Civil society and peace – a holy relationship?

A case study on the role of faith-based organizations in peacebuilding and their promotion of human rights in Colombia.

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Abstract

This master thesis deals with civil society peacebuilding and human rights, aiming to explore the relationship between these perspectives. In more detail, the peacebuilding functions of the Colombian faith-based network of DiPaz are examined in a context where the Government of Colombia and the FARC guerilla have signed a peace agreement and officially entered a post-conflict phase, and to realize the examination the comprehensive framework of Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk (2010) is used. Moreover, a human rights perspective on the functions is applied in order to examine the possibilities of using the agendas of peacebuilding and human rights simultaneously with that purpose of working towards a sustainable peace in Colombia. The conclusion is that the framework is useful when examining the relationship between civil society and peacebuilding, and that the peacebuilding functions of DiPaz are of relevance. Finally, a human rights agenda is frequently used simultaneously by DiPaz to promote the respect of human rights and sustainable peace.

Key words: Colombia; civil society; faith-based organizations; Human rights; Peacebuilding
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUC</td>
<td>Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia/ United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia</td>
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<tr>
<td>CGSB</td>
<td>Coordinadora Guerrillera Simón Bolívar/ Simón Bolívar Coordinating Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration</td>
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<td>DIPAZ</td>
<td>El Diálogo Intereclesial por la Paz de Colombia/ The Inter-church Dialogue for Peace in Colombia</td>
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<tr>
<td>ELN</td>
<td>Ejército de Liberación Nacional/ National Liberation Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPL</td>
<td>Ejército Popular Liberación/ Popular Liberation Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>FARC</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia/ Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia</td>
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<tr>
<td>GOC</td>
<td>Government of Colombia</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUSTAPAZ</td>
<td>Asociación Cristiana Menonita para Justicia, Paz y Acción Noviolenta/ Christian Mennonite Association for Justice, Peace and Nonviolent Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>M-19</td>
<td>Movimiento 19 de Abril/ 19th of April Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM &amp; V</td>
<td>Monitoring and Verification Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPT</td>
<td>Puntos de Pre-agrupamiento Temporal/ Temporary Pre-grouping Points</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTN</td>
<td>Puntos Transitorios de Normalización/ Transitory Normalization Points</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>Unión Patriótica/ Patriotic Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZVTN</td>
<td>Zonas Veredales Transitorias de Normalización/ Transitory Rural Settlement Normalization Zones</td>
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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Problem formulation and relevance

The two traditions of peacebuilding and human rights are in many cases separated into two different dialogues, within both the academy and practice, where for instance human rights are often normalized, politicized and operationalized as transitional justice, and peacebuilding as an issue for politicians (Gunner and Nordquist 2011:2). Despite this applied separation, Göran Gunner and Kjell-Åke Nordquist (2011:1) claim that we have reasons to believe that the principles and working methods of human rights and peacebuilding work well together, or more specifically, they may as well be seen as two perspectives aiming for the same goal and sharing the same values (Ibid:19). Peacebuilding, as an issue for politicians, has during the years been focusing on Track 1 diplomacy, excluding other important actors and aiming for the peace to spread downwards to the rest of the population (Lederach 1997:44ff). The concept of peacebuilding has developed through time and can today be described as the process of achieving peace. Thania Paffenholz (2010a) proposes a definition of peacebuilding in the following way:

‘Peacebuilding aims at preventing and managing armed conflict and sustaining peace after large-scale organized violence has ended. It is a multi-dimensional effort; its scope covers all activities that are linked directly to this objective across five to ten years. Peacebuilding should create conducive conditions for economic reconstruction, development, and democratization as preconditions for legitimate democratic order, but should not be equated and thus confused with these concepts.’ (Ibid:49f).

This definition is an attempt to balance between sustainable peacebuilding and liberal peacebuilding, and exclusion of any of these two paradigms when defining peacebuilding can tend to be too restrictive, omitting activities linked to peace objectives of managing and preventing of armed conflict. Therefore, Paffenholz’s definition is useful when gaining understanding of what peacebuilding is.

Although Paffenholz’s definition of peacebuilding does not mention human rights in explicit terms, I argue that they can be integrated in activities linked to the objectives of preventing and managing armed conflict and sustainable peace. Moreover, when Paffenholz states that “Peacebuilding should create conducive conditions for economic reconstruction,
development, and democratization as preconditions for legitimate democratic order” (Paffenholz 2010a:49f), human rights are often important ingredients in that construction of a legitimate democratic order after an armed conflict. This is because ‘human rights’ is a perspective that often shares common goals and values with today’s common understanding of peacebuilding.

According to Gunner and Nordquist (2011:2), many organizations, states and individuals experience a friction when one agenda, for instance a peacebuilding agenda, is prioritized over the other. However, this does not have to be the case, since overlapping claims could substantiate a synergy. Common goals and values could for instance be lasting peace characterized by justice and development, and although the ‘recipe’ could look different it is not impossible to deal with the frictions of these two agendas. One reason why human rights are important to acknowledge and defend in a post-war process is that when “war” has turned into “post-war”, human rights have been strengthened in terms of a decreased number of deaths, enabled humanitarian support and return to a more civilized life (Ibid:2). The summary of the link between peacebuilding and human rights is that these should not be separated into two dialogues, but rather be seen as two perspectives working together.

