena Medio, Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres and the Consejo Nacional de Paz) were part of the advance towards participatory democracy. In addition, they were part of a juncture where peace became an issue on the national agenda and show the great support of the churches to the peace process in the country.

Between 2000 and 2009, 10 of the peace initiatives in the sample were created, representing 18.86 % of the sample (Corporación para el Desarrollo y Paz del Valle-Vallenpaz, Foro Interétnico de Solidaridad Chocó-FISCH, Comisión Intereclesial Justicia y Paz, Redprodepaz, Fundación Red de Desarrollo y Paz de los Montes de María, Red Agenda Caribe, Premio Emprender Paz, Grupo Ecuaménico de Mujeres Constructoras de Paz - Gempaz for its abbreviation in Spanish, Colombianos y Colombianas por la Paz - CCPP for its initials in Spanish, Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Cesar y La Guajira). These initiatives were created in response to the intensification of violence in the territories with the arrival of paramilitarism and the expansion of



9. The National Constituent Assembly was elected in December 1990 and operated between February and July 1991. It was led by the then President of the Republic, César Gaviria, and 70 members from political parties who participated with voice and vote and 4 members from guerilla groups with voice but without vote, with whom peace negotiations were underway. In the Constituent Assembly, as it is usually called, they drafted and signed the new political constitution of Colombia, where fundamental, economic, social, and collective rights were enshrined. See more at: <https://www.constitucioncolombia.com/historia.php>

guerrilla groups in the country. Some of them emerged from entrepreneurs and the private sector, namely: Vallenpaz, Premio Emprender Paz and the PDP of Cesar and La Guajira, which work directly with mining companies in the region.

Twenty-four initiatives in the sample, representing 45.28 %, were created between 2012 and November 2016, including the National Government’s peace talks with the FARC-EP which marked the proliferation of initiatives during this period. Some initiatives are created to support the talks and others were specifically created to support the campaigns around the plebiscite for peace held on October 2, 2016¹⁰. In this period, the formation of the Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres y Paz (National Summit of Women and Peace) in 2012, and the Plataforma LGBTI por la Paz (LGBTI Peace Platform) in 2016, stand out.



Figure 10. Number of initiatives per period 2016-2018 (8 of 11)

Note. The map only shows initiatives with specific geographic location

10. The 2016 plebiscite was called as a referendum to ask citizens whether they supported the peace agreement signed between the Government and the FARC-EP on August 24 of that year. See more at: OACP (2018b).

From the end of 2016 to 2018, 11 initiatives are created, representing 20.75 % of the sample. Three of them seek to advance humanitarian dialogues that bring relief to the civilian population affected by the armed confrontation (Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! en el Chocó, Tregua de San Juan y Comisión por la Vida, la Reconciliación y la Paz del Catatumbo, i.e. 27.2 % of the initiatives in this period). Two seek to follow up on the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement and support the implementation of its various measures (Común Acuerdo y Alianza de Género en la Paz–GPAZ). Two others seek to advance multi-stakeholder dialogues and reconciliation (Mesa de Iniciativas de Reconciliación y Diálogos Improbables del Cesar). One supports the development of the national government’s negotiations with the ELN through preparatory hearings. Another seeks to support the measures and institutions arising from the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement, such as the Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition (Mesa por la Verdad). Another seeks to generate a multitrack dialogue from the local level to the region to build peace (Special Development Programs with a Regional Perspective – PDET). Finally, there is a digital platform that seeks to defend the Final Peace Agreement and mobilize discussion on its implementation with a hashtag on social network X formerly known as Twitter(Defendamos la Paz)

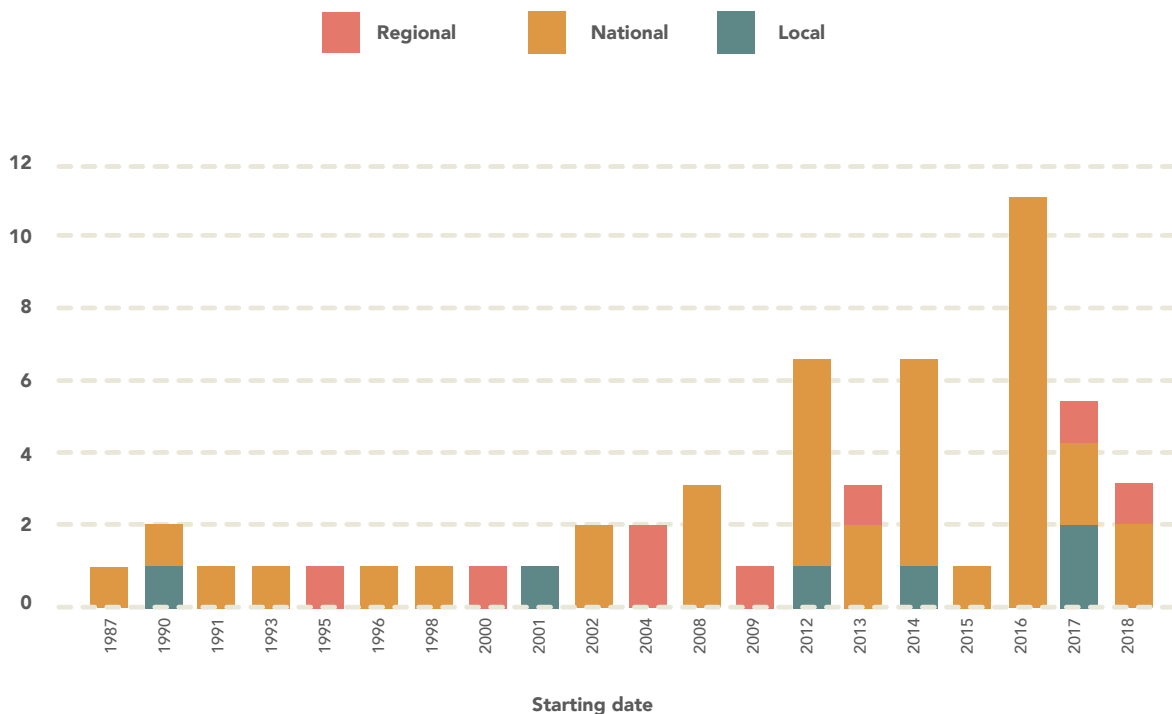


Figure 11. Starting point and tracks of initiatives

With respect to the track of the initiatives and their moment of creation, we found that national initiatives in the sample arise in all periods. However, there are specific moments that allow the creation of peace initiatives that address the conflict at the regional and local tracks.

The different periods of creation of peace initiatives in the sample show 3 motivations for the creation of initiatives: i) the increase in violence, ii) the advance in a national dialogue on peace and iii) the defense and implementation of the Final Peace Agreement, regardless of the concept of peace they promulgate. They also allow us to perceive a diversity in the purpose attributed to each initiative, which is directly related to their length in time.

Differential approaches in peace initiatives

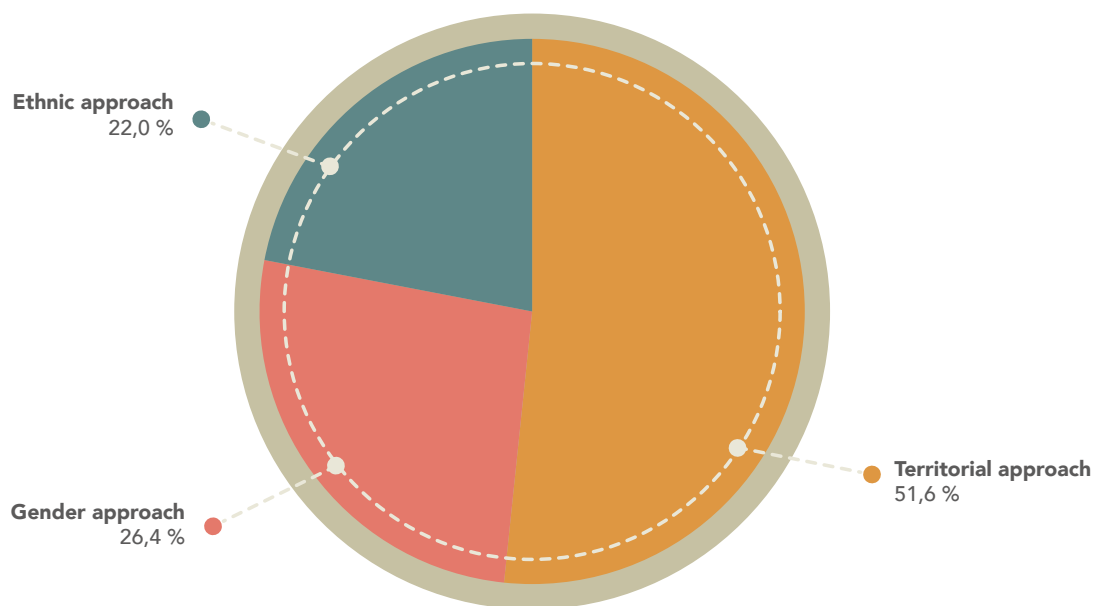


Figure 12. Initiative's approach (43 out of 53 that develop one of the 3 approaches in their workings are included)

The differential approaches of peace initiatives are not exclusive. Thus, an initiative may develop more than one approach. The sample includes 47 initiatives that

as part of their work develop the territorial approach, either with local presence or with allies that are part of population groups at the local and regional tracks; 24 that promote the gender approach, by including the peace agenda of women and/or LGBTIQ+ population as part of their purposes, and 20 that develop the ethnic approach, promoted and formed by ethnic communities that advocate for their rights as part of the peace agenda.

Long-standing women's movements and movements of human rights advocacy for the LGBTIQ+ population made efforts during the study period to link their social mobilization, advocacy, and grassroots participation agendas to peace, or were created specifically for this purpose. In fact, it is the accumulated experience of women's organizations and processes on peace issues and their alliances with the LGBTIQ+ communities that allow for political openness on peace issues and diverse approaches to gender. These platforms focus on diverse knowledges dialogue, the development of gender and feminist approaches to peace building and the advocacy for victims' rights. Their differential contribution to peacebuilding is based on the recognition of patriarchal gender discourses, practices, values and mandates, discrimination, and inequality as promoters of violence and armed conflict.

In the case of women, their approach focuses on the need to include security as the axis of peace building, some of them working in the framework of the international agenda on women, peace, and security, promoted, among others, by United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325. They argue that in the scenario of armed conflict, women experience the exacerbation of daily violence and, therefore, transformation and building peace implies putting an end to gender-based violence.

The women, peace and security agenda seeks a gender-sensitive conflict analysis, including women's meaningful participation in all peacemaking and peacebuilding activities, in electoral and political processes, and the prevention of and response to conflict-related sexual violence as priorities for peace and to ensure gender mainstreaming in all peace-related issues¹¹.

Regarding the ethnic approach, the communities have organized themselves into cabildos, community councils and other organizations that, over time, have included in their work activities to promote and support peace. This is reflected in



11. See more at: <https://dppa.un.org/es/women-peace-and-security>

their participation in peace initiatives that involve multi-stakeholder dialogue and seek to include black, *palenquero*, Afro-Colombian, *raizal*, roma and indigenous communities in their work. In this research, 11 out of 20 initiatives that develop the ethnic approach manage to have territorial presence to connect ethnic territorial organizational processes with peace agendas, in defense of life and their territories.

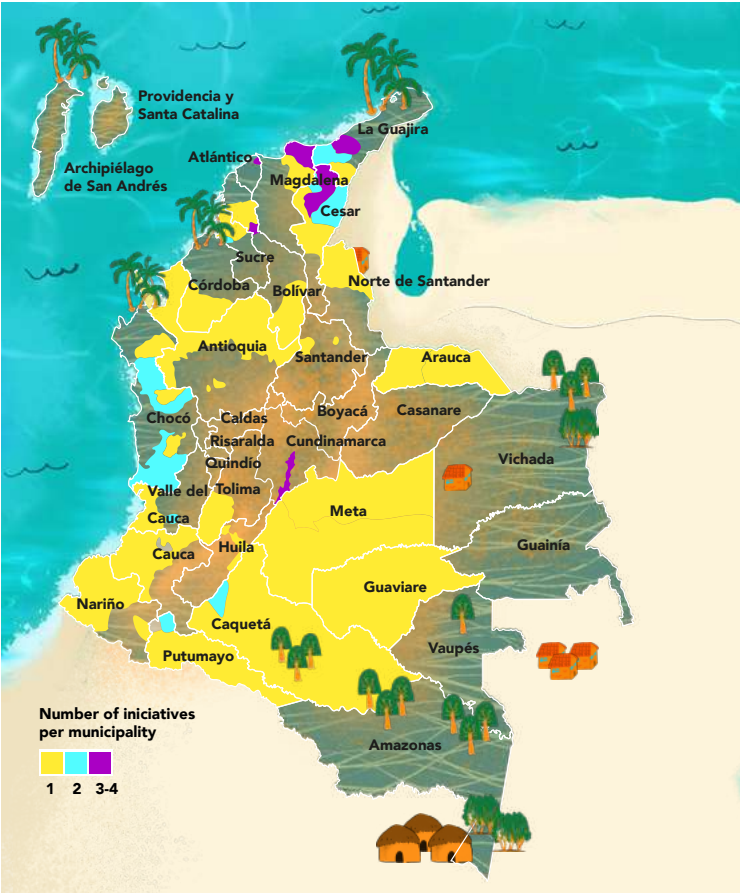


Figure 13. Number of initiatives with ethnic approach per municipality (11 initiatives out of 20)

Peace initiatives length

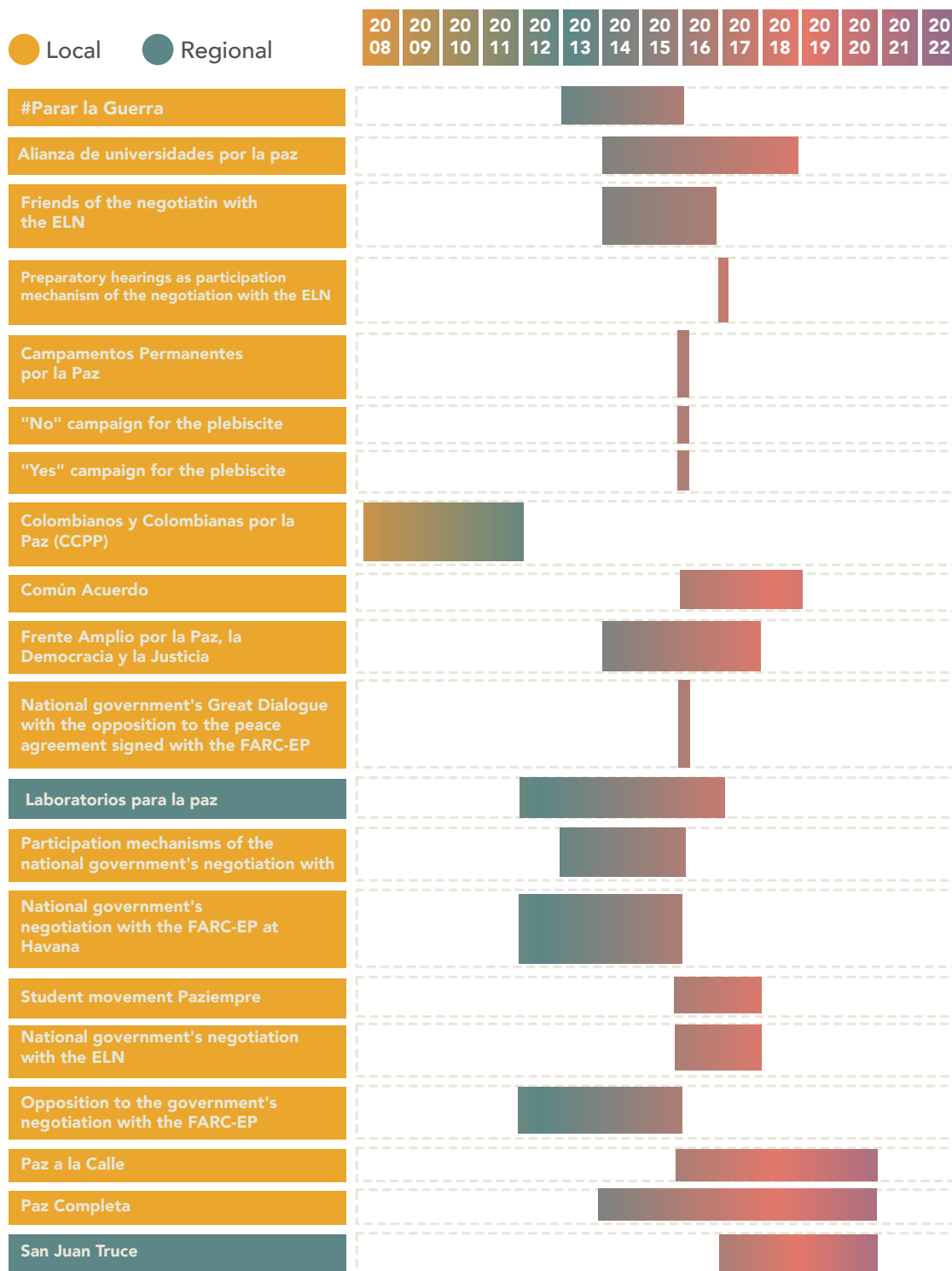


Figure 14. Local and national initiatives with determined time length

Note. The graphic only shows temporary local and national initiatives.

The sample includes 20 temporary initiatives (representing 37.73 % of the sample), which ceased to exist before this research's end date (August 2023). Fifteen of these are advocacy strategies that worked in certain temporary contexts/ junctures and then ended (75 %). The remaining 5 are:

1. The peace talks of the national government with the FARC-EP that resulted in the signing of a Final Peace Agreement.
2. The national Government's Great dialogue with the opposition after the victory of the "No" vote in the plebiscite.
3. The negotiation of the national Government with the ELN publicly developed between 2016 and 2018, which was suspended after the change of government and the ELN attack on the *General Santander* Police Cadet School in which 22 young people were killed in January 2019.
4. The humanitarian dialogue called the *Tregua de San Juan*, which resulted in a three-year bilateral ceasefire between ELN and the *Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia* (for its initials in Spanish AGC), which could not be extended.
5. The local initiative *Laboratorios para la Paz* in Bogotá, which was developed until the change of local administration in 2016 but was taken up again in 2021 in the framework of the *paro nacional* (national strike) as a methodology of popular education for peace.

Paz Completa lasted 7 years (2014-2021), being the longest-lasting temporary initiative in the entire sample. It was created in 2014 before the talks with the ELN begun and persisted until after the negotiation table was suspended. There are also temporary initiatives that are digital and/or rally platforms that respond to different moments of national dialogue on peace (#Parlaguerra and Alianza de universidades por la paz), including those dedicated to the plebiscite campaign and after the result of the plebiscite ("Yes" campaign for the plebiscite, "No" campaign for the plebiscite, Paz a la Calle, Campamentos Permanentes por la Paz and Student movement Paziempre).

Only Colombianos por la Paz – CCPP was created to promote the peace talks with the FARC-EP, which ceased in 2012, when the public phase of the negotiation began. A similar case, but later, is that of Amigos y Amigas de la Negociación with the ELN (Friends of the Negotiation with the ELN), which culminated after the opening of the public phase of the national government's negotiation with the ELN in 2016, as its purpose was to promote this dialogue.

Likewise, only one initiative was created in opposition to the national Government's negotiation with the FARC-EP. The opposition is considered a peace initiative in this sample according to participants of the conceptual workshop, since in this case, and according to their own terms, political opposition sectors sought peace, but differed in their vision and in the means to achieve it. Some of its promoters argued that a national consensus dialogue prior to the Havana talks would have helped the peace negotiation with the FARC-EP to truly respond to the needs of all affected population groups. This discussion, while undoubtedly valid, is beyond the scope of this article.

Mapping's findings

The mapping of 53 peace initiatives between 2012 and 2018 according to the multitrack approach and the research's qualitative allows us to establish that:

I. Peace initiatives are driven both by stable over time organizations and by outstanding and circumstantial leaderships in the history of the country that manage to influence peace agendas. Twenty initiatives are temporary, in line with their goals and how they are fulfilled at certain junctures. Their moment of formation generally corresponds to a violence peak, the advance in national dialogue on peace or the movement towards peace agreement's advocacy. In the time frame defined for this sample, there are 35 initiatives, 66.03 %, that were created during the period of development of the peace talks between the national Government and the FARC-EP and the national government's negotiation with the ELN.

II. Diverse initiatives reflect diverse positions and orientations on what peace is and how it should be achieved. Differences about what peace is, how it is made, with whom and when, in some cases lead to frictions between initiatives, where one does not agree with the inclusion or promotion of another. This is the case of the plebiscite's "No" campaign in relation to the LGBTI Peace Platform).

III. Institutional and mixed initiatives require institutional structure for their operation. However, not all peace initiatives need to be stable, institutionally structured or have a hierarchical or traditional organization to have an impact on sustainable peace. In fact, some peace initiative's contribution to sustainable peace lies in their flexibility, temporality, and alternative partnerships. In all cases, a minimum of

resources is required for their existence and a favorable political context in which the initiative achieves the necessary space for its advocacy, mediation, negotiation, or multi-stakeholder dialogue purposes.

IV. In the Colombian context, peace initiatives that promote or are formed through multi-stakeholder dialogue have greater potential to contribute to sustainable peace. This, considering that, according to the participants in this research, this openness makes it possible to face the tensions that arise in different periods or in complex contexts. Likewise, horizontal, and inclusive dialogue, generally promoted and demanded by emerging citizens, enhances the fulfillment of the purposes of each peace initiative.

V. The sample of this study includes few business and private sector initiatives. None of these initiatives contemplate dialogue with law enforcement or other institutions as part of its operation (except for the negotiations led by the national government and the Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad). However, from the sample it can be inferred that those peace initiatives shaped through alternative means, those that are led by artists or incorporate artistic and cultural components, are more likely to include a greater diversity of sectors, have a public component that convenes and thus increase the possibility of having an impact on sustainable peace.

VI. Peace initiatives led by women and the LGBTIQ+ community highlight the importance of peacebuilding based on grassroots participation and the inclusion of emerging citizens. These types of initiatives stand out in the sample for their operation with horizontal decision-making schemes and participation open to the diversity of subjects.

VII. Most of the initiatives (47 out of 53, representing 88.68 %) operate with resources from international cooperation. Some do so with specific funds for the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement organized through the United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund for Sustaining Peace in Colombia (hereinafter referred to as the Fund) as a tripartite mechanism of the UN, the national Government and international cooperation (at least 2 of the sample: Special Development Programs with a Regional Perspective – PDET and the PDP del Cesar and La Guajira). Only institutional initiatives have direct public funding (at least 7 of the sample: the negotiations led by the Government, the Consejo Nacional and consejos territoriales de paz, the plebiscite campaigns, Colombianas y Colombianos por la Paz and the Frente Amplio por la Paz, la Democracia y la Justicia Social).

Links between peace initiatives in Colombia

Paz es construir en forma de una red donde cada uno contribuye un granito, a mi vecino también le da sed, a los animales les da sed, así ayudamos a construir la paz.

(Peace is building in a webbed manner where each one of us contributes a piece. My neighbor can get thirsty, animals can get thirsty, that's how we help peacebuilding).

Interview 22, Jesús Amado, La Victoria de San Isidro, Cesar.

The multitrack approach to a country's specific peace process, is the analysis of interactions between peace initiatives. Interaction or linkage refers to any action, process or mechanism developed by the drivers of peace initiatives to connect with others. When a peace initiative has linkages with others it implies that there is an action, usually intentional, whose purpose is to generate such connections. These can happen either through the inclusion of promoters of other initiatives in their activities, or through participation mechanisms in negotiations, in coordinated work to follow up on the implementation of a peace agreement, in the joint creation or socialization of peace education tools, in the creation of humanitarian agreements, in the support with resources (human and economic), in the development of academic activities on peace, in mechanisms of territorial articulation or in the creation of artistic and cultural demonstrations. In few cases do the links arise with the purpose of delegitimizing other initiatives.

It should be noted that in the sample there are only 2 initiatives without links, which is not surprising since it is connatural for initiatives to come together, meet and include each other. These 2 initiatives are #PararlaGuerra and Premio Emprender Paz, which do not have links because the first is a spontaneous artistic and digital campaign without major links to others and the second is a business initiative that promotes actions within companies but not interaction with other initiatives.

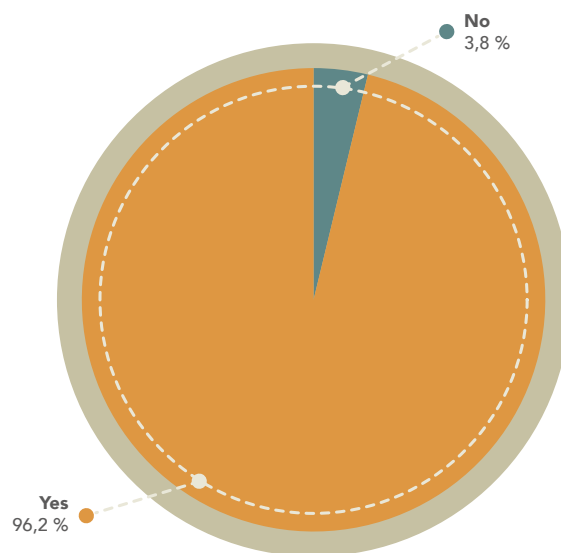


Figure 16. Linkages with other initiatives

At least 82 links were identified between the samples' 53 initiatives. This research prioritizes the analysis of 30 linkages among 36 initiatives in the sample. Some of the interactions are only related to obtaining resources, where one initiative supports or encourages another economically or with capacity building.

Beyond this type of link, 30 prioritized links are analyzed according to the information provided in interviews by the promoters of these initiatives, which made it possible to inquire about the categories of analysis used in this multitrack analysis, which were: the type of link (intentional or unintentional), the context in which the interactions take place (peace negotiations, peace agreements, social rallies for peace and resources and capacity building of the initiatives), the medium of the interaction (for example, a written instrument as a pedagogical tool, among other means), the type of link (enabling or disabling) and the impact of the interaction (positive, negative or neutral).

The analysis of linkages across these categories allows us to identify interactions between peace initiatives that can provide significant opportunities to contribute to sustainable peace.

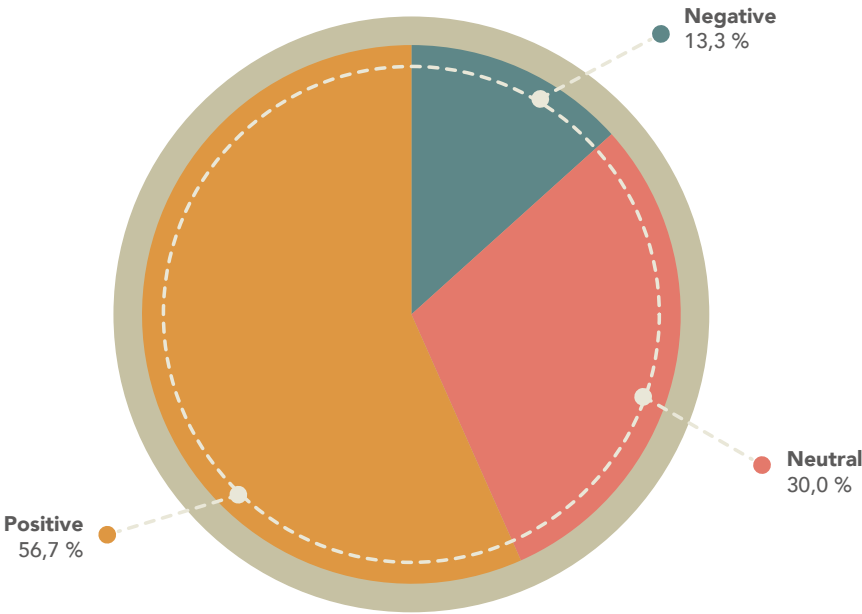
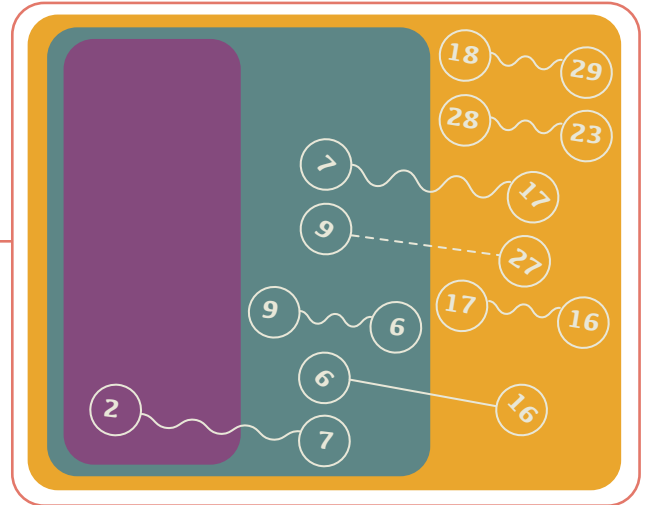


Figure 16. Thirty prioritized links and their impact

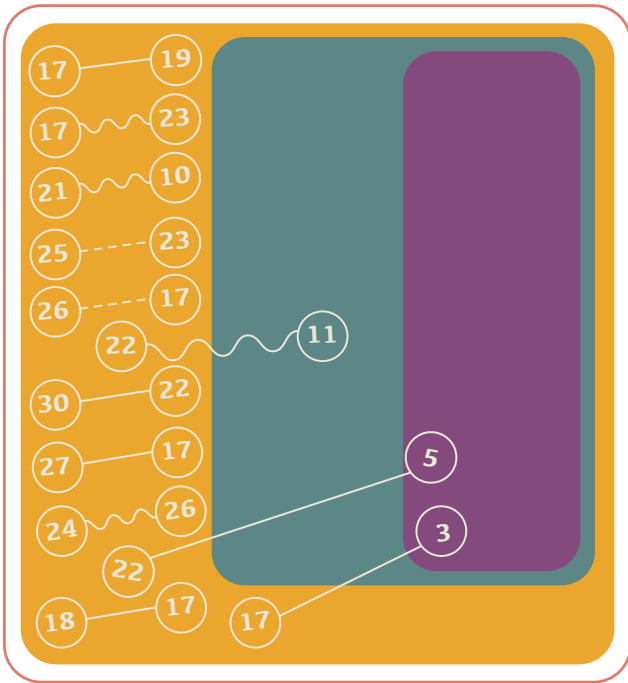
1. Diálogos pastorales
2. Diálogos Improbables
3. Acknowledgment of accountability of the Bojayá massacre
4. Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! en el Chocó
5. San Juan Truce
6. PDET- Special Development Programs with a regional perspective
7. Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Cesar y la Guajira (PDPCG)
8. Comisión por la Vida, la Reconciliación y la Paz del Catatumbo
9. Espacio Regional de Construcción de Paz de los Montes de María
10. Mesa Social para la Paz
11. Foro Interétnico de Solidaridad Chocó (FISCH)
12. Annual week for peace
13. Viva la Ciudadanía
14. Red Nacional de Iniciativas Ciudadanas por la Paz y contra la Guerra (Redepaz)
15. Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres
16. Consejo Nacional de Paz y Consejos Territoriales de Paz, Reconciliación y Convivencia
17. National government's negotiation with the FARC-EP at Havana
18. National Summit of Women and Peace
19. Participation mechanisms of the national government's negotiation with the FARC-EP
20. Alianza de universidades por la paz
21. Paz completa
22. National government's negotiation with the ELN (President Santos' Government)
23. LGBT Peace Platforms
24. Paz a la Calle
25. "No" campaign for the plebiscite
26. "Yes" campaign for the plebiscite
27. National government's Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement signed with the FARC-EP
28. Común Acuerdo
29. Grupo de Género en la Paz (GPAZ)
30. Preparatory hearings as participation mechanism of the government's negotiation with the ELN
31. Defendamos la Paz
32. Frente Amplio por la Paz, la Democracia y la Justicia
33. Grupo Ecuménico de Mujeres Constructoras de Paz (Gempaz)



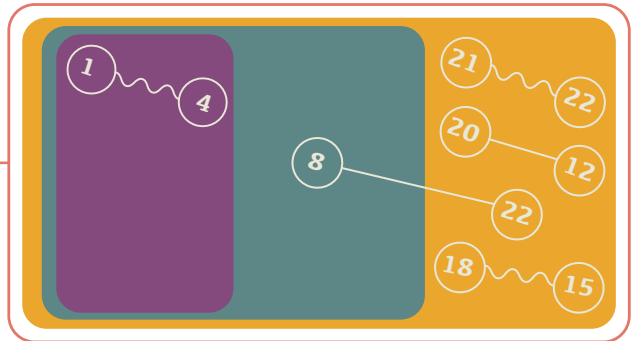
Final Peace Agreement



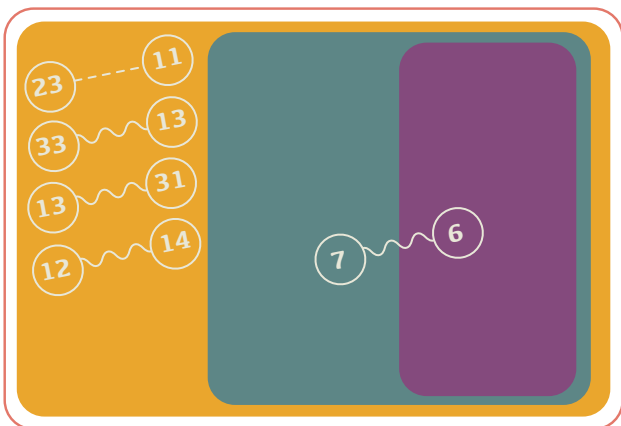
Peace negotiations



Social rally



Resources and capacity building



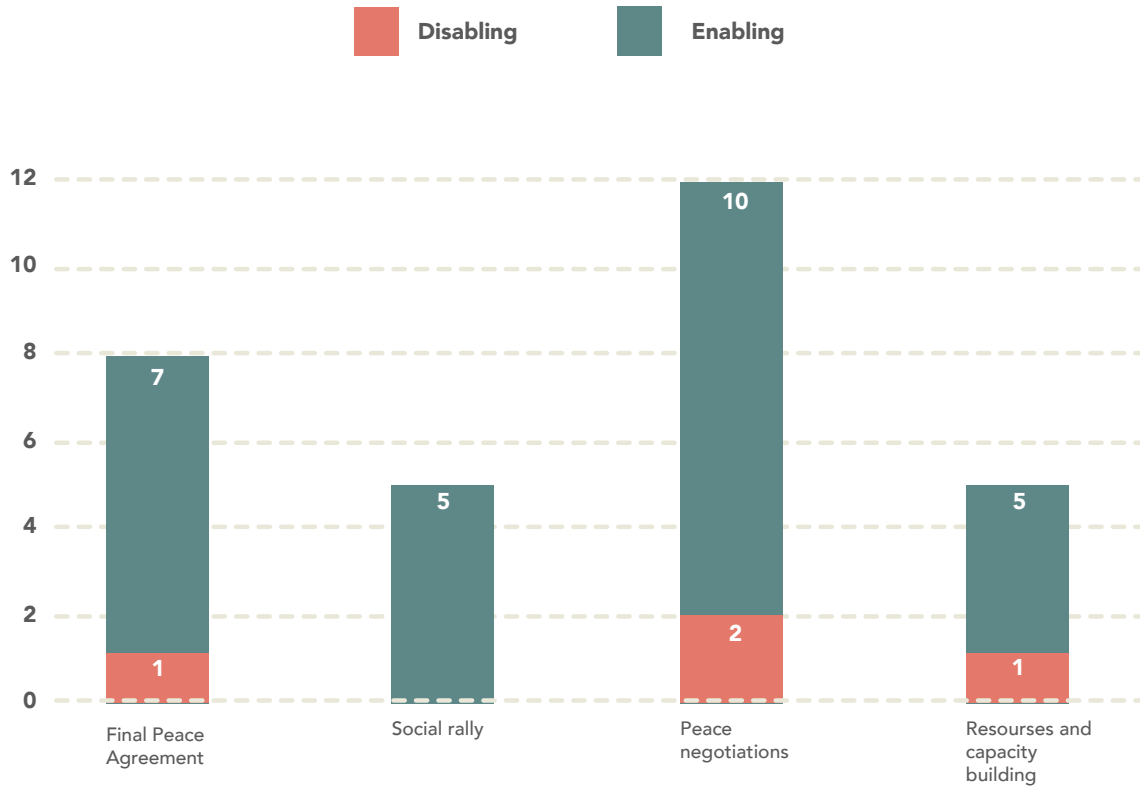


Figure 17. Link motive and type

Note. The graphic shows the link's motive and if it was enabling or disabling to the existence or the workings of the peace initiatives and its contribution to sustainable peace.

Among the prioritized interactions, there are 17 enabling links with positive impact that achieve legitimacy, de-escalation of the armed conflict, openness in the political space, break down barriers to access and participation for certain population groups, or contribute conceptual content to the initiatives.

Likewise, there are 9 interactions without impact or with neutral impact, in which the medium of the link is not effective in its purposes or cannot be identified as an enabler or disabler of initiatives. These cases represent opportunities to take advantage of interactions and their potential to contribute to sustainable peace

On the other hand, among the 30 interactions, 4 links were found, representing 13.33 % of the prioritized links, with negative impacts on one of the initiatives involved, which generates delegitimization, distrust and/or exclusion. This type of impact generally occurs when one initiative does not consider that the other should be included in peacebuilding and its various actions.

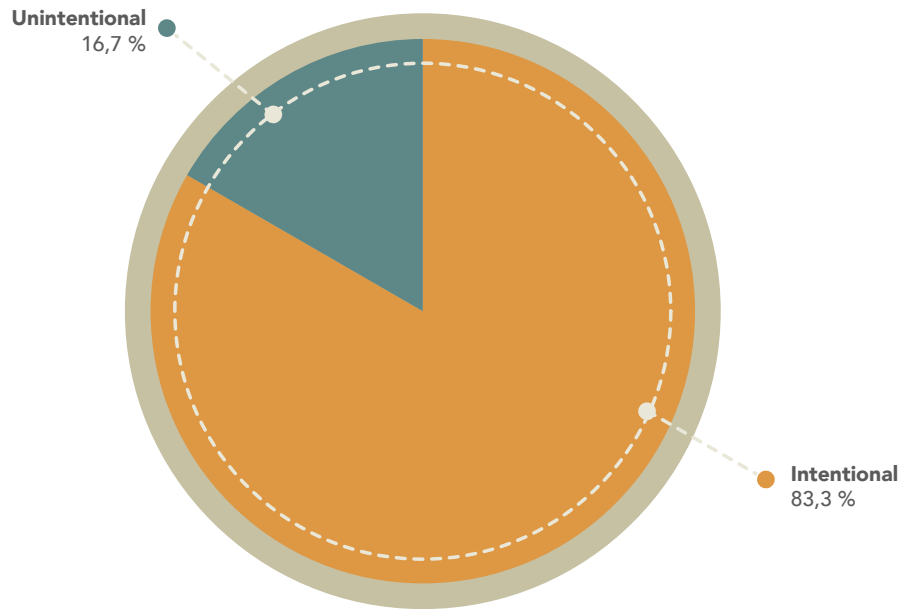


Figure 18. Link type

Most of the linkages analyzed are intentional (83.33 %), i.e., the initiatives create instruments and voluntarily link to others in search of different impacts. Similarly, 5 unintentional linkages were analyzed, representing 16.67 % of the prioritized linkages. They are not intentional since there is no record of an explicit decision, mechanism, tool or means to link the initiatives. However, in practice, one initiative has effects on the other.

Moreover, according to the nature of the initiatives in the sample, the analysis shows that 63.33 % (19 out of 30) of the linkages are between national initiatives. However, there are also

- 5 linkages between national and regional initiatives (16.67 %),
- 2 links between local and national initiatives,
- 2 links between regional and local initiatives,
- 1 case of linkage between regional initiatives and,
- 1 case of linkage between local initiatives.