Furthermore, the process of achieving peace is largely dependent on the actors carrying out activities of peacebuilding. Within its territory, the state is by other actors expected to maintain legitimate authority. Kjell Erling Kjellman and Kristian Berg Harpviken (2010:29) state that there has been a strong focus on the strengthening and building of state institutions within the peacebuilding paradigm with parallel initiatives addressing promotion of civil society. It is not an illogical focus, since the state is a logic unit of analysis and a solution to political disorder. However, civil society peacebuilding has increasingly gained interest and has been recognized as an essential actor of peace since the mid-1990s. The recognition of civil society’s role in peacebuilding is dependent on the developed understanding and conceptualization of peacebuilding, which is, as formulated by John Paul Lederach (1997:20), a comprehensive concept focusing on the root causes of a conflict with a view to establishing a sustainable peace, not only reconstruction after a peace agreement. Solutions of armed conflicts and wars can therefore no longer be seen as top-led affairs leaving the rest of the society only to follow and accept their leaders’ agreements as a sustainable way to peace, but to look at the civil society as a key actor who opens up possibilities and takes over tasks where the state lacks capacity.
The civil society can create a bridge between human rights and peacebuilding through their peacebuilding initiatives, and how this can be done is further addressed in this study. Roth-Arriaza (2010:232) establishes that a state’s achievements to address previous human rights violations do not only depend on the actions of a government but also, crucially, civil society actors who make use of their own influence and affect the role and actions of the government. Human rights are therefore tightly linked to the role of civil society peacebuilding where several types of actors using them as a key concept to peace.

In summary, peacebuilding, human rights and civil society can possibly be linked together in order to achieve sustainable peace. The question is how. It is important to establish what Paffenholz and Spurk (2006:1) argue, which is that “the mere existence of and support for civil society does not automatically lead to peacebuilding”. This indicates that there is a need for an understanding of the activities and functions of civil society, within its own peacebuilding context. Therefore, this study is exploring the relationship between the civil society and peacebuilding, in terms of how activities and functions of the civil society can be interpreted and how it potentially can be relevant to the peacebuilding process and respect of human rights. It is of interest for internal and external actors working with peacebuilding, therefore, clarifying civil society’s role and relevance may provide for some understanding in future efforts. Furthermore, the academic addition going from a common normative belief concerning the role of civil society to a more realist perspective, which is further discussed in chapter 2, is important to broaden the field of peace studies and this study intend to contribute to this development.

A current and highly relevant peacebuilding opening can be found in one of the world’s longest internal conflicts. Colombia is officially in a post-war process since the Final Peace Agreement between the left-wing guerilla The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the government of Colombia (GOC) on the 16th of October 2016. Despite the peace agreement, Colombia is still in a fragile position with risks of renewed violence, continuing poverty and weak democratic practice, and the civil society, such as religious, women’s, afro-Colombian, and indigenous organizations, workers’ unions, peasants’ movements, is lifting demands of human rights and carrying out activities of peacebuilding all over the country. This study is focusing on the religious civil society since Colombia is strongly characterized by the Church and the Christian faith, and it has taken on roles in the peacebuilding process on both a national and local level. Questions of what the faith-based civil society in Colombia do and how
it operates in the name of peace and human rights are what this study is addressing with conclusions that can be a contribution to the current field of civil society and peacebuilding.

1.2 Aim and research questions
This study has a two-part aim which firstly is to explore the relationship between civil society and peacebuilding, which means in more detail to examine the relevance of peacebuilding functions of a certain religious network called DiPaz, by using the framework of Paffenholz and Spurk (2010). Furthermore the aim is to find out how this network’s activities seek to promote the respect of human rights in Colombia. The results could therefore contribute to the understanding of the role of civil society in peacebuilding and respect of human rights. The two first research questions are related to the first part of the aim and are formulated as follows:

- **What peacebuilding activities is the faith-based network DiPaz carrying out in Colombia?**
- **To what extent can these activities be attributed to the functions outlined by Paffenholz and Spurk (2010)?**

A third question is related to the aim of exploring how the activities could promote the respect of human rights in Colombia.

- **In what ways do DiPaz seek to promote human rights in Colombia through its peacebuilding functions?**

1.3 Materials, delimitations and critical aspects
To fulfill the aim and answer the research questions of this study it requires some methodological delimitation. In summary, the delimitations are applied to the choices of time-frame, civil society actor and analyzed material.

1.3.1 DiPaz - a Christian religious sector committed to peace
Peacebuilding is conducted by a range of different actors as for instance governments, the media, grassroots organizations, business leaders, aid organizations and religious leaders. All actors could play an important role in this process, having potential to create sustainable peace. This study is focusing on faith-based organizations, although the existence and importance of other actors of civil society. Colombia is a country where faith and religion play an important role in the community, and faith-based organizations can therefore carry, to some or greater extent,
responsibility, influence and ability to take action due to its capability to mobilize. Based on these aspects, a certain network called *El Diálogo Intereclesial por la Paz de Colombia* (The Intereclesial Dialogue for Peace in Colombia, henceforth *DiPaz*), which is aiming for peace and respect of human rights in Colombia. In this study DiPaz is referred to as one joint actor since the members publishes reports and publications as DiPaz, and share an agenda based on the three pillars of ‘truth and justice’, ‘antimilitarism and non violent action’, and ‘reconciliation’. However, it is essential to have in mind that the network consists of 16 different churches and faith-based organizations (*Dipaz* 2017a). The involvement in the peace process and peacebuilding in Colombia makes it interesting to explore the role and relationship of DiPaz with peacebuilding in a deeper perspective, while it as well provides a distinct delimitation to this study since it was founded in 2014 and is active to this day.

**1.3.2 Materials**

DiPaz conducted two humanitarian reports in 2017 on its monitoring on the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement (*DiPaz* 2017b; *DiPaz* 2017c). It has been verified by a program officer at the Swedish Church (Interview 2019a), and a person in charge of advocacy at DiPaz (Interview 2019b), that these reports are crucial in order to understand what activities these churches and faith-based organizations are carrying out in Colombia to promote peace. Additionally, these reports by DiPaz are used as a supplement and alternative to reports conducted by the United Nations, which again confirms the importance of their content.

The choice of this analysis material is also based on the start of the implementation process of the final agreement between FARC and GOC in November 2016. The disarmament process of FARC started in 2017 and is an important period up-to-date in the peacebuilding process where DiPaz lays a significant part of their focus together with activities concerning truth and justice and reconciliation.