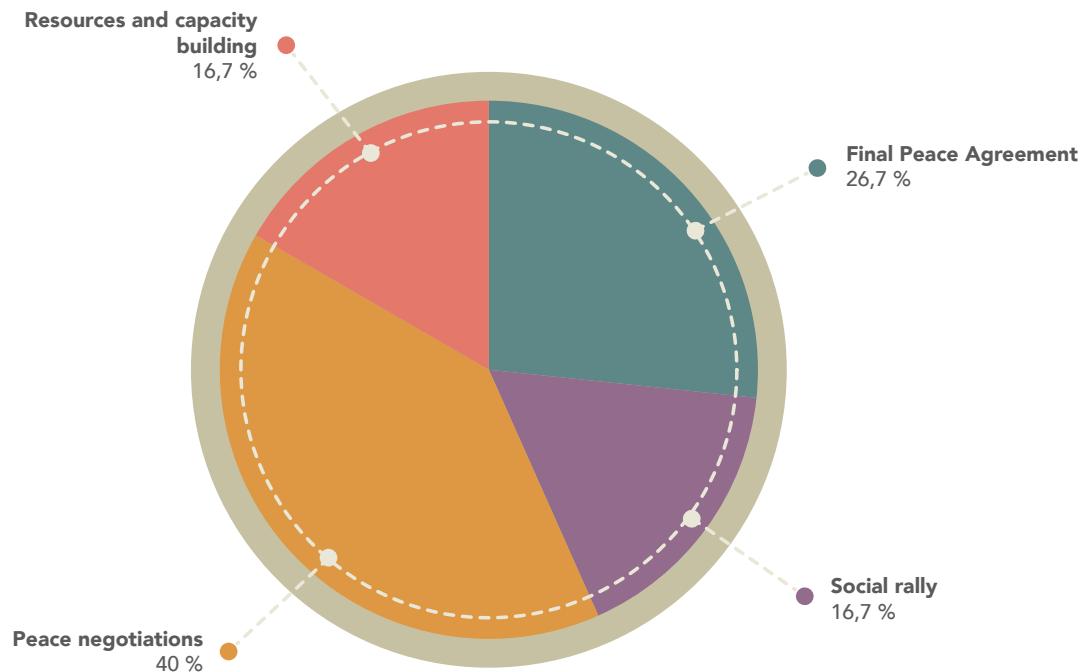


Figure 19. Link motive

The contexts in which these links occur are an important reference for the research, as well as the background of these contexts. The use of categories that account for the main motivations of the links does not imply, however, that these contexts are exclusive; thus, a link can occur because of a negotiation and at the same time within the framework of social mobilization for peace.

In this analysis we found that 12 out of 30 linkages, representing 40 %, are due to the existence of a peace negotiation with an armed group led by the national government; 8, representing 26.67 % of the linkages, are in the context of the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement; 5, representing 16.67 % of the linkages, are in the context of social rally for peace as part of the national agenda and the remaining 5 linkages are for capacity building and to provide resources to some initiative of the relationship.

The linkages in this study are analyzed in the following subsections through 4 cases:

1. Territorial cases (Caribbean- Montes de María, Cesar and La Guajira, Pacific-Chocó and Medio Atrato).
2. Peace initiatives and the Final Peace Agreement with the FARC-EP.
3. Peace initiatives and gender approach
4. Peace initiatives and the national government's negotiation with the ELN between 2016 and 2018.

These cases and the sample of linkages so far described serve on the one hand, to see divergences in interactions, motivators of interactions, means used, types of linkages and impacts of interactions, and, on the other hand, to identify opportunities towards sustainable peace.

Peace initiatives and territorial cases

The geographical levels, as explained above, have determined the course of the multitrack research in the case Colombian case. Thus, the tracks were translated into levels that allude to the territorial, understanding that the emergence and interactions of peace initiatives over time are determined by their environment and the conflict they seek to address.

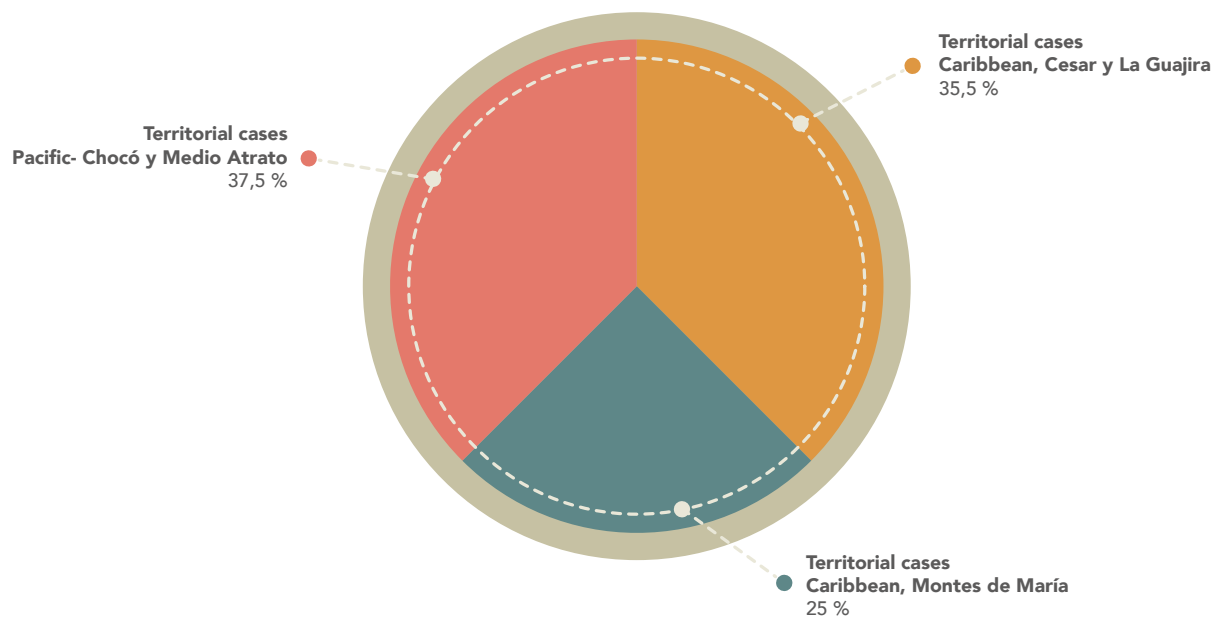


Figure 20. Linkages analyzed by territorial case

The territorial cases allow the analysis of 8 out of the 30 links prioritized among 11 initiatives in the sample, which include relevant territorial background in peace-building. The territorial-based approach can be applied at the local/rural track, such as the initiative of the process of acknowledgement of accountability in the 2002 massacre in Bojayá; or at the regional level, as in the case of the Espacio Regional para la Construcción de paz de Montes de María. It also defines the way in which national track peace initiatives operate, although they usually seek to include a territorial agenda in their actions.

The following is a chronological description of the emergence of peace initiatives in the Caribbean, *Montes de María*, *Cesar and La Guajira*, *Chocó* and *Medio Atrato*. In this section we analyze the interactions between national, regional and local initiatives, and identify opportunities to improve linkages and their contribution to sustainable peace.

The initiatives that are part of these interactions are:

- a. Caribbean:** Red Agenda Caribe and PDP del Cesar y La Guajira.
- b. Montes de María:** Espacio Regional de Construcción de Paz de los Montes de María-Festival de la Reconciliación, National Government's Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement signed with the FARC-EP (Renegotiation) and PDET.
- c. Cesar and La Guajira:** PDP del Cesar y La Guajira, peace talks of the national government with the FARC-EP and Diálogos Improbables (Unlikely dialogues).
- d. Pacific – Chocó and Medio Atrato:** the process of acknowledgement of accountability in the massacre in Bojayá, FISCH, Mesa Social por la Paz, peace talks of the national government with the FARC-EP, Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! en Chocó, Tregua de San Juan (San Juan Truce), the negotiation of the national government with the ELN.

a. Caribbean

Like others in the country, the Colombian Caribbean as a region has been a disputed territory, with affectations on its social fabric due to the armed conflict. The period that stands out in terms of violence and human tragedy is the 1980s in the so-called “red zones”, where the population was stigmatized. According to the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition et.al. (2022) this region’s people were treated as a potential enemy, with restrictions on mobility, under strict control of the amount of market that could enter the villages and frequent beatings and insults. The consequences of massive illegal detentions and torture were the radicalization of people belonging to the social movement and the disarticulation of the movement itself (CEV n.d.).

Years later, since the late 1990s, drug trafficking consolidated its power in the region due to the natural corridors of the Caribbean, considered strategic (FIP n.d., p. 8). Likewise, in the framework of *seguridad democrática* (democratic security)¹², a government policy carried out between 2002 and 2008 that outlined the security measures to be taken throughout the national territory to recover territorial control by the State, the Caribbean region suffered repression, harassment and, especially, arbitrary detentions. The Fundación Ideas para la Paz (s.f., p. 2) describes the 1980s and 1990s as a time of configuration of violence, and the 2000s as the time of re-configuration of institutions and the recovery of violence in the hands of the State, which speaks of the high complexity of the armed conflict in Colombia.

It is in this context, in 2004, that the Red Agenda Caribe was created. Paradoxically, this regional peace initiative, a rare type within the sample of this study, arose from displaced Caribbean leaders, academics and personalities who, from Bogotá, sought to support those who stayed so that, despite their absence, they would feel accompanied and include the Caribbean as a region in the country’s human rights agenda.

The Red Agenda Caribe is an intercultural space for articulation and coordination that brings together 24 indigenous, Afro-Colombian and peasant communities and human rights organizations from the departments of La Guajira, Magdalena, Atlántico, Cesar, Bolívar, Sucre, and Córdoba. This initiative accompanies its communities



12. This policy’s official document can be consulted in Presidencia de la República y Ministerio de Defensa Nacional (2003).

and organizations and supports territorial leaders in the defense of human rights, peace, and democracy.

This peace initiative brings together diverse groups and populations that share a common territory, although they differ in their beliefs, ethnicities, and political positions. As a regional initiative, they made progress in influencing mechanisms for the prevention of attacks to community leaders, and later expanded their activities and began to work on peacebuilding from the local level with their methodology of the School of Ancestral Knowledge, which has been developed in 20 municipalities between 2010 and 2022.

The Escuela de Saberes Ancestrales (School of Ancestral Knowledge), according to the Red Agenda Caribe, is a space for intercultural and itinerant dialogue, with the participation of social organizations, victims of the armed conflict and of human rights violations, academics and Afro-Caribbean, indigenous and peasant communities linked to the red. Their fundamental proposal is to know the Caribbean territory with the feet, the conscience, and the heart. The school values the diverse spirituality of the Caribbean and assumes the non-negotiable defense of life and territory (Red Agenda Caribe, n.d.).

This peace initiative that considers human and living beings that inhabit the territory, with an appreciation for local knowledge, and looks to defend the good life where happiness is possible (Caribbean Agenda Network n.d.), is also an opportunity to connect peace initiatives at the three tracks. Despite this, the actions of the network and its important results in dealing with conflicts in situ and the prevention of armed conflict are not well known.

Regarding the links of the Red Agenda Caribe, it was found that it has a positive interaction with the PDP of Cesar y La Guajira. However, no other interactions were found in this study. The *red* had an impact at the national track in the last school of ancestral knowledge held with the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition in 2022, but since it was not part of the period of analysis of this study, we do not include this interaction in our results.

b. Montes de María

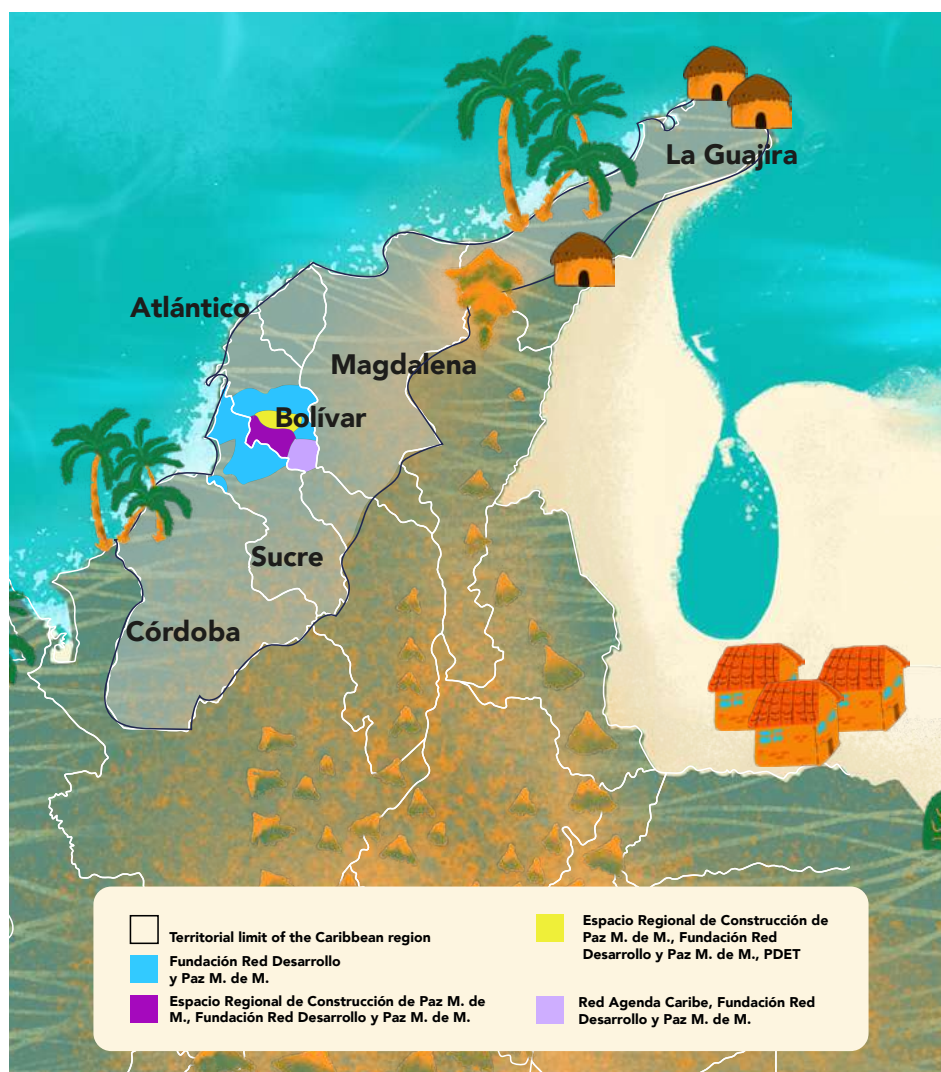


Figure 22. Initiative's location present in the Caribbean and Montes de María region

The Montes de María sub-region, a geographically strategic corridor that connects the interior of the country with the main ports of the Caribbean region, has been a territory in which the dispute involving different legal and illegal armed actors has had serious affectations on the civilian population. Between 1996 and 2003 alone, paramilitary groups perpetrated 42 massacres against the civilian population in the region, 10 of these between 2000 and 2001 in different municipalities of the sub-re-

gion¹³. One of the causes of these massacres is related to the stigmatization towards the population of having links with the guerrillas, as reported by the Comisión Colombiana de Juristas (Coljuristas, for its abbreviation in Spanish n.d.). The endless violations of the human rights of the peasants who lived there, including murders, displacements, kidnappings, rapes, not only affected individuals, but also meant a great disruption of the local economy and the social fabric. All this in a context of land conflicts, dispossession, poverty, impunity, and corruption.

Considering the configuration and reconfiguration of violence in the Caribbean macro-region, the case of Montes de María serves as an example to understand how the complexities of the armed conflict are related to the peace initiatives' creation.

At the end of the 1990s, as part of a centralized intervention policy, the national government developed a plan for the integral development of the region and identified the need for its own development and peace program (PDP for its initials in Spanish)¹⁴ to define and coordinate actions with the community (UNDP et al. 2003). This intervention took place in the context of the climax of the armed confrontation between guerrillas and paramilitaries for the region's control, where, according to the FIP the alliances between military units of the Army and the Marine Infantry with the self-defense groups radicalized the guerrilla organization (FIP n.d., p. 12).

With the creation of the *Programa de Desarrollo y Paz de los Montes de María* (Promontes for its abbreviation in Spanish) in 2003 and the work of its advisory council, we see a region highly affected by the armed conflict, and later highly intervened by the State, that builds peace initiatives in a nation-territory dialogue, although the participation of the communities in the process and formulation of the plan was scarce and insufficient (UNDP et al. 2003, p. 6).

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13. The 10 massacres that happened in a year were: *Ovejas-Canutal* (February 2000), *El Salado* (February 2000), *Mampuján*, *Las Brisas y San Cayetano* (March 2000), *Hato Nuevo* (April 2000), *La Libertad* (June 2000), *Curva del Diablo* (August 2000), *Chinulito y El Cerro* (September 2000), *Macayepo* (October 2000), *Carmen de Bolívar* (December 2000) and *Chengue* (January 2001). See more at Coljuristas (n.d.).

14. According to Kats (2004) the peace and development programs look to advance in social and economic development projects that fulfill the villagers' needs and demand, and that they are built and executed through a concerted dialogue between settlers and local and regional authorities.

This PDP, like all the others in the country, was inspired by the Development and Peace Program of the Magdalena Medio (PDPMM for its initials in Spanish), as one of the first of its kind in the country. The case of Magdalena Medio is a key precedent for understanding the relationship between peace and development and respect for life and human dignity as an essential part of the peace agenda of different initiatives.

All the PDPs have been integrating into the Redprodepaz, which has functioned as a scenario for the exchange of experiences to strengthen the development and peace-building initiatives carried out by each of the programs in their territories, thus achieving an integral and differential strengthening of the capacities of the participating social organizations. This networking stands out in the sample for achieving a dialogue between population groups with different interests in the development and peace of a region, including the private sector.

In the case of Montes de María, the PDP also works with the private sector and operates with international cooperation resources. To coordinate this PDP, the Fundación Red Desarrollo y Paz de los Montes de María (FRDPMMa for its initials in Spanish) was created in 2004 as a civil society community organization that aims to promote and institutionalize an integral, autonomous, and sustainable human development program in its municipalities. According to Red de Contacto (2006) this network contemplates the capacity to believe in people and in the strength of union, seeking to lead a process towards collective development¹⁵. The program, however, suffered a decrease in resources and the strengthening of civil society was dissipated in the 2010s.

In 2009, the Historical Memory Group of the National Historical Memory Center, a government entity that seeks to advance memory processes with victims and society in general to address the armed conflict, published its report “La masacre de El Salado: esa guerra no era nuestra”, which describes and analyzes the story of this massacre that occurred in 2000 and left 4,000 people displaced and terrorized the region. Following this report, the Grupo Publicaciones Semana created the Fundación Semana, which, with a group of experts and academics from outside the territory, seeks to recover the social fabric that the paramilitaries tried to eliminate (Fundación

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15. The FRDPMMa is conformed by: *the Red Montemariana, la Red de Jóvenes, la Red de Mujeres y la Red de Etnias*. Ver más en Red de Contacto (25 de julio de 2006).

Semana n.d.). Nevertheless, the foundation’s intervention has been criticized for its apparent revictimizing affectations over the population¹⁶.

In this research, it was also possible to analyze through interviews that some local peace initiatives are promoted from a centralist vision, which in the Colombian case coincides with the location in the center of the country of the main state bodies, which lack interaction strategies with other local, regional, and national initiatives. This makes development and peace efforts feel imposed. However, good practices were also found where the dialogue from the center with the region and the local level is constructive and mobilizing, as evidenced below in the case of the National Summit of Women and Peace.

In 2014, the multiple organizations strengthened in the territory created the Espacio Regional de Construcción de Paz de Montes de María supported by the Government’s Office of the High Commissioner for Peace and the Fundación Semana. They articulate 36 social organizations and 340 grassroots organizations that bring together different organizations and peasant associations in the region to define a common peace agenda that responds to local needs. In 2016, they showed the country their progress in organization and advocacy by carrying out the symbolic act of signing the peace agreement in Montes de María and institutionalizing the Festival Regional de la Reconciliación (Regional Festival of Reconciliation), which takes place every year in December.

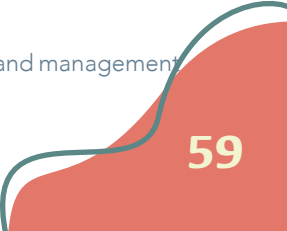
The festival was created as a reconciliatory space where improbable dialogues are held between actors who were part of the armed conflict, whether ex-combatants of armed groups, politicians colluded in the logic of the conflict or businessmen, and victims of the region. All this within the framework of an acknowledgment of the *montemariana* identity and using the artistic and cultural traditions of the territory in workshops of creation and expression in the field of the typical gastronomy of the region, its craftsmanship and its musical richness.

As in all this research’s territorial cases, Montes de María has shown great interest and effort to advance with the Special Development Programs with a Regional Perspective (PDET)¹⁷, created in the Final Peace Agreement as a mechanism for



16. For more information see López Torres (2018).

17. The Special Development Programs with a regional perspective (PDET for its initials in Spanish) are a planning and management



participatory territorial planning for peace. As a result, the implementation of its participation mechanisms included 11,071 stakeholders in the *montemarian* territory and 15 municipal administrations, with which 15 Municipal Pacts for Regional Transformation (PMTR for its initials in Spanish) and an Action Plan for Regional Transformation (PATR for its initials in Spanish) were built. These plans identified 59 regional initiatives, ranging from the intervention and recovery of the Magdalena River, which connects the center of the country with the Caribbean, to the implementation of a culture of peace radio campaign in the region (Acosta 2021).