Since the peace agreement formed a common ground for the way forward, and dealing with the root causes of the conflict, activities concerning peace-making and peacebuilding during 2014-2016 are included in this study. The negotiations between FARC and GOC started indeed in 2012, however, DiPaz did not operate as a network until 2014. On this matter, the material consists of official publications, public letters and a video from the website of DiPaz and publications published in association with other churches and organizations called “co-dialoguers”. It is essential to have in mind that web-published material, generally, could give an
excessive positive self-image, or leaving out complicated details for the sake of simplicity and easy communication. Therefore, this could have an impact on the results if not reflected on.

Importantly to have in mind, the reports and publications mentioned above are written in Spanish. Although I master the language it is not my mother tongue, thus, interpretation is required by me solely. What favors the interpretation process and could reduce the risk of misinterpretation is that DiPaz embraces the humanitarian principles of the United Nations and the international law of human rights (DiPaz 2017b:4). This could mean that terminologies of these issues are retrieved by a recognized and international instance and therefore less subjected to misinterpretation in the analysis on my behalf. Yet, the fact that interpretation of written materials can be critical still remains.

Analysis material is also required for the context analysis in this study, and it is limited to the context regarding the conflict between FARC and the GOC, the peace-process, and the civil society’s position in Colombia. Therefore, a selection of academic articles together with the recognized sources of Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Human Rights Watch is chosen due to their relevant content related to the scope of the contextualization.

1.3.3 Peacebuilding in Colombia

The underlying focus in this study lays on the peacebuilding process in Colombia. This process goes beyond the peace negotiations as such, which would be a different objective of study. Peacebuilding is a broader concept and its complexity offers a wider understanding of the role of civil society in building peace. Furthermore, the concept of peace-making would be relevant in the Colombian context, however, this would signify that the study aims to examine the process until the negotiation table and exclude elements that peacebuilding takes into account. Therefore, this study will refer to the period of 2014-2019 as part of the peacebuilding process in Colombia where DiPaz has been operating its peacebuilding activities. DiPaz started operating as a joint network in 2014, and the same year FARC and the GOC were in the midst of the negotiation process. The Final Agreement was signed in 2016 and the implementation process started in 2017 and is still ongoing. These events are the reason behind the time frame.

Colombia has over the years been struggling with civil war and conflict, consisting of different dyads and incompatibilities. Relevant conflict actors include the Government (GOC), FARC, ELN, M-19 (Movimiento 19 de Abril, 19th of April Movement), EPL (Ejército Popular
de Liberación, Popular Liberation Army), and EPL – Megateo (a splinter faction of EPL) as well as paramilitary organizations (UCDPa 2018). However, the study is delimited to the conflict of GOC-FARC since it is, or was, the longest ongoing armed conflict in Colombia and the world. Also, these two conflict parties carry massive responsibility of fatal civil casualties, destruction and suffering through the years which make it important to find sustainable solutions for the future.

1.4 Outline

The following chapter 2 consists of a summary of previous research on civil society and peacebuilding. Here, I identify a gap in the field of research and discuss why this study is relevant. In chapter 3 the theoretical approach is presented, starting with the concept of civil society, its relevance and how it is understood in a peacebuilding context. Later on in the same chapter, the ‘Comprehensive framework for the analysis of civil society in peacebuilding’ by Paffenholz and Spurk (2010) used in the analysis of the material is described. This includes the four elements of the framework: Contextualization, functions, assessments and conclusions. Chapter 3 is a passage where it is reviewed how human rights are understood in this study. A human rights dimension based on Gunner and Nordquist’s (2011) approach of integration is reviewed here. The theory section is followed by a method section that establishes how to analyze the material using the theoretical perspectives.

In chapter 4 the framework is put to use. Here, a contextualization of Colombia, in order to understand the context in which the civil society is operating, takes form. The activities of DiPaz are then in chapter 5 applied to the functions in line with the framework within the scope of the research questions. In the last part of the analysis section, promotions of human rights are identified in the peacebuilding activities and functions. Chapter 6 provides a conclusion of the findings of chapter 5 and is wrapping together what can be learned from the study.
Chapter 2 - Previous research on civil society and peacebuilding

This section summarizes the research field on civil society peacebuilding, empirically and theoretically. What the empirical studies have in common is that they state that Track 1 diplomacy is doubtfully a key concept to sustainable peace. However, a peacebuilding involving civil society actor is highly desirable. They distinguish from each other by doing different case studies, and they target the issue of civil society peacebuilding differently. Dong Jin Kim (2019), Boonpunth and Rolls (2016), Brett (2017), Omach (2016), and Ateng and Abazaami (2016) all have studied the involvement or the need for involvement of civil society in peacebuilding using specific cases. Yet, the relationship between civil society and peacebuilding remain somewhat inexplicit since they are not using an underlying theory framework through which civil society-driven peacebuilding can be reached, and this study is supposed to fill that gap by using a realist theoretical base that can both be subjected to different cases and yet take into account the specific context and stages of conflicts. The study of Omach (2017) is relatively close to this study, looking into the activities of civil society and categorizes them based on a peacebuilding context. However, these are activities found in that single case of Northern Uganda, and the author is not using a framework that is applicable to a range of different contexts.