The different initiatives' development in Montes de María raises the importance of understanding that the communities have jointly built their own forms of resistance from their knowledge, feelings, and traditions. Examples of this have been the Tejedoras de Mampuján (Women Knitters from Mampuján), the Communications Collective and Narrating for living, processes led by women who began to build memory from their know-how, knitting, supported by social narration; understanding peace as a practice forged from below, which recognizes the woven and complex world of life in which they recreate their daily lives, while working tirelessly to rebuild the social fabric of their communities (Montaño, Rodríguez and Puerta 2020, p. 108).

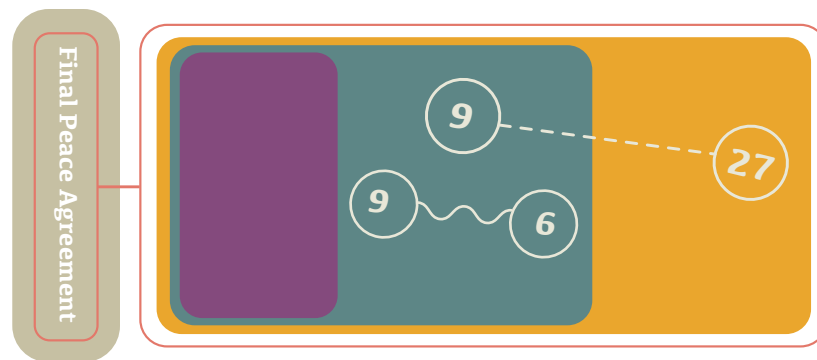


Figure 22. Initiatives' track and impact with links in the Caribbean region and Montes de María

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 instrument that, within the framework of the Final Peace Agreement, seeks to transform the territories most affected by the armed conflict, poverty, institutional weakness, and the presence of illicit crops. The heart of the PDETs are their communities; therefore, now more than ever they are open to dialogue and joint construction. The process began in 2017 with participatory planning work that involved more than 200 thousand people. 32,808 initiatives, 170 municipal pacts and 16 Action Plans for Regional Transformation (PATR) were agreed upon. See more in ART (n.d.).

Based on the interviews, we can affirm that the Montes de María region experienced the signing of the Final Peace Agreement, the plebiscite and the so-called renegotiation in a particular way. Therefore, we analyzed the link between the Espacio Regional de Construcción de Paz de los Montes de María and the Government's Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement signed with the FARC-EP. This interaction is not intentional but generates a direct negative impact. On September 25th of 2016, a symbolic signing ceremony of the peace agreement was held with the *montemariana* community, which showed the region's willingness to support peace. Since the plebiscite was not supported by most Colombians, the agreement signed between the Government and the FARC-EP entered a renegotiation process, which caused the symbolic act promoted by the *Espacio* to lose impact.

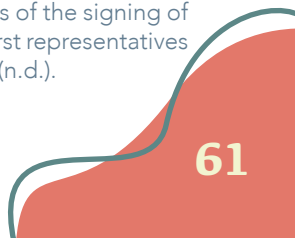
At the same time, there is a positive interaction between montemarian peace initiatives and the national government's peace talks with the FARC-EP and the subsequent implementation of the Final Peace Agreement given Montes de María is one of the regions with the most progress in terms of the development of the dialogues and agreements in the PDET.

On the other hand, the region also participated in the so-called *curules de paz* (peace seats in Congress), in development of point 2 of the Final Peace Agreement signed with the FARC-EP, Political Participation, which seek to give representation in the Congress of the Republic to the territories most affected by the armed conflict¹⁸. Although the campaigns and the election of these seats exceed this research's time frame, the interviews allowed analyzing the discussions that took place since 2017 for their implementation, which was not achieved until 2022.

Montes de María shows how an opportunity to see the territories most affected by the conflict represented in the Congress of the Republic through these seats resulted in friction between leaders and peacebuilders, which in some cases has had



18. In the Final Peace Agreement, the Special Transitory Circumscriptions for Peace are seats assigned to specific territories in the House of Representatives. The 16 constituencies correspond to specific areas determined in said agreement to have low political representation and to be sectors affected by violence. These are: Northern Cauca, Arauca, Northeastern Antioquia, Catatumbo, Caqueteño foothills, Chocó, Meta and Guaviare, Montes de María, Middle Pacific, Nariño Border, Putumayo, Sierra Nevada del Perijá, Southern Bolívar, Southern Córdoba, Southern Tolima, Urabá. The seats were created in 2021 after 5 years of the signing of the Final Peace Agreement, through Legislative Act 02 of 2021, for the periods 2022-2026 and 2026-2030. Their first representatives were elected in the territorial elections held in the first semester of 2022. See more at Unidad para las Víctimas (n.d.).



negative impacts on their initiatives. An opportunity such as the peace seats should be used to promote better links between peace initiatives.

c. Cesar and La Guajira

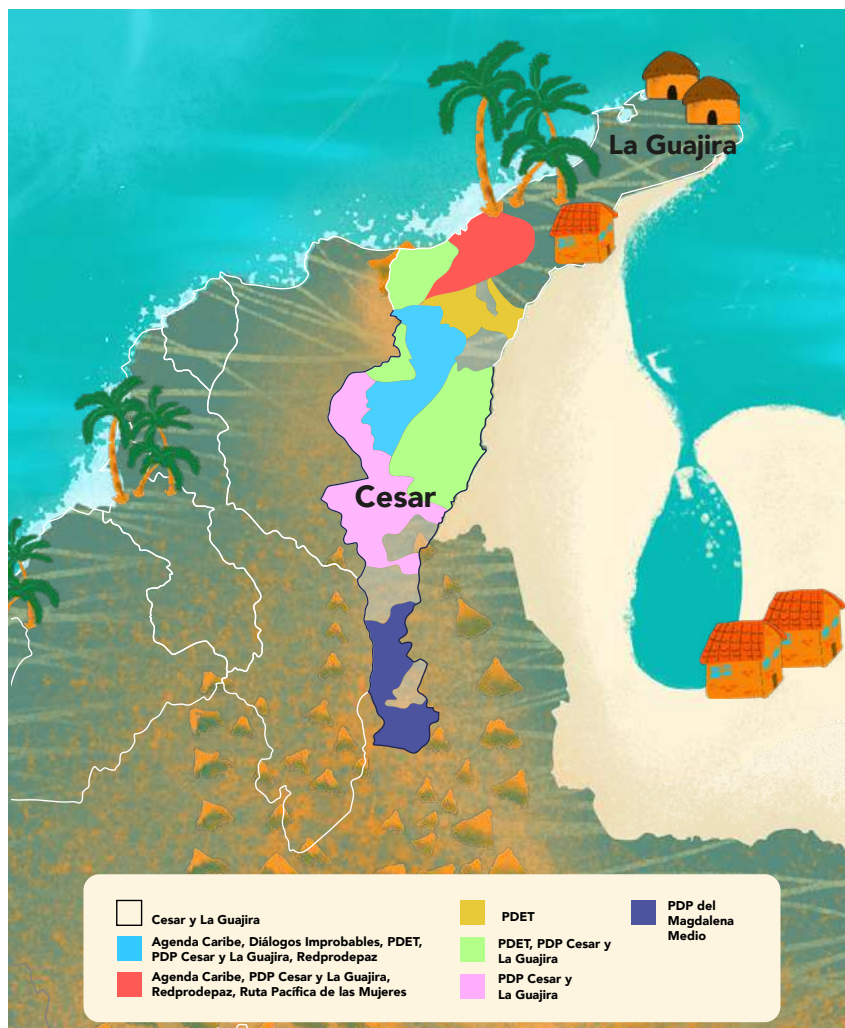


Figure 23. Initiatives' location present in the Cesar and la Guajira region

In Cesar and La Guajira it was also thanks to models from other regions, such as that of Magdalena Medio, that the most notorious peace initiative, the Peace and Development Program of Cesar and La Guajira (PDP CG), was launched and continues to this day. The PDP in the region is advancing in multiple local peace initiatives with communities severely affected by the armed conflict and facing damage to their

territory as a result of being a mining area. The laboratory scheme¹⁹, a methodology used by several peace initiatives in the country, which has achieved positive results in Cesar, includes civil society, victims of the conflict, local and national authorities, as well as businessmen and the private sector.

During our visit to the Biodiversity conservation and sustainable beekeeping project, which seeks beekeeping governance in La Victoria de San Isidro, in Cesar, it was evident for us that these leaders, both men and women farmers, know what it means to build peace. The association between peace and autonomy is at the heart of all the community's actions. In an interview they shared how proud and surprised they are to see how as neighbors they have changed in their relationships. Violence will not return to La Victoria, we will not allow it (Compaz Foundation 2023).

The PDPCG focuses on generating capacities and accompanying communities in their transformation into political subjects. They are proud that the Unión del Campo and the Asociación de Técnicos, Profesionales y Productores en pro de la Serranía del Perijá (Asotepros for its abbreviation in Spanish), the peasant associations that are part of the project, already have the knowledge and capacity to apply directly to calls for proposals or projects at the national track. However, they miss the support and articulation with the departmental and regional track.

The Beekeeping Governance Pact is the last phase of a long process in La Victoria de San Isidro. When the PDP came to the village it was not well regarded, the community did not trust the initiative. The way they interacted with Prodeco (Glencore's coal mining company, headquartered in Switzerland) was by blocking the road leading to the mine and receiving money in exchange for clearing it. Gradually, with the laboratory methodology, where it is the community itself that must manage and plan its actions, the signing of the Pacto de Confianza (trust pact) was achieved in April 2018²⁰. Likewise, in the context of the pandemic and with the withdrawal of Prodeco in 2021, La Victoria, with the support of the PDP of Cesar and Guajira, has



19. The term "laboratory" is used to refer to any experimental methodology that challenges its participants to build new tools for social organization. In the specific case of the PDP, it happens when program facilitators, including teachers, stay in the territory in order for the community to determine on a day-to-day basis its needs. This is contrary to the disbursement of resources (for example, providing a coffee station according to the request of a community is different from building a proposal of how the coffee station will be used with the inhabitants of the territory and then providing it).

20. For more on the pact, see Ecología, Economía y Ética et al. (2018).

continued its search for autonomy and resources for the good living in the territory and the strengthening of political subjects.

The trust pact is mentioned in all meetings of the biodiversity conservation and sustainable beekeeping project, by the participant members of 73 families of the village to recall the spirit of the peace-building route in the territory. Similarly, they mention the development plan they prepared for the Serranía del Perijá and La Zapatosa region in November 2018, where they established joint goals to 2040²¹. The leaders took this plan to the PDET participation workshops and carry it under their arms wherever they can. It is the agreed route.

During the two-day visit to the village, the horizontal relation between leaders, PDP technicians and professionals, and especially between men and women, was evident. They state that the process with the program and the projects they have achieved as a community have changed their relationships. Male leaders who before did not know how to dialogue, did not listen to others, are now at the service of the community. The woman who is hired to provide snacks and lunches is also a leader and speaks firmly about the community's expectations. At the meeting to sign the Beekeeping Governance Pact, women, men, adolescents, boys, and girls participated on equal terms. A revealing fact was that when talking to two different leaders at two different times during the visit and asking them about their expectations for the future of La Victoria, both told us the same story that the money that comes to the community stays in the community. This is a sign that autonomy and dignity are at the heart of this peace initiative, which illuminates our research with key elements.

The biodiversity conservation and sustainable beekeeping project aims for the community to self-manage a process where they have real governance over beekeeping as a source of work and welfare for the community. This implies due autonomy, where the PDP is a facilitator to generate capacities that in the medium and long term will translate into the peasant associations themselves managing, directing, and executing the peace-building projects.

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21. The plan, Hoja de ruta de ambiente, desarrollo y paz del corredor Perijá-Zapatosa can be accessed at: <https://e3asesorias.com/wp-content/uploads/documentos/HRCorredor%20Perija-Zapatosa.pdf>

During our visit, 3 sessions were held at the PDP house in La Victoria, with members of the different families. The most striking thing was to hear first-hand all the visits that this community has received in recent months, as it has become the first pilot of just energy transition, because, with the departure of Prodeco in 2021, the community has advanced in a project of recovery of the territory, and it has been the same local associations that execute resources from the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement. In fact, the conservation project is from the United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund for Sustaining Peace in Colombia.

The work of the fund, which seeks to organize financing between the Government, the United Nations and international cooperation for measures of the Final Peace Agreement, is a particular experience that goes beyond the period of analysis of this study but is relevant to understand how peace initiatives' financing is organized. The fund allows for cooperation to be aligned with the Government's priorities and for investments to be functional to the implementation capacities of the communities and the different peace initiatives.

In addition to this project, the PDP is advancing in other initiatives in the region. The members of the PDP have a special appreciation for interpersonal and care skills in peace building, from which the project "Popular Therapists" is derived, as a multiplier of psychosocial skills in communities such as the wayúu (indigenous community in La Guajira Colombian peninsula). This project has created a network of emotional care in the region and to date 182 therapists have graduated, 80 % of them women.

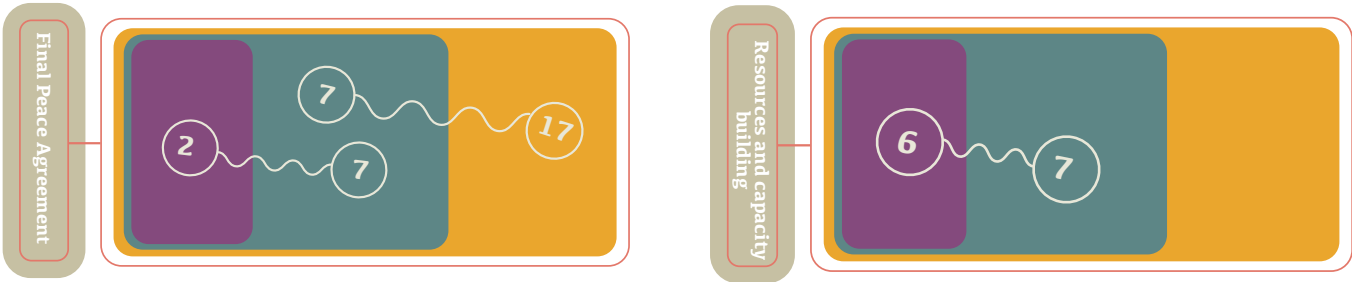


Figure 24. Initiative's track and impact with links in the Cesar y La Guajira region

The Cesar case shows important links between the PDET and the PDPCG, between the PDPCG and the private sector, and between the local and national tracks. Sim-

ilarly, many of the professionals that make up the PDP participated in the school of ancestral knowledge of the Caribbean. The director of the PDP in the region is also a member of the Red Agenda Caribe and of the board of directors of Redprodepaz, so it's possible to find more links between regional initiatives and the other tracks.

Recently, between 2021 and 2022, the PDP of Cesar and La Guajira also participated in the elaboration of a timeline on nature, economy, and conflict in the Perijá-Zapatoza corridor through a multimedia as a contribution to the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition of Colombia on the socio-environmental conflict and the relationship between nature and peace (Ecología, Economía y Ética et al. n.d.).

The persistence of these communities is admirable; however, they recall that the political scenario as an inevitable context for peace initiatives is an important element in this region. Depending on the campaign support of candidates for regional and local elected public office defines the future and the resources to which the initiatives have access. After the elections, peacebuilders often feel abandoned and opportunities to generate links for sustainable peace in the region are lost.

Recently, new peace laboratories and initiatives have emerged in Cesar and La Guajira, such as Diálogos Improbables (Unlikely Dialogues), which is known as a methodology that many peace initiatives seek to apply so that actors and sectors that traditionally do not dialogue with each other and do not participate in peacebuilding, become involved from the territory they have in common to advance in a conversation about the challenges and the possible future for the region. The Unlikely Dialogues platform includes four pillars in its method:

1. To guarantee reliable conditions for dialogue.
2. Bringing together unlikely dialogue partners who are diverse and opposed to each other to re-humanize the other.
3. To provoke curiosity and imagination
4. Cultivate networks of trust

In Cesar, Unlikely Dialogues has been installed as a peace initiative that has made good progress in a short time, including diverse actors in the conversation, such as the PDP of Cesar and La Guajira, as well as businessmen, local elites, politicians, victims, leaders, peasants, among others, to talk about the future in their territory.

This initiative is still under development and society expects to see greater results in the future.

d. Pacific – Chocó and Medio Atrato

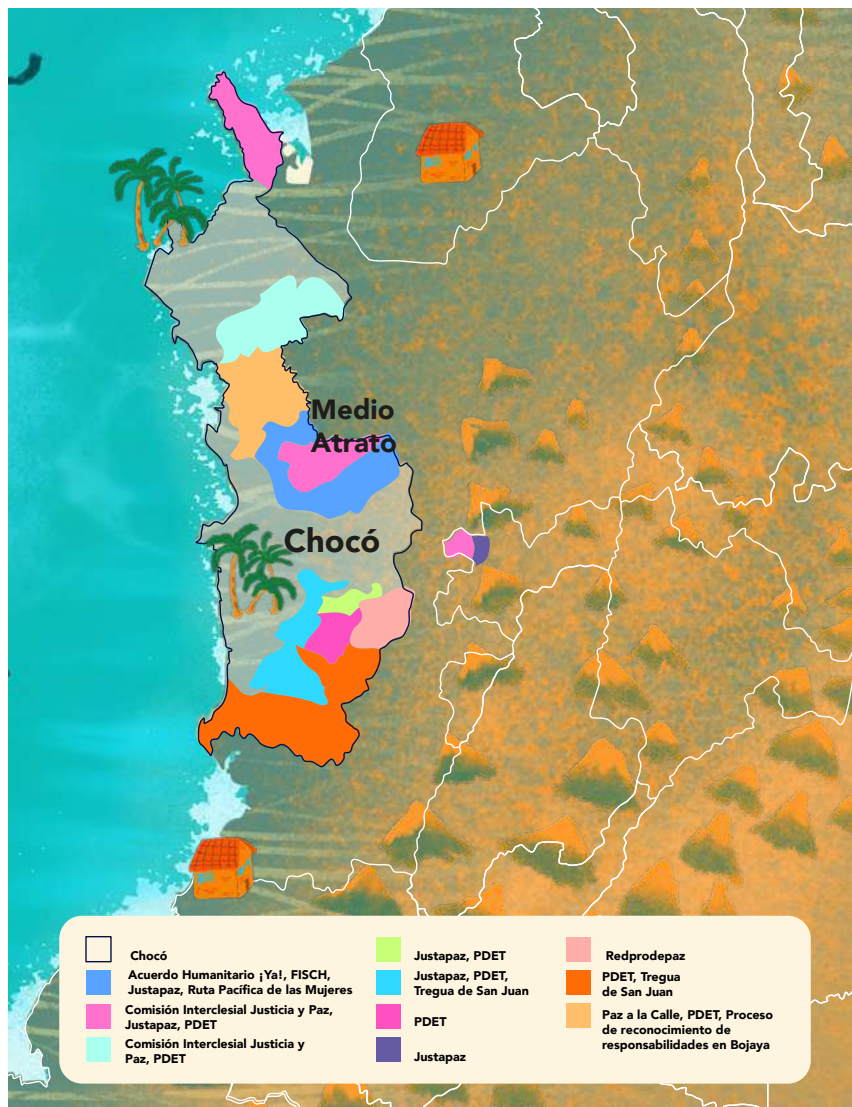


Figure 25. Initiative's location present in the Chocó and Medio Atrato region in the Pacific Sea

Historically, Chocó has raised its voice demanding respect for life, even though it is one of the regions most affected by the armed conflict in Colombia. Proof of this is that, amid confrontations between the State, guerrillas and paramilitaries, the

regional Declaración por la vida y por la paz (Declaration for life and peace) was issued in 1999²².

The Medio Atrato region, according to Howald (2017) is inhabited almost entirely by ethnic groups (Afro-Colombian and indigenous) whose collective ownership of their territories and autonomy within them was recognized in the 1990s, through Community Councils and Indigenous Councils (p. 207). The dispute for control of the river in the Medio Atrato territory, its resources and land dispossession have been the main causes of the armed conflict in the region.

Although the armed conflict has had an impact there since 1990, the Bojayá massacre, which occurred in 2002 – when a cannon, in a confrontation that lasted for days between paramilitaries and FARC-EP guerrillas, fell on the church of Bellavista, killing 79 people, including children-, marks an important milestone in the history of the conflict in this region. May 2, 2023, marked 21 years since this massacre and efforts continue to accomplish full reparations of the victims from the State.

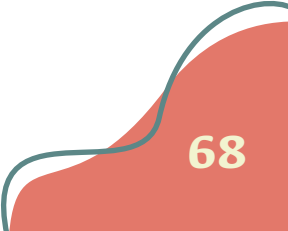
Unfortunately, violence has not ceased in the region and 25 of the 30 municipalities have early warnings in force from the Ombudsman’s Office. According to data from the institution, between 2020 and 2021 more people died from violence than from covid (Betancourt Maldonado 2023). The absence of the State in this area of the country continues today, as well as the presence of armed groups in confrontation, which leads to thousands of families confined and forcibly displaced.

Despite their pain, the region’s inhabitants relevantly contribute to the cessation of violence and the construction of peace. One example is the contributions of the Pacific region (1,147 recommendations for the non-repetition of the armed conflict) to the dialogue process with the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition of Colombia (CEV 2022).

Peace initiative’s creation is understood as community councils and indigenous councils which have been the main tool for social organization in the department. The platforms created for organizational strengthening and inter-ethnic experiences stand out. Among them is the Foro Interétnico Solidaridad Chocó (Interethnic Forum for Solidarity Chocó – FISCH for its initials in Spanish), created in 2001, as indicated



22. For more information on this statement, see Grupo de Memoria Histórica de la CNRR (2010).



on its website, as a space for integration, coordination, consensus, political and thematic discussion of ethnic-territorial and social organizations where alternatives are proposed to overcome social and armed conflicts and the construction of living conditions with dignity for the people who inhabit the communities (FISCH n.d.).

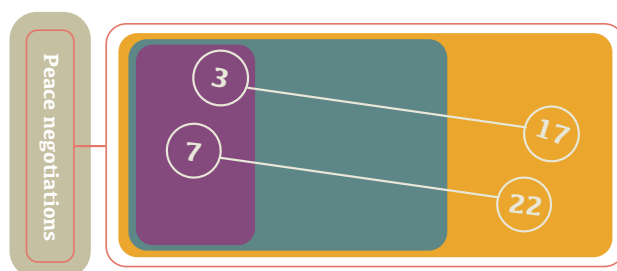


Figure 26. Initiative's track and impact with links in the Chocó and Medio Atrato region

According to the initiatives' promoters, territorial peace takes on special significance in Chocó, where the communities see reconciliation as one of the main pillars for establishing peace in the department and where autonomy is central to their work. This explains why it was the community of Bojayá itself that sought direct communications with the FARC-EP, in the framework of the peace talks between the national government and the guerrilla in Havana, and how they achieved the first acknowledgement of accountability and request for forgiveness from the guerrilla to the victims in 2014.

The process of acknowledgment of accountability for the events of 2002 in Bojayá continues today. The act of forgiveness was a milestone made possible by the interaction between the peace initiative in Bojayá and the peace talks delegates, as well as the support of the Office of the High Commissioner for Peace, on the participation mechanism for visits to the peace talks.

The request to advance in the acknowledgement of accountability was presented between March and April 2014, and the last FARC-EP attack in Bojayá was in July of that year. In this process, the difficulties of building peace during a continuous armed confrontation are evident. The process began on August 14, 2014, during the first visit of a victims' delegation to Havana, based on the bilateral conversation of a Bojayá victim with delegates of the FARC-EP. This involved the development of consultations with 32 indigenous reservations, 19 community councils and victims

throughout Bojayá, headed by leaders of the region and the Catholic Church. This process was articulated with the collective reparation process for the Bojayá massacre²³ being developed with the government's Victims Unit, which involves the constant accompaniment of the State to restore these communities' dignity and ensure the conditions to prevent the repetition of events such as this massacre (Unidad para las Víctimas 2022).

The FARC-EP's request for forgiveness in Bojayá and their acknowledgement of accountability for the massacre mark the process of peace initiatives in the region and serve as an example of direct dialogue that allows progress towards reconciliation. However, due to haste, security conditions and psychosocial support to victims, it was decided not to make the December 6th of 2015 event public. The process continues, since from this request for forgiveness, commitments were made, such as advancing in the search for persons reported missing, which the Witness Commission is following up on²⁴.

In this sense, the contribution of FISCH, of the Bojayá acknowledgement process and, in general, of the peace initiatives in the department of Chocó to Final Peace Agreement's point 5 on victims' rights and ethnic chapter, as well as to the monitoring of its implementation through the Instancia de Alto Nivel de Pueblos Étnicos (Special high-level forum with Ethnic Peoples for the follow-up of the implementation of the agreements – IANPE for its initials in Spanish), has been very valuable.

Although in 2017 there was a reduction in violence in the country following the laying down of arms by the FARC-EP, Chocó experienced new waves of violence and a deep humanitarian crisis due to clashes between armed groups. In August of the same year, the Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! in Chocó was published, drafted by the community, after a consultation process among ethnic-territorial organizations in the department that was promoted as because of serious affectations that occurred in their territories.



23. This process is part of the collective reparation process for victims of the armed conflict in Colombia under Law 1448 of 2011.

24. Since 2014 and at the request of the community of Bojayá and the signatory parties of the Final Peace Agreement, the Witness Commission was created, whose main function is to accompany and provide methodological technical assistance in the dialogues between the victims of Bojayá, the Colombian State and the Comunes Party to advance in reparative measures and the restoration of the rights of the victims of the municipality. The commission is composed of the Office in Colombia of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, a delegate from Quibdó's sectional Catholic Church, an academic from the Universidad Autónoma de Occidente, a delegate from the Comisión Inter-eclesial de Justicia y paz and a delegate from the Conpaz network.

This humanitarian agreement, as a peace initiative promoted by FISCH, the Mesa de Diálogo y Concertación de los Pueblos Indígenas de Chocó, the Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres, the Mesa departamental de víctimas Alianza Interétnica del San Juan (San Juan Truce), with support from the European Union and Diakonia, seeks respect for human rights and international humanitarian law in the territory, as well as territorial autonomy and its own forms of government. The agreement was made to be signed by both State forces and armed groups with a presence in the territory. It includes among its clauses a bilateral ceasefire, the dismantling of illegal armed groups' structures, respect for the communities' own rights and sacred sites, demining, the permanence of the ELN and the Government in the 2017 peace negotiation, the end of forced recruitment and use of children and adolescents, and violence against women and the LGBTIQ+ community, respect for the freedom, life and physical integrity of the chochoan population, leaders, and the cessation of forced disappearances and kidnapping.

This agreement was presented to the negotiation delegations of the national government and the ELN in Quito at the end of 2017. However, the armed actors of the conflict have not signed it to date.

The follow-up to the Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! in Chocó has become a platform to make visible the critical situation in the region. After the signing of the Final Peace Agreement with the FARC-EP in 2016, the monitoring of this humanitarian agreement has shown a regression in the collective rights of Afro-Colombian communities such as prior consultation²⁵, in addition to the lack of guarantees of security, protection and non-repetition of violence.

Nevertheless, communities have achieved self-care systems and the development of local peace initiatives. An example is the Tregua de San Juan, which implied a bilateral ceasefire between the ELN and the AGC in San Juan, Chocó, between 2017 and 2020, which meant a break in terms of affectations to the territory where the most benefited were the communities, who were able to transit and carry out their economic activities without fear.

.....

25. Prior consultation is a fundamental and collective right that establishes a procedure through which ethnic communities are guaranteed participation and access to information on projects, works or activities that are intended to be carried out in their territory. See more in Ministerio del Interior. (n.d.).

The dialogue was possible thanks to the courage and advocacy of local community councils and black, Afro-Colombian and indigenous leaders with national visibility. The truce was achieved through *mingas* and community-led dialogue spaces that allow for rapprochement with armed actors. However, due to the community's decision and self-care considerations, it was not possible to include the state's public forces in the dialogue, and the people also continued to be affected by this actor.

The FISCH, the acknowledgment process in Bojayá, the San Juan Truce and the Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! are some of the peace initiatives in the department of Chocó that demonstrate the capacity for resistance, reconciliation, and dignity from the territory. Amid unrelenting violence, leaders continue their efforts for peace. The case of Chocó and Medio Atrato shows interactions between peace initiatives at the local and regional tracks with the national track, amid an armed conflict that does not end, and where the affectations on the civilian population increase over time.

The territorial cases leave open the question of how regional dialogue can be made more dynamic as a conduit between the different tracks. They also provide a glimpse of how the subsequent phase of implementation of the Final Peace Agreement and the follow-up to the commitments of the peace initiatives analyzed can provide greater inputs and offer new opportunities to promote interactions.

Peace Initiatives' and the Final Peace Agreement

Buscamos aportar de forma significativa en construir paz desde las bases, desde lo cotidiano. No nos interesa ser plataforma política ni tener protagonismos.

We look to contribute in a meaningful way from the grass-roots on a day-to-day basis. We are not interested in being a political platform nor to be protagonists.

Interview 9, April 10, 2023

The peace talks with the FARC-EP that took place from 2010 to 2016, beginning with a reserved exploratory phase and followed by a public phase since 2012, show in their extension the depth of this effort as the fourth attempt at peace with that guerrilla, which in the end resulted in the signing of an agreement for the end of the conflict. The agreement signed with the FARC-EP is a milestone in the history of Colombia and in the history of peace processes in the world, considering its innovative components, such as the inclusion of gender measures, an ethnic subchapter and 578 measures of transformation for peace²⁶.

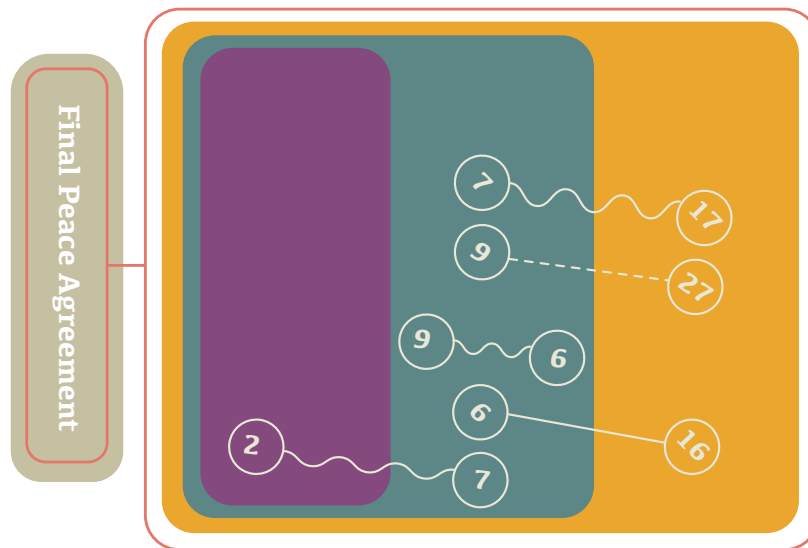


Figure 27. Initiative’s track and impact with links in the Final Peace Agreement case

Twelve of the 30 prioritized links refer to peace talks and the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement. The 12 linkages happen between 20 initiatives from the sample, of which 19 are national and 1 is regional.

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26. The 578 measures have been identified and added to the implementation tracking matrix by the Kroc Institute at the University of Notre Dame. See more at Kroc Institute (2021).

Of these links, 4 have a neutral impact, that is, they neither enable nor disable the initiatives and their contribution to sustainable peace; 1 has a negative impact, since it delegitimizes and prevents the fulfillment of the initiatives' purposes, and 7 have a positive impact, since they enable the initiatives in terms of legitimacy, break access barriers to some of them, provide content to the initiatives or expand the political space for peacebuilding.

To better understand the framework in which this research's links took place, it is important to consider the background of the Final Peace Agreement.

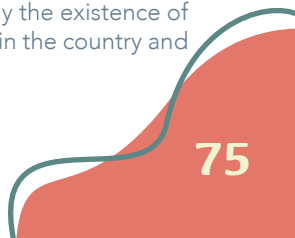
By 2012, the country had already embarked in three peace attempts with the FARC-EP (BAPP n.d.-a), by that time the oldest guerrilla group with the largest number of members in the 21st century in the continent. These attempts include the La Uribe (Meta) talks (1982-1986) during the government of Belisario Betancur, the Caracas and Tlaxcala talks (1990-1994) during the government of Cesar Gaviria and the best known, the Mesa del Caguán, during the period of Andrés Pastrana (1998-2002). This last failed attempt left the country divided, the civil society organized around peace diminished and meant a decade of doubts about how to try peace with the FARC-EP again.

Despite the difficulties, the establishment of peace as a public good for all in the 1991 Political Constitution marked, and still marks, a duty of the State to guarantee the end and non-repetition of the conflict in a country where the civilian population has been highly affected. According to the National Center of Historical Memory (2013), between 1958 and 2012, 218.094 people were reported killed as a result of the conflict, of which only 19 % were combatants.

In 2011, the Victims Law recognized publicly the existence of an internal armed conflict in Colombia, in which the norms of international humanitarian law should be applied²⁷. The acknowledgment took place in an environment conducive to the advancement of the secret exploratory phase with the FARC-EP. The platform of the Open Library of the Peace Process (BAPP) describes this phase, which included strict communication protocols, where very few delegates of the Government



27. According to the International Center for Transitional Justice – ICTJ, previous governments' decision to deny the existence of the armed conflict had been an obstacle to open and frank discussion on how to address the crimes committed in the country and weakened the possibilities of restoring trust between state institutions and citizens. See ICTJ (2011)



and the FARC-EP were aware of its development, and which allowed progress in trust-building measures such as the declaration of the end of kidnapping by the FARC-EP. The rapprochements resulted in the signing of the “General Agreement for the Termination of the Conflict and the Construction of a Stable and Lasting Peace”, which established the agenda for the talks and the guiding rules for the public phase of the talks.

Thus, on October 18, 2012, the negotiation table was set up between Colombia’s Government and the FARC-EP for a direct and uninterrupted conversation with the aim of reaching a final peace agreement that would develop the six points of the agenda: 1. Comprehensive agrarian development policy, 2. Political participation, 3. End of the conflict, 4. Solution to the illicit crops problem, 5. Victims and, 6. Implementation, verification and referendum (BAPP n.d.).

Cuba and Norway were the guarantor countries, and the accompanying countries were Venezuela and Chile. The negotiation table carried out 52 cycles until August 24th of 2016, with ten delegates for each party, Government, and the FARC-EP. As the peace talks agenda progressed, sub commissions were created, namely: the Gender Sub commission, the Technical Sub commission for the End of the Conflict and the Interethnic Commission. There were also three mechanisms for participation: direct participation, national forums, and consultations.

The agreed model of talks established a direct dialogue between the delegations. However, the mechanism for society’s participation prioritized receiving as much input as possible so that the delegations could nurture their positions (Office of the High Commissioner for Peace 2018a, p. 43). According to those interviewed, this implied several risks and challenges.

First, participation could be instrumentalized, which would lead to the delegitimization of the peace talks to a public that felt that their participation was not relevant to the development of the conversation. It could also not be prompt and effective for the talks’ development and achieving the final agreement. Likewise, mass participation through various media posed a systematization challenge so that it would be used realistically over time during the peace talks. Finally, participation implied that the mechanisms should be able to convene all relevant sectors and populations, including those who had the greatest doubts about the process.

From the beginning of the talks, the parties had a direct participation mechanism, through which they received society’s proposals related to the agenda items through paper and electronic forms, collecting 67.371 contributions. Progress was

also made in the so-called “consultations”, where both parties could invite experts to contribute to each agenda item. More than 100 people were received (Office of the High Commissioner for Peace 2018a, pp. 45-46). The Gender Sub commission and the Technical Sub commission for the End of the Conflict also made use of this mechanism.

It is important to highlight the support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the consultations before Congress on the Victims Law (Law 1448 of 2011), as a precedent for these participation mechanisms. Based on this model, the international cooperation of the United Nations System and the Centro de Pensamiento y Seguimiento al Diálogo de Paz (Center for Thought and Follow-up to the Peace Dialogue) of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia led the national forums. Progress was made in nine national forums with the participation of 7,811 people from at least 16 sectors, who made 40.658 contributions to the six points of the agenda (Office of the High Commissioner for Peace, 2018a, p. 48). Also, 8 forums to collect proposals from different regions of the country were promoted by the Peace Commission of the Congress of the Republic with support from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation (Fescol for its abbreviation in Spanish), the United Nations, the National Peace Council and the Peace Commissions of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Likewise, the parties received five delegations of a total of 60 victims who brought their testimony. Their participation was a transcendental moment for the development of the negotiation table. The participation of the victims also made it possible to promote the acknowledgment of accountability of the FARC-EP for the Bojayá massacre and of the Colombian State for the extermination of the Patriotic Union²⁸. As was seen in the territorial section, this was an opportunity to link local and regional initiatives to the development of the peace negotiations. However, these links occurred separately from the course of the talks.



28. The Patriotic Union is a Colombian left wing political party created in the 80s through an accord signed between guerillas and the Government of President Belisario Betancur, of which more than 4000 members have been killed amid the armed conflict. In September 2016, President Santos acknowledged the party's genocide and asked for forgiveness for such tragedy. See more at BBC (2016). <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-37381538>



According to the interviewed promoters of peace initiatives in the sample, these mechanisms were important and most participated, somehow, in them. However, the advocacy goals of several initiatives were not met, and they did not consider any negotiation participation mechanism could replace their advocacy work. Therefore, we evaluated the interactions between civil society platforms and the Government's negotiation table with FARC-EP that took place through other means, such as peace education, alliances to support plebiscite campaigns, artistic and cultural initiatives to promote the inclusion of peace in the national agenda, and initiatives to support and monitor the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement.

Likewise, it is difficult to confirm that, despite the massive collection of proposals, it is difficult to confirm that these had a timely impact on the dialogue between the parties in Havana. According to the people interviewed in this research, at the end of the mechanism it was possible to be receiving proposals on a point already agreed upon or about to be agreed upon at the negotiation table.

On the other hand, the parties included in the negotiation agenda the discussion of an endorsement mechanism. The referendum was agreed as a measure to motivate the national dialogue on peace and legitimize the agreement, for which a plebiscite of popular participation was called after the achievement of the agreement. From August 30th of 2016, when the referendum was decreed, the campaigns to vote "Yes" and to vote "No" began.

We include several reflections on the campaigns which are further deepened in the case of the gender approach. However, it is important to mention here that each campaign had a director from a political party. The "No" campaign was coordinated by the Centro Democrático (President Alvaro Uribe's political party) and the "Yes" campaign by the U Party (President's Santos political Party) and the Liberal Party. In the first one, there is no record of an organization center, beyond the organization of the same party and the MIRA party (Christian political party). For the "Yes" campaign, there were three coordination tables, a national one presided by the campaign director, one of cooperants at the national level and one of territorial coordination. However, initiatives in this sample report that there was no openness

in the campaign to be included, and that many developed their own initiatives in favor of the “Yes” campaign without further support from the official campaign²⁹.

During the campaigns the tension in the country was high. The peace promoters in this research usually take a deep breath before starting the conversation about this time. “It was difficult”, “I don’t like to remember”, “I lived through a depression”, “they attacked us every day”, “we never saw it coming”, are some of the expressions collected in relation to this event.

The plebiscite vote was held on October 2nd of 2016. The question for citizens was: Do you support the final agreement for the termination of the conflict and the construction of a stable and lasting peace, with the only answer options of “Yes” or “No”. At the end of the day, 12.808.858 valid votes were counted, of which 6.377.482 were in favor of “Yes” (49.78 %) and 6.431.376 in favor of “No” (50.21 %), which meant victory for the latter option by a small margin.

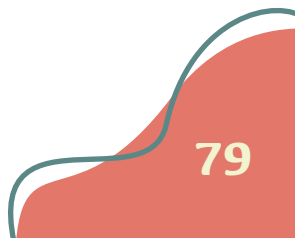
After these events, the President of the Republic publicly recognized the results presented and decided to convene all political forces – those of the Yes and No – in what he called the Great National Dialogue, whose purpose was to establish a channel of dialogue that would allow seeking meeting points and determining the path to follow to make the bid for peace viable (Office of the High Commissioner for Peace 2018b, p. 32). This Great National Dialogue, which sought to collect proposals for adjustments and clarifications from sectors that had voted for and against what had been agreed, took place in the span of three weeks in October, after the vote.