In addition to previous empirical research on the field of peacebuilding and civil society, the field has some previous theory based perspectives commended on by Thania Paffenholz (2010a). The used framework of this study is developed by Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk (2010) who saw a need of a theoretical base that facilitates a comparative analysis of civil society peacebuilding across different contexts and stages of conflicts. Paffenholz argues that the framework allows us to analyze the relationship between civil society and peacebuilding in a deeper sense than for instance former Marxist- and alternative discourse-inspired theories. They claim that there has been a lack of realist-inspired theories allowing valid empirical and comparative studies of civil society peacebuilding activities in different contexts. Paffenholz argue that alternative discourse-inspired middle-level theories and Marxist theories tend to focus on the role of civil society without exploring the role in terms of relationships between civil society and peacebuilding. Civil society is by these theories seen as a core actor in reaching positive peace, but the underlying theory framework through which civil society-driven peacebuilding can be achieved is limited (Paffenholz 2010a:61). To gain a further understanding why Paffenholz insists there is a need of a realist-perspective on peacebuilding, a short summary
on former theories on peacebuilding is presented here next. Paffenholz (2010a:50) asserts that idealist inspired theories are focusing on arguing for a world regulated by international organizations, norms and standards, and establishments of norms and standards through a super-entity, such as the United Nations, is therefore the way to achieve peace according to this point of view. Furthermore, a Marxist-inspired structuralist’s perspective on international relations focus on justice and equality and have a critical view on power relations within the system. Peacebuilding is therefore seen as a revolutionary approach, mobilizing people in aim to achieve radical change in the international system. Issues of justice, equality and power relations is a question for the poststructuralist’s approach as well, however, its focus lays on marginalized actors and discourses. Peacebuilding is therefore about understanding differences and in international debates include the discourses on the everyday peace of ordinary people (Ibid:50).

Within most theories, as those presented above, civil society plays a role in peacebuilding. However, idealist-inspired theory of conflict management put less emphasis on civil society than does the Marxist-inspired and idealist theories which give it a larger focus. What the realist-inspired theories do is reflecting on non-state actors’ involvement in the negotiation process, although, the conceptualization of the civil society indicates how much the theories are lacking in theorizing civil society in peacebuilding. Furthermore, Paffenholz states that overall many of the theories view civil society as one core actor to achieve positive peace, but the relationship between civil society and peacebuilding, understood as the underlying reasoning for the same, remain inexplicit (Ibid:57f).
Chapter 3 – Theory

This chapter presents the chosen frameworks used in this study of the civil society peacebuilding in Colombia. The aim of this study is partially to explore the relevance of the peacebuilding activities of the chosen network of DiPaz, and Paffenholz and Spurk’s framework allows examination of the activities and functions carried out in Colombia. Additionally, it is interesting to expose the framework to the case of Colombia, testing its relevance on an ongoing and fragile peacebuilding process. Furthermore, the human rights perspective of this study is based on Gunner and Nordquist’s work from 2011. In An Unlikely Dilemma – Constructing a partnership between human rights and peacebuilding the authors seek to connect the agendas of peacebuilding and human rights. Before reviewing the framework and human rights dimension, a basic explanation of relevance and understanding of civil society in a context of peacebuilding is made. The chapter ends with a presentation of method and addressing of some critical aspects.

3.1 Relevance and understanding of civil society’s role in peacebuilding

In a peacebuilding context, civil society is widely seen as an important ingredient for stabilizing peace and contributing to the transition from peacebuilding to democratization. Before presenting two different approaches to analyze civil society, Spurk’s own definition of civil society is as follows:

*Civil society is a sphere of voluntary action that is distinct from the state, political, private, and economic sphere, keeping in mind that in practice the boundaries between these sectors are often complex and blurred. It consists of a large and diverse set of voluntary organizations – competing with each other and oriented towards specific interests – that are not purely driven by private or economic interests, are autonomously organized, and interact in the public sphere. Thus, civil society is independent from the state and the political sphere, but is oriented toward and interacts closely with them.* (Spurk 2010: 8f).

This definition is based on a combination of two viewpoints of civil society, and firstly civil society is seen as a *sector* and secondly as an *intermediate sphere* (Spurk 2010:7). In order to analyze the potential of the civil society for peacebuilding, its roles have to be clarified. Therefore, Spurk (2010:20) highlights two different research approaches to analyze civil society: actor-oriented and functional approach. The actor-oriented approach focuses on the different
actors that belong to civil society, and Spurk argues that this approach is limited and do not succeed to acknowledge the diversity of existing civil society organizations and associations as the focus often lays on a Western perspective of civil society leaving out other actors with important functions. A second approach is therefore advocated which presents different functions that the civil society can fulfill, including different kinds of civil society actors (Ibid:20)]. This study is based on the function approach of Spurk, looking at the civil society from this point of view.

3.2 ‘A comprehensive framework for the analysis of civil society peacebuilding’

The framework used to answer the research questions 1 and 2 contains four main elements: Context, functions, assessments and conclusions. The first element shows the importance of understanding the context in which the civil society exists and acts. The second element of the framework consists of seven functions of civil society activities: Protection, monitoring, advocacy and public communication, in-group socialization, social cohesion, intermediation and facilitation, and service delivery. These functions are connected to civil society peacebuilding and furthermore described in the following sub-chapter. The third element implicates making assessments of the functions. This means validating the relevance of the civil society functions. This requires some methodological steps which are explained in chapter 3.4. In the fourth element, conclusions of the civil society functions are made which are as well discussed in chapter 3.4.

3.2.1 Activities and functions of civil society in peacebuilding

Here follows a presentation of the basic understanding of Paffenholz and Spurk’s (2010) seven functions of peacebuilding which are to be identified and analyzed in this study. It is important to have in mind that functions are not necessarily static, meaning that they can overlap, relate to and be dependent on each other.

Protection

Alongside the state’s responsibility to provide security for its citizens, the civil society plays an essential role of providing a security function as well. Both national and international civil society actors can perform the protection function and Paffenholz and Spurk list some main security activities: international accompaniment, watchdog activities, creations of so called “zones of peace”, humanitarian aid, and civil society initiatives for human security. Protection,
as the provision of security and reduction of violence, is almost a precondition for other functions to be fulfilled, as civil society actors are prevented and threatened by armed groups from taking up peacebuilding roles (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:67). The protection function can also reveal itself as support given to security-related interventions, including removing landmines, demobilization and disarmament of combating groups, and reintegration of former combatants. The civil society is unlikely to manage these kinds of security-related interventions on its own, however, it can take part in elements where their own community is of concern (Ibid:68).

**Monitoring**

The monitoring function goes hand in hand with the function of protection and the advocacy/public communication function. Through monitoring actions, governments can for instance be held accountable for violations of human rights. International and local actors of civil society monitor the ongoing situation in the country and give recommendations to decision-makers and report to groups advocating human rights. Two main activities constitute the monitoring function: One, the creation of political early-warning system and, two, reporting on human right abuses. Local and international groups are often cooperating in these two activities allowing local groups a safe space to complete their tasks (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:68).

**Advocacy and public communication**

Advocacy entails promoting of relevant social and political themes on the public agenda, and is often referred to as “communication”. Paffenholz and Spurk (2010:69) refer to Aall 2001 and Paffenholz 2003 when claiming that advocacy is considered to be one of the core functions of peacebuilding. Examples of activities within this function are: agenda-setting by local civil society actors; lobbying for involvement of civil society actors in peace negotiations, and; creating public pressure. Agenda-setting in this sense implicates bringing themes to the national agenda, such as road map projects, awareness workshops, or public campaigns. Creation of public pressure can imply mass mobilization for peace negotiations or against the repetition of violence. Furthermore, international advocacy such as banning of landmines, blood diamonds and child soldiers are of importance as well.

There are two types of advocacy where the first one is nonpublic advocacy. This means that civil society actors communicate through informal dialogues, diplomatic channels or
political elites, and in that way bringing issues to the negotiation agenda. The second type of advocacy is public communication where civil society makes claims and demands publically via demonstrations, press releases, petitions, or other statements. Mass movements and street agitation are the strongest form of public communication (Paffenh holz and Spurk 2010:69).

**In-group socialization**

Activities of creation of democratic behavior and uphold of democratic attitudes and values within the society falls into the scope of in-group socialization. Democratic behavior is created when citizens are actively participating in associations, networks, and movements where the aim is to inculcate a “culture of peace”. Through a development of peaceful conflict resolution and reconciliation, the civil society could be part of changing attitudes within the divided society. In contrast to the function of social cohesion, in-group socialization takes place within the group and not between or among other groups. However, this function can be supported from the outside, and every national and international association that practices peaceful co-existence and decision-making can contribute. Activities of peace education are also included in this function and can be channeled through radio, TV, peace campaigns, street theater, schoolbooks, poetry festivals, or more traditional trainings in conflict resolution and negotiation. Paffenh olz and Spurk (2010:70) identify two type of in-group socialization, *culture of peace* and *socialization towards building or consolidating in-group identity*. The first one includes activities that aim at enhancing a culture of peace and constructive conflict resolution through socialization for democratic attitudes and for handling conflicts peacefully. The second aims at strengthening the identity of a group being oppressed or marginalized. In the analyzing phase it is important to discuss whether a group is working toward a stronger group identity against other groups or if it is socializing certain types of non-threatening behavior. Also it is crucial to assess how a socializing group is perceived by other groups, since it might get together to strengthen their identity, but other groups perceive it as something else, maybe threatening (Ibid:70f).

**Social cohesion**

While in-group socialization takes place within the group, the objective of social cohesion is helping groups to learn how to co-exist together in peace. Paffenh olz and Spurk (2010) present three types of social cohesion activities. The first type is relations-oriented which means that representatives of conflicting groups are brought together to build a peaceful relationship. The
groups are brought together in workshops, dialogues, and exchange visits with the purpose of a long term attitude change toward the other group. The second type, the outcome-oriented, goes beyond the building of relationships in an attempt to reach a greater outcome, for example an initiative for peacebuilding. Activities can include conflict resolution workshops aiming for a peacebuilding process, such as participating in peace negotiations. The third type of social cohesion is also outcome-oriented, but focuses on business or development work where the aim is to bring conflicting groups together with the objective of other things than peace only (Ibid:72).

*Intermediation and facilitation*

In the communication between the state/ government and the citizens, civil society can have a role of a facilitator or intermediator to establish the relationship. In a context of peacebuilding, the function extends to be applicable to intermediation between or among groups, not only between the state and its citizens. Main activities related to this function are facilitation initiatives between armed groups, between armed groups and communities, and among armed groups, communities, and development agencies. However, as conflict management is a government function best undertaken by states or United Nations, the civil society’s contribution to diplomatic conflict management is limited. And when civil society takes up this function, it is often international NGOs, international networks, and research institutions that are involved, and rarely national or local civil society. However, local civil society can often facilitate in these following ways: Between civil society and warring parties on the village or district level; Between warring parties to negotiate peace zones or violence-free days; Between national or international aid agencies and the warring parties in order to ensure service delivery to communities, and; Between national or international aid agencies and local civil society (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:73).

*Service delivery*

As state structures during conflict are undermined or destroyed, the provision of aid and services to communities by civil society increases. Paffenholz and Spurk (2010:74) raise the question of how service delivery is a peacebuilding function. In one perspective service delivery can save lives and thus provide entry points for civil society peacebuilding. In another perspective, service delivery can distract energy from other functions and thus is an obstacle to peacebuilding.
3.3 A human rights perspective on peacebuilding

To enable an answer to the third research question, a human rights dimension is introduced here in order to link human rights to the functions of DiPaz. Since “human rights” implicit a wide range of perspectives it is essential to explain how human rights are understood in this study.

A human rights-based approach focuses on power relations and power structures through a perspective where different key roles to right holders (mainly individuals) and duty bearers (mainly the state) are distributed. The perspective is indicating that the individual shall demand its rights which are not given by good will by the state or based on need, but are purely rights in themselves (Gunner and Nordquist 2011:23). From a legal perspective, human rights give the state the duty of protecting each individual (Ibid:24). Many times the state is not fulfilling its obligations, and civil society is therefore often there to uphold and make demands for human rights.

Civil and political rights along with economic, social and cultural rights are essential in all human rights activities, and the civil society can have a key role in maintaining and claiming these rights through different projects. For instance, this can indicate monitoring of violations of human rights, influence states to better promote human rights, and supporting individuals or groups demanding their rights. Thus, human rights determine the relationship between individuals and groups with valid claims, as well as determining the relationship between the state and non-state actors. The role of civil society therefore involves demanding implementation of human rights in four fundamental ways: Respect (for all human beings and abstaining from all violations), promote (without discrimination and with gender equality), defend (all rights and freedoms) and fulfill (through appropriate action).