The analysis of these links is very important for the multitrack approach because it reveals key moments where there are enabling or disabling impacts on sustainable peace.

The participation mechanism was the only direct link between initiatives and the peace talks. However, the plebiscite, the so-called “renegotiation” and then the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement were new opportunities for more interactions.



29. Interview 10, private communication, April 13, 2023.



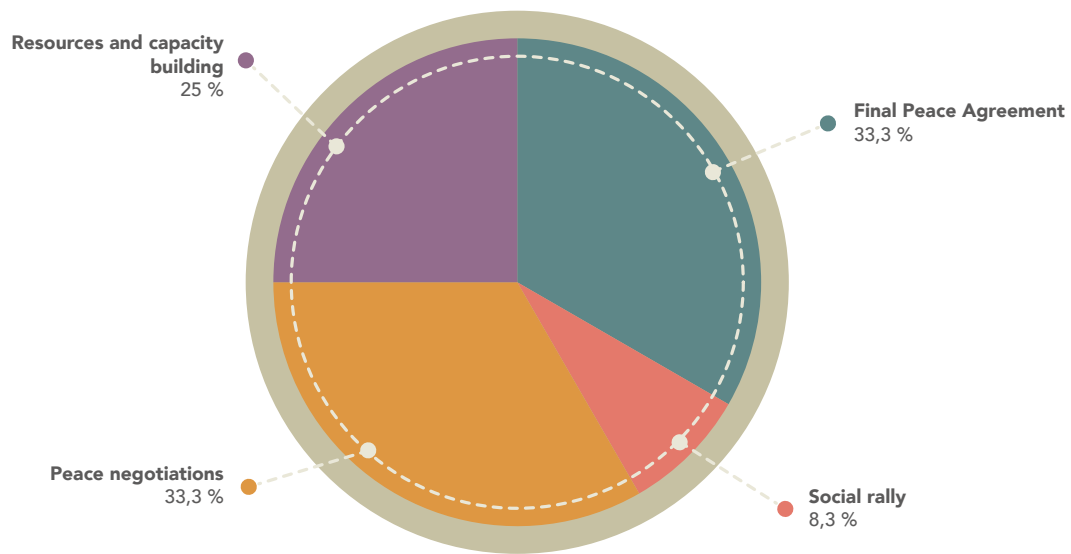


Figure 28. Link's motive between initiatives and the Final Peace Agreement

Through this case we analyze 12 of the 30 prioritized linkages. Of these 12 linkages, 4 are due to the peace negotiations (33.3 %), 4 due to the Final Peace Agreement signed later (33.3 %), 3 to obtain resources and strengthen capacities (25 %) and 1 due to social rally (8.33 %).

The 4 links used to generate interaction between the negotiation table and other peace initiatives were not the official participation mechanisms, but others. Namely: rallies and artistic demonstrations in Colombia such as Paz a la Calle, Student movement Paziempre and Campamentos por la Paz, as well as the participation of delegates of the peace talks in other dialogues such as the Government's Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement signed with the FARC-EP (Renegotiation).

The Paz a la Calle, Paziempre and Campamentos por la Paz movements, before and after the plebiscite campaigns, had no intentional link with the "Yes" campaign or the negotiation table, precisely because of the lack of openness and coordination already mentioned, but they emerged as a spontaneous demonstration of young people and different sectors in support of the Final Peace Agreement. This shows that there are links and opportunities to convene sectors that usually do not feel called by initiatives at the national track to participate and contribute to a sustainable peace.

The Government's Great National Dialogue with the opposition sectors to the signed agreement, is an unexpected link between the opposition to the peace talks

and the negotiation table, in a multi-stakeholder dialogue. During the Great Dialogue, the national government talked openly with political leaders who represented opposition to the agreement through six tables, among whom was former President Álvaro Uribe Vélez. These national tables that discussed observations and changes required in the wording of the agreement have subsequently been called the “renegotiation process”. Even though the dialogue was fluid, the opposition leaders in this initiative felt that this dialogue did not result in a new agreement substantially modified in line with their comments.

After the development of the negotiation and new rounds of negotiations between the Government and the FARC-EP in Havana, adjustments were made to the text and a modified final agreement was issued in November 2016, which sought to include all the contributions as the new roadmap for peace building in the country.

Of the 4 linkages that occur between national initiatives because of the negotiation, there are 3 interactions without enabling or disabling (neutral) impact: (i) between the participation mechanisms of the Peace negotiation with the FARC-EP (national forums, direct mechanism and consultations) and the Government’s negotiation with the FARC-EP – taking into account the analysis presented above on their real impact on the course of the talks-, (ii) between the Government’s Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement (Renegotiation) and the negotiation table, and (iii) between the Alianza de universidades por la paz (Alliance of universities for peace) y la Semana por la Paz (Annual week for peace).

During the period of this research and according to the promoters of initiatives interviewed, the link between the Alliance of universities for peace and the Annual week for peace was expressed in the participation of universities during the week of 2016. The Alliance made progress in events and forums that promoted discussions from academia on issues relevant to the peace process, such as the referendum and justice, during the period of this research (Vargas, 2015). However, the Alliance of universities for peace did not manage to link itself in a sustainable way to the peacebuilding agenda, which is why it ceased its functions. However, today, the academics who were part of it continue to participate in other peacebuilding efforts in the country.

The annual week for peace is a very important initiative that continues today – 35 years after its first edition in 1989 and coordinated by Redepaz since 1994-, which means the achievement of having an annual milestone to link organizations and the State to a peace agenda in the country. This process has managed to promote multiple peace initiatives over the years at local, regional and national levels. During the

first ten years of the Program for Peace, more than 1,000 peace-building initiatives were supported in different territories. This means that the annual week for peace can become an opportunity for better, more lasting links, where the participating initiatives extend their efforts beyond the month in which it is celebrated.

Likewise, out of the 12 links, there is 1 with a negative impact, between the “Yes” campaign and the Government’s negotiation with the FARC-EP. This is explained by the fact that the referendum, as an opportunity for national dialogue and for peace to be an issue for everyone, did not have sufficient mechanisms in the campaign to generate a national coalition and a consensus on how and what to say in defense of the “Yes” vote. Similarly, according to the people interviewed, many organizations that wanted to contribute to the “Yes” campaign were unable to do so due to lack of access to information and materials or did so in isolation given the lack of options, and therefore had a limited impact.

According to the interviewees, the Premios Emprender Paz initiative (Peace Entrepreneur Award) is interesting as it is one of the two private sector peace initiatives in the sample and includes the government in its operation, as it participates in the selection of the winning initiatives. From the sample of this research, the Red Departamental de Mujeres Chocoanas, which is part of the FISCH, was a winner of the award in 2022. However, no other organization in this sample has won this award. Nor are there any links between the Emprender Paz Award and the peace initiatives themselves, beyond the recognition sought for individual winning initiatives.

The implementation of the Final Peace Agreement brought new links between initiatives: 8 out of 30, representing 26.67 % of the analyzed links, of which 2 were previously analyzed as territorial cases (the process of acknowledgment of the Bojayá massacre with the peace negotiations and the link between the Espacio Regional de Construcción paz de Montes de María and the Government’s Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement). It should be noted that after 2018 many other linkages between initiatives occur because of such implementation, including multi-stakeholder dialogues with law enforcement, religious communities, and the private sector, which can illuminate, broaden, and help deepen the multitrack analysis in Colombia.

The links studied in this research that were created between 2016 and 2018, on the occasion of the final Peace Agreement, made use of platforms for monitoring implementation (the Common Agreement digital platform, led by Viva la Ciudadana and which had links with the initiative LGBTI Platform for Peace, and the Grupo de Género en la paz - Gender in peace group GPAZ for its initials in spanish, promot-

ed by the National summit of Women and Peace, the Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres and Colombia Diversa) and made progress in supporting the implementation of measures of the Final Peace Agreement such as the improvement and activation of the National Council for Peace, Coexistence and Reconciliation and the territorial councils or the PDETs as means to generate interactions between initiatives. Between the latter two there are points of convergence with respect to the dialogues they advance and who participates, but no links are observed between these mixed and institutional peace initiatives.

Additionally, we found that Defendamos la paz (a social media X account called defend peace), as an initiative created to defend what was agreed at the Government's peace talks with the FARC-EP, has no links with other initiatives in the sample, beyond its link with Viva la Ciudadanía, which provides logistical support to the digital platform. This type of initiative as a rally tool is isolated in the analysis, although it presents opportunities for linkages as a flexible initiative that fosters multi-stakeholder dialogue on peace.

Peace initiatives and gender approach

I believe we are capable because as women we endure everything. We were able to bury our children, brothers during the war. Why wouldn't we be able to make change?

Creo que sí somos capaces porque las mujeres somos las que soportamos todo. Fuimos capaces en la guerra de enterrar a los hijos, hermanos, ¿por qué no vamos a ser capaces de hacer el cambio?

Oírís Hernández, Interview 21, La Victoria de San Isidro, Cesar

Gender and peace negotiations in 2011 were different from the ones we have today. Of 31 peace talks between 1992 and 2011 around the world, women accounted for only 9 % of all participating negotiators, 4 % of signatories, 2.4 % of chief mediators and 3.7 % of observers. Likewise, between 1990 and 2010, only 16 % of peace agreements explicitly referred to women (UN Women 2014, p. 9).

The peace talks between the Colombian Government and the FARC-EP changed the conditions considerably, as stated by the group GPAZ, being the first negotiation in the world to create a gender Sub commission and to achieve the comprehensive inclusion of 122 gender measures to guarantee the rights of women and the LGBTIQ+ population in peacebuilding.

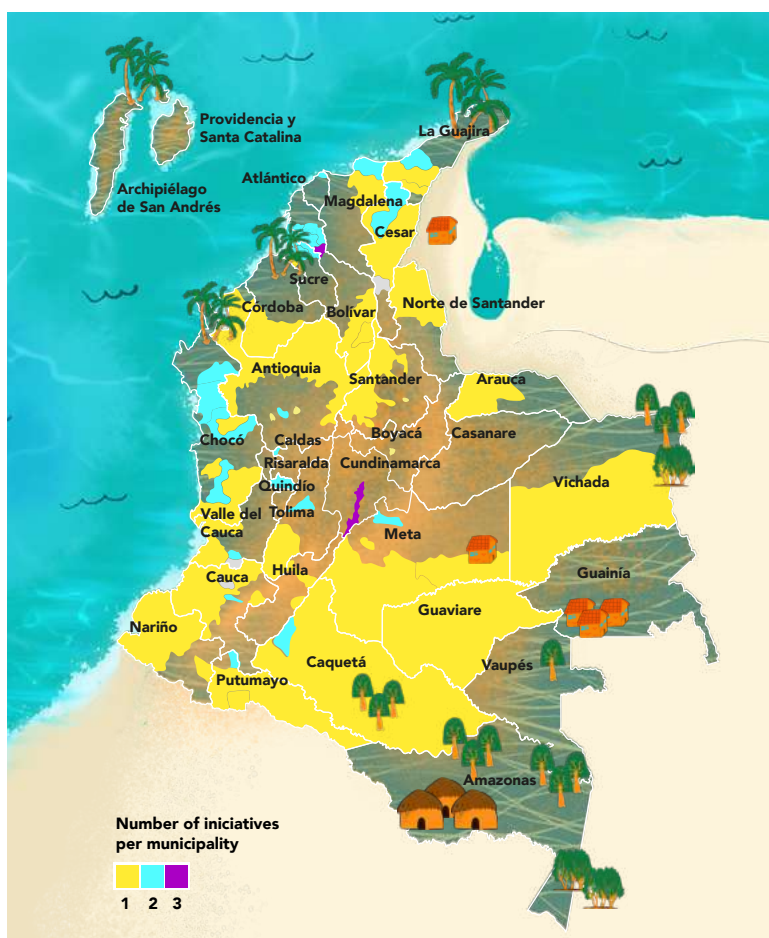


Figure 29. Initiatives per municipality with gender approach (10 out of 24)

Note. The map only shows initiatives with gender focus that have a specific geographic location.

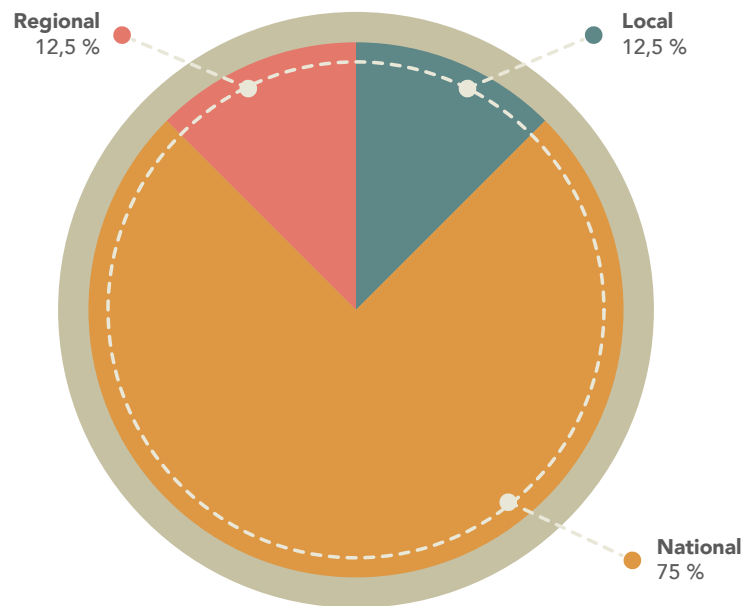


Figure 30. The track of 24 initiatives with gender approach

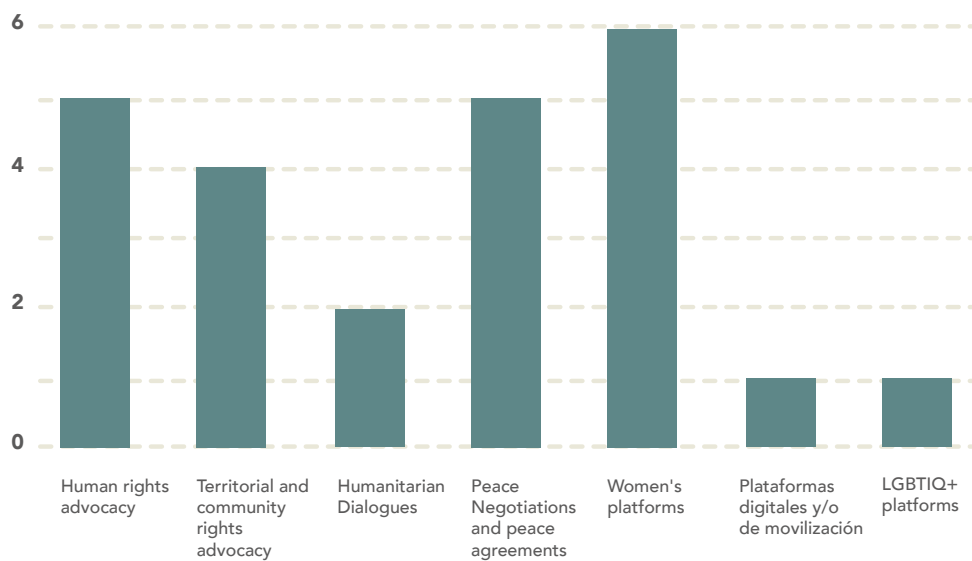


Figure 31. The subtype of initiatives with gender approach

In this research we identified 24 initiatives with a gender approach. Of these, 6 are civil society platforms integrated by women’s organizations (25%), 5 are platforms human and religious rights advocacy (20.83%); 4 are platforms for territorial and community rights’ advocacy (16.66%). In addition, we found 7 peace negotiations and humanitarian dialogues, which usually include the work of women’s organizations, although not always of LGBTIQ+ population. Additionally, the sample includes 1 initiative that is an LGBTIQ+ civil society platform and 1 digital and/or rally platform.

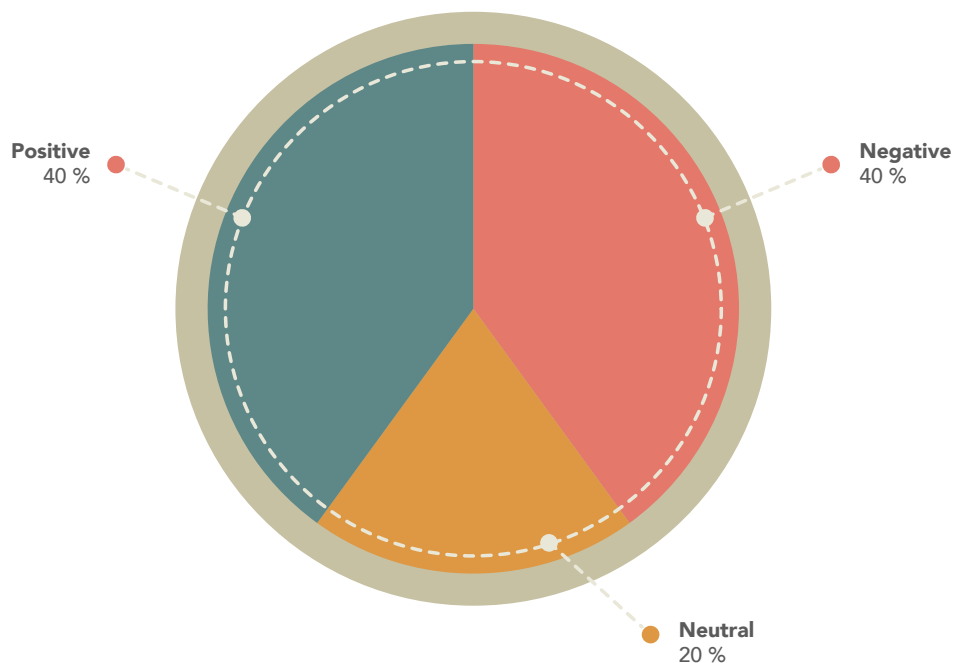


Figure 32. Impact of links with gender approach

We analyze this case through 5 of the 30 prioritized linkages. The 5 linkages are between 7 peace initiatives. Of these, 2 have positive impacts on the initiatives, 2 have negative impacts and 1 has a neutral impact. Likewise, the sample includes 24 peace initiatives that develop the gender approach as part of their work, which represents 45.28% of the sample. Eighteen of these initiatives are national (75 %), 3 are regional (12.5 %) and 3 are local (12.5 %).

We evidenced six milestones during this study’s period, in relation to the gender approach and the links between peace initiatives. These are:

1. The Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres y Paz (National Summit of Women and Peace) held on October 23-25, 2013.
2. The creation of the Gender Sub commission of the Government's Peace Talks Table with the FARC-EP in September 2014.
3. The creation of the LGBTI Peace Platform in 2016.
4. The plebiscite for peace in 2016.
5. The signing and implementation of the Final Peace Agreement (2016-2018).
6. The negotiation with the ELN.

The women's and feminist movement in Colombia has a long history of struggles. For the period of this study, after the suffering of millions of women as victims of the armed conflict and thanks to the efforts of many women's organizations, it was possible to dialogue on gender and peace at the national track. The meeting between women from the Philippines and Colombia in 2010 with the support of Conciliation Resources, where women exchanged experiences on peace initiatives in the face of the conflicts in these two countries, is a background milestone³⁰.

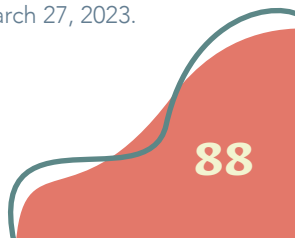
As a result of this exchange, the Pacto Ético por un país en paz³¹ (Ethical Pact for a Country at Peace) was signed in 2013. The Pact, launched by women's organizations in Colombia, includes 15 points as a pedagogical tool to mobilize social transformation (CEV 2020). Eight years later, the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition of Colombia adhered to this pact, which is still relevant for peace initiatives with a gender approach, and, today, continues to be worked on by the Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad, who launched it at the time.

For Colombia's women's movement, the peace talks of the National Government with the FARC-EP were a unique opportunity to address the structural causes of inequality and discrimination that explain the violent emergence of conflict. According to UNWomen, it was a transformative opportunity to position women's agenda as a central issue, not only because of the impact that the armed conflict has had on



30. This effort included businesswomen, law enforcement, indigenous women, trade unionists, feminists, human rights defenders, ex-combatants, journalists, ecumenical women, and victims. Taken from Interview 6, private communication, March 27, 2023.