In a post-conflict context, goals and strategies for the state concerning civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights are described by Gunner & Nordquist (2011:25) in the following way. For the state to respect civil and political rights and economic, social, and cultural rights it should find measures to prevent state actors from committing torture, extra-judicial killings, disappearances, arbitrary detention, unfair trials, electoral intimidation, and disenfranchisement, along with measures to prevent state actors from committing ethnic, racial, gender or linguistic discrimination in health, education, and welfare and resource allocations below ability. The goals and strategies also apply to the protection of these rights, meaning to prevent non-state actors from committing violations and discriminatory behavior. Finally, in a
In summary, the understanding of what human rights are in this study are those of civil and political, and economic, social and cultural rights in question in a post-conflict context, which in different ways can be upheld or claimed by the civil society through its human rights projects. In chapter 3.3.1, it is assumed that peacebuilding agendas and human rights agendas can be integrated in the same projects, and shows how this can be done.

3.3.1 Integration of human rights in peacebuilding
The question of in what ways peacebuilding functions can promote human rights require an approach beyond just how civil society seeks to promote human rights. An approach to create a synergy effect of the two agendas peacebuilding and human rights can be found in the work of Gunner and Nordquist (2011) and is called integration. Integration is a practical method of integrating the ideas of the two agendas by “...recognizing the two agendas’ different qualities...”, or in other words, when a project promotes both human rights and peace (Ibid:101). Integration consists of three main concepts: Improving economic and social conditions; Back to the truth, and; Establishing transitional mechanisms (Ibid:135-150). Gunner and Nordquist (2011) give several examples of projects joining both peacebuilding and human rights agendas that are characterized by the three concepts just mentioned, projects such as DDR(R), mourning and remembering, establishing a common truth, compensate victims, questions of amnesty and impunity, and monitoring parties’ new respect for human rights.

The state has the main responsibility and the capacity to carry out projects as these, yet, the civil society may have a role in supplementing the state in one way or another, or make demands on the state to implement projects with joint agendas as outlined in chapter 3.3.

3.4 Method and critical aspects
This is a qualitative case study with a deductive approach, meaning that the study is based on a theoretical framework which is applied on the material of analysis. The choice is based on the aim described in chapter 1.2, which is to explore the relevance of the peacebuilding activities of DiPaz. The use of the framework of Paffenholz and Spurk (2010) requires some methodological steps. First, a contextualization is necessary to be able to understand the role of civil society
within its own environment (Ibid:66). This implies, in other words, an analysis of factors that enables or disables the determination of the civil society’s role in peacebuilding.

In the next step, peacebuilding activities carried out by DiPaz in Colombia are identified and attributed to the seven peacebuilding functions described by Paffenholz and Spurk (2010). Whether the activities are “peacebuilding” or not is discussed based on the framework since their character has to be reflected in the functions. In order to answer the two first research questions, three analytical steps are taken in order to within the framework (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:75):

1. Understanding of each function in context. Here, the functions are discussed in context, since it can enable or disable the relevance of the functions.
2. Assess the relevance of each function for peacebuilding based on context analysis.
3. Identify the activities of civil society actors along defined phases of conflict.

There is a fourth analytical step within the framework of Paffenholz and Spurk (2010), however, it aims to find out the effectiveness of civil society activities which is beyond the scope of this study and is therefore not included in the analysis.

Furthermore, in the identified peacebuilding activities, integration of a human rights agenda is identified based on Gunner and Nordquist (2011). In order to do this, I seek to analyze the functions from a human rights perspective. The approach of integration is summed up in chapter 3.3.1, showing the concepts of full, partial or project-based integration. The concepts of Improving economic and social conditions, Back to the truth and Establishing transitional mechanisms are retrieved from Gunner and Nordquist (2011:135-150). Methodologically, these concepts, with their relating projects, are identified when possible in the peacebuilding functions by DiPaz in order to discuss the integration of a human rights agenda.

The reader should notice that the approach is not made at firsthand for the civil society but for the state since the state has the main responsibility to respect, protect, and fulfill human rights along with the implementation of peacebuilding and human rights measures. However, the civil society may have a role in the peacebuilding process, running agendas for both human rights and peacebuilding simultaneously through claiming and demanding action. And the question (3) in what ways do DiPaz seek to promote human rights through its peacebuilding functions is, if possible, linking together the two agendas with the assistance of the integration approach.
Chapter 4 – Contextualization

In this chapter, a contextualization of the situation in Colombia is reviewed in order to understand the relevance of the functions of DiPaz.

4.1 Phases of conflict and former peace attempts

The large-scaled violence in Colombia has a history going back to the 40s and is responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths and large-scaled gender violence.

A decade long period called “La Violencia” (The Violence) was at first an armed struggle between landowners, launching attacks on neighboring villages. At this time the conservative government saw its opportunity to exclude liberals from state power and repression of any opposition was realized through the army and police to which the liberal guerillas responded violently. In the 50s an agreement was settled between the conservatives and liberals. It is estimated that La Violencia caused 200,000 deaths. In the 50s the communists were targeted by the conservative government and the liberals through violent attacks, media censorship, and information monopoly. The communists were using violent measures against landowners and clashed with government troops. In 1966 the pro-Soviet guerilla called FARC was formed alongside multiple other guerilla movements between the 60s and the 80s, and since has been the largest guerilla group and the group causing the largest number of deaths.

There were peace attempts in the 80s, and in the 90s the conflict intensified and in 2001 it reached its intensity level of war. While the GOC claimed that the conflict was a fight against terrorism, FARC would not negotiate until the GOC recognized the existence of an internal armed conflict in the country. While the conflict’s continuation during the 90s, a few peace process agreements were signed with FARC, but none of them resulted in a permanent solution. After reduced violence in 2003, it increases again in 2004. Attempts for new negotiations between FARC and GOC started in 2006, but ended abruptly. In 2007 and 2008 a thousand up to a million people were organized around the country to protest against kidnappings and demand the liberation of hostages. A new negotiation attempt was held in 2007 where FARC’s demilitarization demands were denied by President Uribe, resulting in another setback.

Peace talks with FARC were launched again in Oslo 2012, and negotiations started in Havana in November the same year followed by a unilateral ceasefire declared by FARC, while GOC declared it would not consider ceasefire until a peace agreement is signed. The peace
agenda consisted of socioeconomic reforms dealing with the land issue, in that way going beyond just putting down their weapons. After four years of negotiations, FARC and GOC signed a peace agreement and in June 2017 FARC handed in their weapons in a disarmament process and proceeded as a political movement. Attempted peace talks between ELN and the GOC occurred in 2017, and ceasefire was declared in September through December that same year (UCDP 2018b).

The price of this conflict has been high. The number of internally displaced people (IDP) was in 2018 estimated to 7.7 million (UNHCR 2019), which makes the highest number in the world after Syria. The high number of IDP is caused by the violent civil war, forcing people to flee the rural areas. Civilians and human rights defenders, trade unionists, journalists, indigenous and Afro-Colombian leaders, and other community activists are still exposed to death threats and violence by guerillas and reemerged paramilitary groups, and it is rare that perpetrators are held accountable. During the years of conflict, FARC has committed systematic abuses against the civilian population, such as child recruitment, kidnappings and wide-spread sexual violence. After the announced unilateral ceasefire 2015, abuses by FARC have declined significantly (HRW 2016).

4.2 Common and political understanding of peacebuilding in Colombia
The public support for a political solution to the conflict has proven to be distinctive in the history of the Colombian internal conflict. Approximately 50 million Colombians mobilized throughout the 90s against the war and in favor of a political solution. In the 00s a majority of the public opinion supported a negotiated solution, including during Álvaro Uribe’s two administrations (2002-2010) who promised FARC to be defeated if he came to power (Valenzuela 2018:210). However, survey data from 2014 showed that the public attitude toward the Colombian peace process between GOC and FARC were driven by political preferences rather than experiences from the conflict, and the final agreements in august 2016 were preceded by a process with great variations of public support for a settlement. This made it uncertain whether the agreement would be supported when put to a popular vote (Liendos & Maves Braithwaite 2018:622). A citizen referendum took place in October 2016, with the result of 50.2% of the voters rejecting the agreement, while 49.8% favoring it (Ibid:622f). The voting patterns shows that the population in rural areas, where the civil war has hit most violently, were more likely to vote in favor for the agreement than the population in the urban areas. Religious
conservatives are said to have their beliefs standing in contrast to some elements of the agreement, and therefore voted against it on moral grounds (Liendos & Maves Braithwaite 2018:623). After the public rejection of the peace deal it was modified and in November 2016 agreed on and signed by the conflicting parties. The agreement is consisting of six main points where five are referring to the different agreements between GOC and FARC, and one referring to the implementation of these agreements. The agreements concern the following topics: Comprehensive rural development; Political participation; Illicit drugs; Victims, and; End of the conflict (Final agreement 2016:7f).

Recent political positioning of the peacebuilding process can be summarized with the last two presidents who have approached to this issue differently. Santos entered his Presidency in 2010 with the general promise to continue consolidating Uribe’s security policies. However, he later distanced himself from the predecessor in terms of declaring openness to dialogue with illegal armed groups who sought negotiations. In 2016 he received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts (Nobel Prize 2019). Since 2018, Iván Duque Márquez is president and has taken a more hard-lined stance against the guerillas (UCDP 2018b). What this mean for the peacebuilding process with FARC in the future remains to be seen.

The peacebuilding process in Colombia, including the significant milestone of the peace agreement in 2016, is facing a number of challenges such as risks of renewed violence, continuing poverty and weak democratic practice, and the civil society is in many ways active in working to improve the conditions for the Colombian people and for a successful future of the Final Peace Agreement.

4.3 Status of civil society in the peace process

Colombia holds a wide range of civil society organizations that are reflecting the diversity of the people, including afro-Colombian, religious, indigenous, and women’s organizations as well as workers’ unions, peasants’ movements, among others.

In particular, women’s organizations in Colombia have played a valid role in the process for peace. They have demanded the guarantee of human rights and completion of humanitarian accords, and participated in the negotiations of armed conflict with the goal of peace. Women leaders have become an intermediary bridge between society and the state, and due to their relationships with social organizations they connect with institutions as representatives of victims (Ibarra 2016:889f). Despite the decrease in violence during 2000-2010, compared to the
prior years of 1990-2000, complaints about human rights abuses increased over all in Colombia. This is partly due to the organizations’ increasing ability to use institutional channels to demand their rights (Ibarra 2016:892). The mission of the women’s organizations is to denounce the violence developed by the armed conflict and bring justice and remembrance to the victims (Ibid:893). However, these organizations are facing resistance. The paramilitary group AUC is argued to be responsible for the majority of the human rights abuses in Colombia. AUC has officially demobilized, nevertheless, groups originating from it are still a menace to local populations through their violent methods to impose order. These acts partly explain the rise of activism in the regions where these armed groups used to operate (Ibid:894). The presence and actions of the guerilla and the national army provoke protests as well, and the organizations are constantly operating in a threatening and violent environment.

The women’s organizations have during the years been increasingly recognized as a valid actor by the state. Through legal provisions and need to comply with signed treaties and international accords about gender equality, prevention and eradication of violence against women, and protection of the rights of female victims, the space of women participation has widened alongside with an expansion of social and public policies. Women’s organizations have therefore gained more power as political actors and credible interlocutors (Ibid:899).

Between 2002 and 2010 women’s organizations sponsored all kinds of diplomatic and academic meetings. They also allied with organizations from other countries that supported their claims formulated on accessed platforms (Ibid:900).