31. Interview 6, private communication, March 27, 2023.



their lives, but also because without them both the legitimacy of the process itself and the sustainability of the agreements are compromised, given their historical contribution to peacebuilding in all territories of the country (UN Women 2014, p. 9).

The United Nations System, led by UN Women, supported not only women's participation in the Government's peace talks with the FARC-EP (national forums, direct mechanism and consultations), but also the National Summit of Women and Peace, as a permanent advocacy mechanism. The committee promoting the meeting, now the Political Committee, convened three broad summits in which more than 400 women participated. The first one was held on October 23, 24 and 25, 2013. This first summit had a great impact on the reconfiguration and participation of women at the negotiating table and the creation of the Gender Sub commission. The second was held once the final Peace Agreement was signed in 2016, and the third in 2020. The first summit, as a great call to women and society to participate in peacebuilding, led to the mobilization of thousands of women in the territories and to a concrete strategy of advocacy in the negotiations between the Government and the armed actors. This forced the revision of what had been agreed in light of the gender approach and women's rights at the peace talks between the government and the FARC-EP in Havana.

This summit was also a space for multitrack dialogue where local, regional, national and international peace experiences were exchanged, and where lessons learned in peacebuilding were identified. As a result of this process, the women's movement worked during the peace talks under three consensuses:

- 1.** Support for the peace process and demand that the parties not leave the table until an agreement is reached.
- 2.** Insist on the inclusion, presence and participation of women in all its stages of peace negotiations, including at the peace talks: "We women do not want to be covenanted, we want to be covenanters," they insisted.
- 3.** Demand the inclusion of the needs, interests and affectations of the conflict on women's lives in the peace talks agenda (UN Women 2014, p. 10).

The Ecumenical Group of Women Peacebuilders (Gempaz for its abbreviation in Spanish) is part of the Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad and the National Summit of Women and Peace. Gempaz is the multi-stakeholder effort of women of faith whose steering committee, composed of Catholic women, lay women, pastors, leaders and an indigenous woman, with the support of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), was created in 2015. It seeks through spirituality

self-care, and the integration of women of diverse faiths, to create conditions for peace in Colombia. The contextual reading of the Bible as a pedagogical tool has marked a horizon where women of faith can and should contribute to peace building with a very important psychosocial approach.

Hence, we conducted a collective interview with leaders of the Gempaz steering committee and accompanied a collective reading session of the chapter of “My body is the truth” of the Commission for Clarification, Coexistence and Non-Repetition of Colombia’s Final Report. In this session, we were able to grasp Gempaz’ connection to self-care, by giving tools to each woman to connect with others in dialogue. It is a safe space where women express their concerns and opinions about what we must do to build peace. This space of spiritual acknowledgement and self-awareness is a valuable opportunity that ecumenical women offer.

The organization of different platforms of action, from women’s organizations and networks as peace initiatives, sets a guideline of great importance and a requirement for all other peace initiatives and negotiations: “without women there is no peace”. This sample includes the National Summit of Women and Peace, the Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres, the Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad, the Grupo Ecu­ménico de Mujeres Constructoras de Paz (Gempaz), the Grupo de Género en la Paz (GPAZ) and Cinco Claves.

We found that the analysis women and the LGBTIQ+ initiatives are multitrack peace exercises. For example, the Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad, based on the “Pacto ético por un país en paz” and the 15 paths to peace, promoted a pedagogy called Diálogos inimaginables, diálogos posibles (Unimaginable dialogues, possible dialogues). One of the most interesting were the dialogues with women in the security forces, where UN Women provided the methodology and facilitation. It is also one of the first initiatives to promote a series of cartoons on women in their diversity. Called Amanda and the salamanders, the cartoon recounts critical situations in which very diverse women played an outstanding role (CIASE ONG n.d.).

In addition to their efforts for peace, when women visited the Gender Sub commission in the Peace Talks between the Government and the FARC-EP, they requested that a quota be granted to the LGBTIQ+ population. Thus, a representative of Caribe Afirmativo and a representative of Colombia Diversa – both organizations for the advocacy of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersex, queer, and other rights – went to Havana.

The multitrack analysis allows us to identify the link between the feminist and women’s movement and the LGBTIQ+ rights movement as a key to political openness in this case. According to the participants in this research, the link between initiatives allowed the LGBTIQ+ movement to bind its composition to peace initiatives³². From then on, the peace agenda is at the center of the movement.

In fact, the LGBTI Platform for Peace is organized precisely to confront pronouncements by political leaders who criticize the presence of the LGBTIQ+ population in the peace talks, associating their participation in peace with other national discussions on reforms regarding equal marriage and adoption by LGBTIQ+ persons.

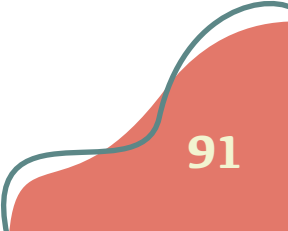
As mentioned in the case of the Final Peace Agreement, both women’s platform and LGBTIQ+ peace initiatives put their heart and soul into the process and the “Yes” campaign during the plebiscite. It was no coincidence that the national discussion on peace was taking place in parallel to discussions on rights guarantees for women and the LGBTIQ+ community in the country.

Likewise, LGBTIQ+ initiatives, specifically the LGBTI Platform for Peace, managed to consolidate their organization in 2016, around the time of the end of the peace talks and the plebiscite. For this reason, interviewees link their initiation and strengthening to their efforts in the “Yes” campaign and their relationship with the “No” campaign. For these initiative promoters, the campaigns on “gender ideology” and the parallel discussions in the country on equal marriage and the rights of the LGBTIQ+ population should be taken into account as the context in which they were able to strengthen their work with grassroots organizations, nourish themselves with pedagogical tools and at the same time defend their participation in peacebuilding against those who considered that they should not be included.

Interviewees felt rejection in social networks and in the public dialogue in relation to their advocacy for peace, especially during the plebiscite campaigns, as well as rejection by the traditional human rights movement. LGBTIQ+ peace initiatives insist in the need for their acknowledgment as part of the human rights movement in the country.



32. Interview 10, private communication, April 13, 2023.



Interviewees, in the face of rejection during the plebiscite, refer to “gender ideology” as a conceptual invention used to delegitimize the participation of the LGBTIQ+ population in peacebuilding. On July 24, 2016, the negotiation table’s parties announced the gender approach inclusion in the agreement. Subsequently, the so-called “gender ideology” was mentioned and included in pronouncements and speeches by political leaders such as former Ombudsman Alejandro Ordóñez and Liberal Congresswoman Vivian Morales. The issue peaked with the public debate over a Ministry of Education brochure that addressed non-discrimination of sexual orientations and gender identities in school environments (FIP 2016). The argument of the primer’s opponents, confusing as it was, stated that if the peace agreement included the so-called gender approach, it hid a “gender ideology” in which erratic definitions of gender were proposed. According to them, this approach denied the masculine and feminine genders, called for false values and put an end to the principles of the traditional family, which would lead to an ethical crisis and would be a negative influence on children and youth.

Academy critics observed in the “No” campaign a strategy of dissemination of fake news, some related to the so-called “gender ideology”. Likewise, other peace initiatives promoters recall various pamphlets distributed in evangelical and Catholic churches, as well as notes on WhatsApp that stated that with the peace agreements the so-called “gender ideology” was being imposed, that if sexual education and the “gender ideology” were not accepted, parents could be deprived of custody of their children, or that supporting the peace agreements was supporting abortion.

In this research we did not find the use of any hashtag or a center of campaign organizations for the “No”. However, the contents in social networks about it were massive. The campaign had a leader from the Centro Democrático party and achieved victory with 50.21%. Those who defended the “No” stated that, at the time, they felt they lacked the tools for the campaign and they did not foresee its success. However, they attribute the resonance of the campaign not to support the peace agreement to the fact that most Colombians rejected the FARC-EP and expected them to be sentenced to imprisonment for their crimes.

According to a published interview, the former campaign manager admitted they had a strategy to make people vote *verraca* outraged (La República, n.d.). But, later, he clarified that his answers were distorted, and members of the campaign deny these statements. In fact, some consider that there was not enough organization within the campaign to affirm this.

After the Great Dialogue with the opposition and the signing of the Final Peace Accord with modifications, grassroots work and support for the agreement was strengthened. Women's and LGBTIQ+ organizations created the Gender in Peace Group (GPAZ) and the National Summit of Women and Peace promoted campaigns and lobby so that these issues would not be left aside.

During the implementation, these organizations follow up on gender-focused measures of the Final Peace Agreement. One of them is GPAZ, an initiative that specifically monitors gender measures. Another is the Cinco Claves platform, which influences the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement in cases of sexual violence in the context of the armed conflict between the FARC-EP and the Colombian State. This initiative has a digital platform and is driven by feminist women's organizations and LGBTIQ+ organizations.

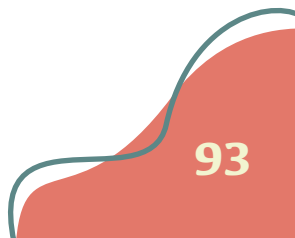
After the agreement with the FARC-EP, during the national government's negotiation with the ELN, the National summit for Women and Peace linked with the parties through a gender workshop held in Havana on May 18 and 19, 2018. From this workshop, the Women's Juntanza was created for this process. Additionally, the Summit conducted visits to *gestores de paz* (peace managers, who are imprisoned former combatants of the ELN to whom the Government recognizes a status to advance peace activities) in the Itagüí prison and delegates traveled to Quito during the negotiations. However, the contents of the workshop did not have a major impact on the development of the negotiation agenda, whose sessions ended shortly thereafter without substantial agreements.

Beyond the period of this research, progress has been made in unlikely dialogues between the Catholic Church and the LGBTIQ+ population with support from the Swedish Church, Colombia Diversa, Sisma, the National Women's Network and evangelical churches, which are worth evaluating in the future.

While the impact of women-led peace initiatives and LGBTIQ+-led peace initiatives stand out their grassroots participation and collaboration strategies, the organizations describe their work as: *empujamos la maleta y construimos al tiempo*³³. (we push the suitcase and we build at the same time). The armed conflict's power schemes remain intact, making the dialogue of diverse knowledges, that seeks to break di-



33. Interview 6, private communication, March 27th, 2023.



chotomies and build peace from everyday life, hard. According to the participants in this research, there is still a “patriarchal way” of making peace, and the constant dialogue, the demand for inclusion, the search for resources for greater grassroots participation are some of the challenges faced by these peace initiatives.

Peace Initiatives and the negotiation with the ELN

We do multitrack process in Colombia without naming them this way.

En el país sí se hacen procesos multinivel, pero no se llaman así.

Conceptual workshop, December 15th ad 16th of 2022,
Bogotá

The negotiation between the national government and the ELN, whose public phase was developed between 2016 and 2018, was parallel to the peace talks with the FARC-EP and is the last attempt at peace talks that can be taken as a reference for the current peace process with this guerrilla group.

We include 5 links which occurred in relation to the negotiation, out of 30 prioritized links. The 5 linkages take place between 8 initiatives; 3 of them are between national initiatives, 1 between local initiatives and 1 between regional and national initiatives. This case has more varied interactions between tracks than those of the sample analyzed given that one of the hallmarks of the ELN's political discourse – and, by that way, of the negotiation processes – is the fact that their political discourse has a strong influence on the political and social processes. This will be further analyzed in depth.

The initiatives that interact in this case are:

1. Mesa Social por la Paz (civil society platform for the defense of human rights)
2. Paz Completa (digital and rally platform).
3. Diálogos Pastorales (humanitarian dialogue)
4. Frente Amplio por la Paz, la Democracia y la Justicia (civil society platform for human rights' advocacy)
5. Acuerdo Humanitario Ya! del Chocó (humanitarian dialogue)
6. Comisión por la Vida y la Reconciliación del Catatumbo (Commission for Life and Reconciliation of Catatumbo) (humanitarian dialogue).
7. Negotiation of the national government with the ELN between 2016 and 2018, public phase (negotiation and peace agreement).
8. Preparatory hearings³⁴ (negotiation and peace agreement).

.....

34. The preparatory hearings have been separated from the negotiation peace initiative to understand their link in terms of advocacy and opportunities for better interactions.

In the background of his negotiation, we find the Citizen Mandate for Peace, Life and Liberty, promoted by Redepaz, País Libre, Unicef and Unesco, which achieved a national vote of almost 10 million citizens demanding conflict parties to not involve civilians in armed confrontations and end war. The vote took place in local elections on October 26th of 1997 during the Great National Strike declared by the ELN to pressure the elections.

After the vote in 1998, dialogues were held with the ELN, which led to the development of public hearings since 2000. These hearings balance and impact, although marginal (Montaña, 2006), generated an important reference on participation and multitrack interactions in peace processes.

Likewise, in 2005, consultations with society were carried out by a representative member of the ELN, recognized by the national government and supported by guarantor academics. This initiative, called Casa de Paz, was developed as a mechanism to gather the contributions of different social sectors regarding peace and to strengthen a channel of dialogue with the ELN, prior to the formal start of talks with this group.

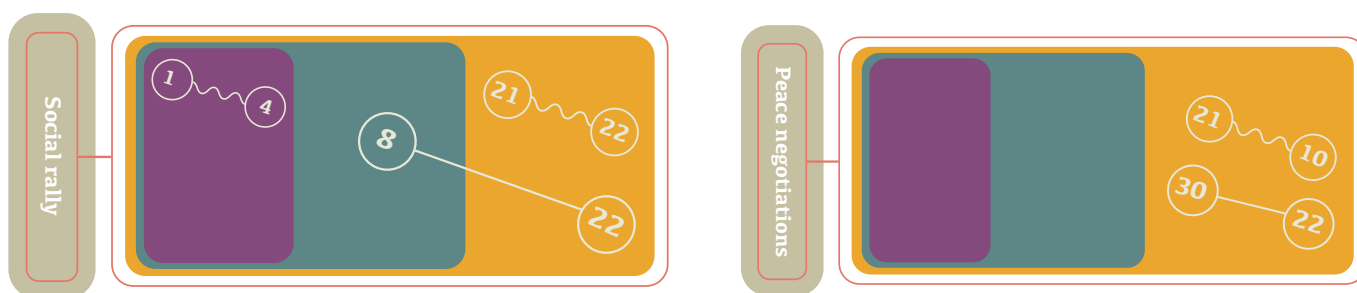


Figure 33. Initiatives with links' track and impact in the ELN negotiation case

Before the beginning of the public phase, several initiatives developed advocacy strategies to promote the activation of a negotiating table, such as the Frente Amplio por la Paz, Amigos y Amigas de la Negociación con el ELN, Paz Completa and the Mesa Social para la Paz.

The last attempt at peace talks with the ELN began, as did the process with the FARC-EP, with initial meetings between the Government and the ELN in Venezuela between August 2012 and March 2013, in which it was agreed to begin the explor-

atory phase to define the roadmap for the talks. After several preparatory meetings, this phase formally began in January 2014 in Ecuador.

The exploratory phase was carried out in Ecuador, Brazil, and Venezuela through 18 cycles of confidential talks. In March 2016, after 26 months of exploratory dialogues, the parties managed to sign the Acuerdo de diálogos para la paz entre el Gobierno Nacional y el Ejército de Liberación Nacional (Dialogue Agreement for Peace between the National Government and the National Liberation Army) as an agenda for talks, as was done with the FARC-EP. The agreement signed with the ELN contained 6 agenda items: (i) Participation of society in peace building; (ii) Democracy for peace; (iii) Transformations for peace; (iv) Victims; (v) End of the armed conflict; (vi) Implementation. The agreement also included Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Norway, and Venezuela as guarantors of the process.

In February 2017, when the Final Peace Agreement between the national government and the FARC-EP had already been signed, the table was formally installed in Quito (Ecuador) and the dialogue began on two topics: point 1, Participation of society in peacebuilding, and sub-point 5f, Humanitarian actions and dynamics. The first two cycles, between March and June 2017, were developed through sub-tables for each prioritized topic and it was agreed to create a joint team to handle pedagogy and communication issues, the formation of a Group of Countries for Support, Accompaniment and Cooperation to the Peace Process (GPAAC for its initials in Spanish), as well as the definition of a possible humanitarian demining pilot.

During the third cycle of talks, between July and September 2017, the parties reached an agreement on a temporary ceasefire and end of hostilities from October 1st, 2017, to January 9th, 2018. At the same time, the Government committed to implement a series of corresponding actions, such as the strengthening of the early warning system, a humanitarian program for the ELN prison population, the regulation of norms related to social protest and the development of preparatory hearings as part of the work route on participation.

The fourth cycle of talks took place between October and December 2017, parallel to the implementation of the ceasefire and end of hostilities. Although the Final Peace Agreement with the FARC-EP brought a reduction in violence rates in the territory, after a year there was an increase in territorial armed confrontations where this guerrilla group had been present, which were re-occupied by other armed groups.

During the last months of 2017, the Government made progress with the negotiation's commitments. This resulted in events such as the issuance of Decree 2024

of 2017, referring to the Early Warning System; visits to 32 prisons to interview more than 550 inmates; meetings between the Government delegation and the follow-up committee of the Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! in Chocó, the management to facilitate demining work in the municipalities of Quibdó, Carmen de Atrato and Tadó, and the return process of displaced communities in Alto Baudó, among other measures.

As explained above, the Humanitarian Agreement Now! in Chocó was delivered to the negotiating table of the national government with the ELN in August 2017, after a consultation process among communities and ethnic-territorial organizations of the department that was promoted as a result of the serious affectations that occurred in their territories due to the reconfiguration of the armed conflict after the departure of the FARC-EP from the territory and the strengthening of the ELN in several municipalities.

The link between the national government's negotiations with the ELN and the Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! in Chocó positively impacted the parties' activities hence, they developed an accompaniment agenda that included meetings with institutions, international organizations and leaders of Chocó, participation in the installation event of the Committee for the Follow-up and Verification of the humanitarian agreement, which took place on September 27th, 2017 in Quibdó. Additionally, the government delegates and a peace manager had the opportunity to gather inputs related to the demands that arose from the territory regarding the participatory process that was being designed, as well as the claims of the communities regarding the acts of violence carried out by the ELN (Office of the High Commissioner for Peace, 2017).

In November 2017, the negotiating table received again in Quito a delegation of the Follow-up Committee of the humanitarian agreement on advances and next steps. The parties heard first-hand the humanitarian plight of the inhabitants of Chocó at the hands of the guerrillas and the armed confrontations, which was very important for the local peace initiatives.

The multitrack analysis indicates that, although the link between the two initiatives (Negotiation between the national government and the ELN and the Acuerdo Humanitario Ya! in Chocó) made the situation in Chocó visible and allowed monitoring that continues today, its impact, according to interviewees, was insufficient and civil society still considers it necessary for the State and the armed groups to formally sign the agreement.

We also found a link between the negotiation and the preparatory hearings that were developed by agreement of the parties, with the support of UNDP. Ten pre-

paratory hearings, 8 face-to-face and two virtual, were held between October and November 2017 with the attendance of delegates from the negotiating parties, in Bogotá and Tocancipá, in which 208 people participated (134 men and 74 women) to contribute their experience and proposals on the negotiation's participation mechanism³⁵. These hearings were agreed by the negotiation table during the ceasefire and hostilities agreement and were aimed at gathering proposals from different social sectors on the participation mechanism that should be deployed to feed the negotiations and agreements.

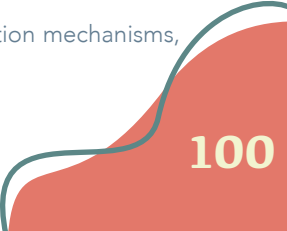
At least 17 initiatives from this sample participated in the preparatory hearings, including delegates from the Follow-up Committee to the Acuerdo Humanitario Ya! in Chocó. By joint decision of the delegations, a list of participants from different territories and sectors was drawn up, including peasants, unions, ethnic actors (Afro and indigenous), women's organizations, trade unions, academia, victims, multilateral organizations, peace platforms and initiatives, institutions (Executive, mayors' offices, governors' offices and control bodies), churches, LGBTI community, institutions and social actors from several regions (Arauca, Santander, Norte de Santander, Sur de Bolívar, Catatumbo, Chocó, Sur Occidente and Caribbean region), environmental sector, peace initiatives from cities and migrants, youth, mining-energy sector, organizations of persons in disability conditions, imprisoned persons from several penitentiary establishments in the country and two former members of the FARC-EP (UNDP 2017, pp. 9-10).

The link between the negotiation and the preparatory hearings is total, as it is born by decision and instruction of the parties. However, the diverse proposals collected had little impact on the development of the negotiation agenda until before its dissolution. For this reason, it is considered that this link did not have an impact in terms of enabling the initiatives to contribute to sustainable peace. Despite this, the hearing's value and its lessons learned for future conversations should be con-



35. The questions that guided the preparatory hearings were:

1. Based on your experiences and knowledge, what do you consider should be the society's participation mechanisms in the peace talks, and your sector's participation?
2. If your organization or sector has an experience that you consider important for society's participation mechanisms, please share it with us.



sidered as they develop the foundations for participation in the framework of the negotiation with this group.

Additionally, we found a link between the National Summit of Women and Peace and the negotiation through the workshop held in Havana with the participation of the delegations on the gender approach, with the support of the Government of Sweden and the OAS Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia (MAPP/OAS) (Mesa de Diálogos, 2018). According to some protagonists of the process, the process did not position the gender approach as they had accomplished in the agreements with the FARC-EP, partly due to the same precariousness of the advances in the negotiation agenda.

Both the proposals from the preparatory hearings and the results of the gender workshop are still available for consultation by those advancing in dialogues and negotiations with the ELN. If these do not nourish the current negotiation process and the State's peace policy, it is difficult to achieve a positive impact from these interactions.

For the sixth and last cycle of talks, the table moved to Havana and between July 3 and August 1st, 2018, the parties tried to reach new agreements on the issues prioritized before the change of government. However, it was not possible, and they limited themselves to taking stock of progress and pending issues to be resolved with the new government and its delegates. Finally, after 17 months of the public phase of talks, the parties failed to reach agreement on any of the items on the agenda.

In addition to these peace initiatives, there were others, such as the Diálogo Regional por la Defensa y Cuidado de la Vida y el Territorio, in Barrancabermeja, and the processes of the Cumbre Agraria, Campesina, Étnica y Popular (CACEP for its initials in Spanish) and the Mesa Social Minero Energética y Ambiental (MSMEA for its initials in Spanish), which submitted proposals to the negotiating table with the purpose of advancing a Great National Mining and Energy Dialogue. However, as with other interactions, the change of government prevented the advancement of these initiatives.

Peace talks simultaneity has been identified by several analysts over time as one of the reasons peace attempts with this guerrilla group have failed. The talks in Havana during the government of Andrés Pastrana had different milestones and ended in February 2001 when the ELN communicated its decision to suspend them because of military operations in the meeting zone defined for the talks and due to the alleged presence of paramilitary groups, located in Southern Bolivar. Subsequent

public statements and analyses recognize that the priority assigned to the peace process with the FARC-EP and the pressure from paramilitary groups in the meeting zone – and other areas of the country – ended up influencing the termination of this process during the Pastrana administration.

Likewise, in the government of Juan Manuel Santos, after more than two years of exploratory phase with the ELN, the public phase began in 2016, on the eve of the signing of the agreement with the FARC-EP. This simultaneity impacted the negotiation with the ELN, as it implied political, time and capacity limitations for that second negotiation table. Hence, in the mirror of the process with the FARC, the process with the ELN is distorted (Guerra 2020, p. 174).

Regarding current peace negotiations carried out by the government of President Gustavo Petro (2022-2026), there are still concerns about the simultaneity with other negotiations and the point of arrival of the process (Alzate González, 2023)³⁶. Similarly, there are multiple systematized products that can be considered today, such as the proposals of the preparatory hearings, the proposals of the gender workshop, the Acuerdo Humanitario ¡Ya! in Chocó and the proposal of the National Mining, Energy and Environmental Dialogue.

Links and findings

We analyzed 30 links that include positive, negative, and neutral impacts, as well as a multiplicity of means by which peace initiatives interact in the Colombian case. The following emerges from this analysis:

I. Regarding the interactions between peace initiatives from this research's sample between 2012 to 2018, we found that 25 out of 30 links are intentional (83.33 %) and only 5 are not (16.67 %). The linkages with positive impact, 17 out of 30, (56.67 %), include examples of how to legitimize, contribute conceptually and financially, and include more peace initiatives in interactions for sustainable peace. Of the 30 links, 9 have neutral impact, i.e., they do not enable or disable the initiatives, as they seek connection or have connection points derived from

36. See at <https://www.elspectador.com/colombia-20/paz-y-memoria/riesgos-de-mesas-de-dialogos-con-el-eln-y-disidencias-de-farc-ivan-mordisco-instituto-de-paz-de-estados-unidos/>

those who participate in the initiatives, but the potential of such interactions is not reached to contribute to sustainable peace. The links with negative impact, 4 out of 30, are those that arise due to differences on the meaning of peace, lack of unity in the concept of peace and differences on how to achieve it, which leads to the exclusion, making invisible or delegitimization of other peace initiatives.

II. A track, whether it's the national, regional or local one, that is not committed to a peace agenda, in some cases, is perceived as an obstacle, limiting the initiatives' scope and interactions. However, we also found links with fluid dialogue between tracks, with a common peace agenda that it's not defined by a single track, thus having a greater impact on sustainable peace.

III. There are few regional track initiatives in the sample, 8 out of 53 (15.09%). Four of these regional initiatives, representing 50% of the total number of regional initiatives in the sample, have linkages with other peace initiatives that merited inclusion within the prioritized linkages in this research. This research's regional track initiatives present an opportunity for fluid communication and interaction between local and national initiatives.

IV. The international community's support has been key to the advancement of peace initiatives in various territories and on gender issues. The sample shows a predominance of international cooperation for the operation of the initiatives, the generation of capacities and the exchange of experiences (47 out of 53, 88.6%). However, we only found individual initiatives being supported by cooperation and no cases of cooperation specifically aimed at promoting better interactions between peace initiatives in this sample.

V. The lessons learned from humanitarian dialogues, between communities and armed actors, are vital for the development of institutional peace negotiations and peace efforts, given their positive results in several cases in places with little state presence.

VI. The negotiation participation mechanisms between the national government and armed actors have been limited in terms of their synchrony and capacity to influence the agenda. Likewise, the limited negotiation agenda implies special challenges where the expectation is usually a massive participation mechanism and a diversity of proposals that are difficult to include in the negotiation and to adopt by the parties. The mechanisms we studied in the sample show the contributions and proposals that have been collected have not been subsequently taken up again to build on what has been constructed.

VII. A country's peace agenda cannot and should not be covered by a negotiation agenda between the main actors in the conflict. For this reason, there must be a State peace policy that sustains the long-term peace agenda and that feeds on the peace agendas and initiatives at different tracks.

Conclusions and lessons learned

If we planted a life in like we can happily die, and I've planted around a 100 thousand.

Cuando uno muere puede morir contento si sembró un árbol, yo he sembrado como 100 mil.

Interview 21, Oírís Hernández, La Victoria de San Isidro, Cesar

The multitrack approach research applied to the peace process in Colombia between 2012 and 2018 visualizes the diversity of peace initiatives existing in the study period, the robust processes of civil society organization, the institutional efforts made and the different linkages that have occurred. In the special focus on interactions between peace initiatives, we found negative impacts that can be avoided, interactions without impact that are lost opportunities and interactions with positive impacts that can be better exploited.

This research also contributes concepts to the theoretical framework of the multitrack approach to peace processes worldwide. Advocacy strategies – and their limits – as a key characterizer of peace initiatives, multi-stakeholder dialogue as a methodology to narrow down the sample of peace initiatives subject to analysis, and sustainable peace as a concept comparable to any denomination of peace that refers to overcoming the risks of repeating armed conflict, are the main conceptual contributions.

We found that advocacy strategies are a characteristic part of the social movement for peace in Colombia, yet the concept can be useful to differentiate types of initiatives, beyond dialogues, negotiations, and mediations globally. Likewise, the multiplicity of actors within the same population, such as women from their diversity or among the inhabitants of a territory such as Cesar and La Guajira, is key to understanding the scope of peace initiatives and assessing their contributions to peace autonomously and their links with other initiatives.

In the Colombian case, the multitrack analysis identified that networking includes multiple types of interactions and provides diverse categories to analyze these linkages in terms of their impacts, means and types. Finally, this study made it possible to simplify the concept of sustainable peace, which can be equated to different ways of naming peace as a country's purpose and avoid confusion or friction due to the exclusive use of one adjective over others.

Additionally, we proved that applying the multitrack approach to a highly complex armed conflict such as the Colombian one allows assessing the contribution of all initiatives to sustainable peace, avoiding an analysis focused exclusively on peace negotiations.

Taking into account the study period of this research (2012-2018, we observed that there is a greater number of initiatives created during the development of the peace talks table between the national government and the FARC-EP and the negotiation with the ELN (35 initiatives out of 53, representing 66.03%), as well as

a significant number of initiatives that are related to institutional peace talks (29 initiatives out of 53, representing 54.71%). Given this scenario, there was a risk that the sample would focus on initiatives created as a function of negotiations, a bias that the multitrack approach seeks to avoid. However, even reducing the sample, 18 initiatives out of 53, representing 33.96%, were created before the start of the peace talks. These initiatives respond to the mobilization for peace in Colombia and arise independently of the negotiations as a response to the escalation of the war. It is also evident that their scope, mechanisms, and functioning transcend the dynamics of the peace negotiations. Therefore, one of the lessons learned indicates the importance of complementarity and the promotion of linkages between diverse initiatives.

The 53 peace initiatives in this sample, some of which continue to operate in contexts of armed confrontation and multiple impacts on the civilian population, make us proud for all that has been achieved in Colombia on the road to sustainable peace and demand strengthening them to achieve the non-repetition of the conflict. The links analyzed leave a lesson on alliances for peace, according to which even the most difficult dialogue is achieved when the goal is peace.

Although the road travelled in Colombia is long and the progress in peace building is extensive, challenges remain. In this research we identified good practices relevant to current and future peace efforts in Colombia, and to any peace effort in the world. First, the analysis of the sample and interactions shows that the negotiation participation mechanisms and their relationship with other peace initiatives can be exploited through the complementarity of different efforts towards sustainable peace and avoiding frustrating efforts with unattainable expectations in terms of advocacy. Likewise, the interactions between different peace initiatives through multi-stakeholder dialogue allow alliances for peace to be robust and initiatives to relate to each other based on autonomy and complementarity of their purposes.

Taking into account this research's results, we identified some key points to continue and deepen the multitrack analysis in the Colombian peace process. These are:

- 1.** Analysis of regional initiatives as the best level to promote intentional interactions that legitimize initiatives and allow harmonious progress in their purposes towards sustainable peace.
- 2.** Analysis of the implementation initiatives of the Final Peace Agreement.

3. Analysis of initiatives deployed between 2018 and 2023 as unlikely dialogues between LGBTQ+ population and churches, social movements, private sector and communities, State public forces and civil society organizations, among others.
4. Deepening of lessons learned on participation mechanisms and progress in new dialogues with the ELN.

Lessons learned

Siempre hay indicadores de violencia, pero preguntar por los impactos positivos nos lleva a indicadores de vida. ¿Cuántas vidas se han salvado con iniciativas de paz?

We always have violence indicators, but we never inquire about positive impacts which guide us to life indicators. How many lives have peace initiatives saved?

Jonathan Tovar, Workshop to socialize the results of the multitrack research on Colombia's peace process, August 22, 2023, Valledupar, Colombia.

We leave for your consideration the findings on the characterization of initiatives and their linkages. These were discussed with peacebuilders who participated in this research and seek to serve as a contribution to the country's peace agenda.

I. The autonomous work of each peace initiative should be promoted, regardless of its type, nature, or temporality. The autonomy enjoyed by its members, whether they are individuals, organizations, platforms, or institutions, defines the differentiated contribution of each initiative to sustainable peace.

II. A state peace policy that manages to include, unite, and promote peace initiatives at all tracks, facilitating their continuity and providing state support for them, should be promoted. A peace agenda that is only part of a government's transitional policy is fragile. This State policy must promote interactions between initiatives and support the ones that contribute to sustainable peace, regardless of the political environment.

III. In addition to a state peace policy, consideration should be given to the allocation of public, private and cooperation resources in a democratic and transparent manner for peace initiatives that seek to contribute to sustainable peace.

IV. Peace initiatives that include sectors that are not usually part of peace initiatives or are not visible (youth, media, public forces, businessmen, private sector, and academics) and those initiatives led by artists and with artistic and cultural components that manage to convene diverse actors, should be promoted. The ladder, seeking to connect incipient initiatives with those of greater trajectory at the national, regional, and local tracks.

V. Peace initiatives that include unlikely dialogues as part of their work, should be promoted. The ladder, understanding that the rapprochement between subjects that would not usually engage in dialogue opens opportunities for construing sustainable peace.

VI. Interactions of women's and LGBTQ+ population initiatives with local initiatives of all kinds, especially those in human rights advocacy and peacebuilding, should be promoted to strengthen their democratic component and transform the patriarchal origins of conflicts.

VII. Peace initiatives should be encouraged to interact with others, as part of their main purpose. These links must be efficient, contribute to multi-stakeholder

dialogue and contribute conceptual content on peace, legitimize other peace initiatives, allow the inclusion of new sectors in peace building and overcome exclusionary practices regarding peace.

VIII. The State, as the main guarantor of the non-repetition of the conflict and the well-being of communities, should promote interactions with a positive impact on the contribution to sustainable peace. Likewise, the dialogue between the different tracks, regardless of the type of initiative, should be fluid, identifying meeting points with other initiatives and aiming at a holistic and long-term peace agenda.

IX. A greater number of regional peace initiatives, both institutional and non-institutional, should be promoted to serve as a platform for a fluid dialogue among a diversity of actors at the three tracks, and to guarantee multitrack actions in Colombia's peace process. To this end, there are good practices in the regional cases we analyzed that can be considered in new peace-building processes with a territorial approach.

X. A systematic strategy for the articulation of international cooperation by the national government and the State should be developed, considering the reality and diversity of local, regional, and national peace initiatives, and promoting their interactions. Prevention measures with a local approach over competition among resources must be taken to avoid the disarticulation and isolation of initiatives.

XI. Peace negotiations that seek an end to the conflict with some armed groups must be in harmony with the territorial political reality and the communities' urgent humanitarian needs. To this end, it is important to consider good practices in humanitarian dialogues led by the communities, such as proposing a minimum agenda to be respected and activating the dialogue based on the demand for an end to violence and respect for the territories and communities. Likewise, it is key to rescue the good practice of gathering inputs from grassroots communities for the development of the dialogues, making victims and communities central.

XII. Participation and advocacy in peace negotiations must be timely and effective to include the reality of the conflict as expressed by those who live its consequences directly. They must comply with the maxim "there can be no

peace negotiations or agreements without the victims” and the participation mechanisms must collect proposals with a future and impactful (build on what has been built). Likewise, participation should not be instrumentalized and negotiation decisions should be in tune with local, regional, and national peace agendas and citizen participation agendas.

XIII. The State must promote local, regional, and national transformations for peace agendas complementary to peace negotiations being carried out by the Government, understanding that a country’s peace agenda cannot be limited exclusively to negotiations with armed groups. Likewise, this State policy must be accompanied by pedagogy for effective peace and legitimize dialogue between different (multi-stakeholder) actors as the main mechanism for sustainable peace.

Annex 1. Multitrack research's peace initiatives in the Colombian peace process between 2012 and 2018

Code	Name	Mechanism	Initiative type	Initiative subtype	Track
1	Semana por la Paz (Annual week for peace)	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
2	Diálogos pastorales (Pastoral Dialogues)	Mediation	Humanitarian dialogues	Humanitarian dialogues	Local
3	Asociación Cristiana Menonita para Justicia, Paz, y Acción No Violenta (Justapaz)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
4	Viva la Ciudadanía	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
5	Red Nacional de Iniciativas Ciudadanas por la Paz y contra la Guerra (Redepaz)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Land community rights advocacy	National
6	Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio	Dialogue	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	Regional
7	Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Women's platforms	National

Code	Name	Mechanism	Initiative type	Initiative subtype	Track
8	National and territorial Reconciliation and Coexistence Councils	Advocacy strategy	Negotiations and peace agreements	Negotiations and peace agreements	National
9	Corporación para el Desarrollo y Paz del Valle (Vallenpaz for its abbreviation in spanish)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Bussiness and private sector platforms	Regional
10	Foro Interétnico de Solidaridad Chocó (FISCH)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Territorial and community rightht advocacy	Local
11	Comisión Intereclesial Justicia y Paz	Dialogue	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
12	Redprodepaz	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
13	Fundación Red de Desarrollo y Paz de los Montes de María	Dialogue	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	Regional
14	Red Agenda Caribe	Mediation	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	Regional
15	Premio Emprender Paz (Entrepreneur Peace Award)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Bussiness and private sector platforms	National
16	Grupo Ecuménico de Mujeres Constructoras de Paz (Gempaz for it's abbreviation in Spanish)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Women's platforms	National

Code	Name	Mechanism	Initiative type	Initiative subtype	Track
17	Colombianos y Colombianas por la Paz (CCPP for it's initials in Spanish)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
18	Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Cesar y la Guajira (PDPCG for it's initials in Spanish)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Territorial and community rights advocacy	Regional
19	Negotiation table of the national Government and FARC-EP at Havana	Negotiation	Negotiations and peace agreements	Negotiations and peace agreements	National
20	Opposition to the Government's peace talks with FARC-EP	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
21	National Summit of Women and Peace Summit	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Women's platforms	National
22	Colectivo de Pensamiento y Acción Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Women's platforms	National
23	Mesa Ecu�mica por la Paz	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
24	Laboratorios para la paz	Mediation	Humanitarian dialogue	Humanitarian dialogue	Local
25	Mecanismos de participaci�n de la negociaci�n con las FARC-EP	Advocacy strategy	Negotiations and peace agreements	Negotiations and peace agreements	National
26	#Parar la Guerra	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National

Code	Name	Mechanism	Initiative type	Initiative subtype	Track
27	Espacio Regional de Construcción de Paz de los Montes de María	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	Regional
28	Alianza de universidades por la paz (Alliance of universities for peace)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Academia and educational sector associations	National
29	Amigos y Amigas de la Negociación con el ELN	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
30	Paz completa	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
31	Acknowledgment of accountability process in the Bojayá massacre	Dialogue	Humanitarian dialogue	Humanitarian dialogue	Local
32	Frente Amplio por la Paz, la Democracia y la Justicia	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
33	Mesa Social para la Paz	Dialogue	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
34	Cinco Claves	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Women's platforms	National
35	Negotiation between the Government and the ELN (President Santos Government)	Negotiation	Negotiations and peace agreements	Negotiations and peace agreements	National
36	LGBTI Peace Platform	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	LGBTIQ+ platforms	National

Code	Name	Mechanism	Initiative type	Initiative subtype	Track
37	Paz a la Calle	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
38	Campamentos Permanentes por la Paz	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
39	Movimiento estudiantil Paziempre	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
40	Plebiscite "No" Campaign	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
41	Plebiscite "Yes" Campaign	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
42	National Government's Great Dialogue with the opposition to the peace agreement signed with the FARC-EP (Renegotiation)	Dialogue	Negotiations and peace agreementspaz	Negotiations and peace agreements	National
43	Común Acuerdo	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
44	Mesa de Iniciativas de Reconciliación (MIR for its initials in Spanish)	Dialogue	Civil society platforms civil	Territorial and community rights advocacy	National
45	Grupo de Género en la Paz (GPAZ for its initials in Spanish)	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Women's platforms	National

Code	Name	Mechanism	Initiative type	Initiative subtype	Track
46	Audiencias preparatorias de la negociación con el ELN	Advocacy strategy	Negotiations and peace agreements	Negotiations and peace agreements	National
47	Mesa por la Verdad	Advocacy strategy	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National
48	Acuerdo humanitario ¡Ya! en el Chocó	Mediation	Humanitarian dialogues	Humanitarian dialogues	Local
49	Tregua de San Juan	Mediación	Humanitarian dialogues	Humanitarian dialogues	Local
50	Special Development Programs with a Regional Perspective (PDET for its initials in Spanish)	Negotiation	Negotiations and peace agreements	Negotiations and peace agreements	Regional
51	Defendamos la Paz	Advocacy strategy	Digital and/or rally platforms	Digital and/or rally platforms	National
52	Comisión por la Vida, la Reconciliación y la Paz del Catatumbo	Dialogue	Humanitarian dialogues	Humanitarian dialogues	Regional
53	Diálogos Improbables (Unlikely dialogues)	Dialogue	Civil society platforms	Human rights advocacy	National

*The initiatives are organized in chronological order according to their date of creation.

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