Recognition of women’s organizations from the state and international organizations created visibility and strength to make claims for peace and human rights. This success can in concrete terms be seen in the National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation where two main representatives of victims are present (Ibid:900). Presence in public hearings and legitimacy in meeting with demobilized groups are two other examples of the success (Ibid:901).

Apart from women’s organizations involvement in peace processes, the Catholic Church’s involvement has concerned various activities over the years. The Colombian Church is known for its official statements, its calls out for a negotiated peace, an end of the humanitarian crisis, citizen participation in peacebuilding efforts as well lobbying for continued efforts during the negotiations in Havana between the GOC and FARC. The Church has also issued calls for prayer and reconciliation and sponsored forums for reflection on the peacebuilding process.
Furthermore, in favor of the victims and building peace, pursued attempts have been undertaken to ensure the adoption of public policies. The Church as a civil society actor in a violent setting is facing challenges when it has to maintain its autonomy in the face of local power dynamics, while being able to stand alongside the victims. These challenges are especially excel in regions where illegal armed groups, drug gangs and organized crimes have weakened the state structures. Nevertheless, the Church has in these contexts established alliances with social groups to guarantee a suitable response to such challenges. Faith communities and their leaders are in many cases the only ones people can turn to in search for safety and to be listened to about their fears (Henao Gaviria 2014:184).

Essential for producing a foundation for peace has been the Colombian Church’s maintaining of permanent dialogues with representatives of the international community, Colombian authorities, and social organizations. The Episcopal Conference, an administrative institution and permanence of the Catholic Church, has been operating at the national, regional and local levels in Colombia, focusing on maintaining contact with suffering communities and social movements. Furthermore, the Episcopal Conference has carried out interventions including measures and programmes aiming to provide protection for vulnerable populations through physical presence (Ibid:185). Also, the local churches’ connections to ethnic organizations and grassroots peacebuilding are argued by Rios Oyola (2017:1) to be significant. One example is the black social movement in Chocó which, supported by the local church, is resisting violence of the conflict and defending their territory.

Overall, churches in Colombia oppose the violence and the massive negative effects of the conflict. However, the citizen referendum in October 2016 resulted in a ‘no’ by small margins, and the Pentecostal Evangelical movement is said to have had a protruding role in the success of the so called ‘No’ campaign, calling the people to reject the peace agreement in October 2016. The reason to this is, argued by Beltran and Creely (2018:2), partly because the specific recognition of how LGBTI have been affected by the conflict and the use of the term ‘gender’ in the agreement were dismissed by some religious movements or movements inspired by religious values. However, faith-based communities are increasingly integrating a gender based approach in order to promote the respect of women’s and LGBTI rights, and the church network of DiPaz is one example of such initiatives, aiming for peace and respect of human rights in Colombia.
Chapter 5 – Activities, functions, and promotions of human rights

5.1 Activities and functions of DiPaz

Since the foundation of DiPaz, it has been working to support a peaceful solution to the internal armed conflict, anti-militarism and non-violent action, and for the realization of truth, justice and reconciliation. This section will show how DiPaz have been leading, co-leading, and participating in peacebuilding activities between 2014 and 2019.

5.1.1 Protection

DiPaz is involved in protection-related activities such as accompaniment of local communities and FARC ex-combatants and supporting interventions of demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of former combatants. Protection in the case of DiPaz’s activities in Colombia refers to protect the non-combatant society from direct violence and repressions by armed groups.

The transitory rural settlement normalization zones (hereinafter ZVTN) and transitory normalization points/encampments (hereinafter PTN) were transitory areas where processes of facilitating the end of hostilities, guaranteeing disarmament and contributing to the transition of FARC-EP combatants to civilian life took place and DiPaz had, and still has, a role in supporting these initiatives (DiPaz 2017b:3). These zones later turned into spaces for territorial training and re-incorporation (ETCR) in order to continue the re-incorporation process of FARC ex-combatants into a civilian life (DiPaz 2017c:6). The zones are results of the Agreement of Ceasefire and Bilateral and Definite Hostilities and Disarmament (hereinafter Ceasefire Agreement) where the so called Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MM & V) is responsible for verifying the fulfillment of the rules around the ceasefire which entered in November 2016. MM & V consists of the tripartite mechanism of GOC, FARC and UN observers, and DiPaz is a part of the local monitoring structure on behalf of this mechanism, as to say a link between the local communities and the tripartite mechanism (DiPaz 2017b:5).

DiPaz has been permanently present in two regions, Apartadó (Antioquia) and Santander de Quilichao (Cauca) via so called “Humanitarian Houses of Protection” from where DiPaz is carrying out oversight activities in the ZVTNs and PTNs in the regions of Cauca, Antioquia, Córdoba and Chocó where FARC is concentrated in order to leave their weapons, and where they as well serve as accompaniment in local communities close to these demobilization zones (Ibid:3).
5.1.2 Monitoring

The monitoring function is a precondition to the protection function (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:68), and DiPaz is realizing their monitoring activities through physical presence, verifying threat situations and assassinations on activists and social leaders, condemning or visualizing situation to the authorities and international community, encouraging and demanding the government to take action, and verifying compliances with the Ceasefire Agreement.

Since the cease-fire agreement on December 1\textsuperscript{st} 2016 between GOC and FARC officially entered into force, DiPaz began the task of humanitarian monitoring from its two Humanitarian Houses of Protection, located in Cauca, and in Antioquia, from where DiPaz conducts humanitarian monitoring activities in the ZVTNs and the PTNs in a total of five regions in Colombia (DiPaz 2017a:3). More precisely, DiPaz reports on the progress of the compliance of the parties to the Ceasefire Agreement, especially regarding the human rights situation where ZVTNs and PTNs have been installed, and regarding the social and legal framework contemplated in the Final Agreement between FARC and GOC (Ibid:3). A report was issued on this by the MM & V in January 2017 verifying that FARC members remained in the temporary re-grouping points and did not leave the ZVTNs or PTNs but continued the disarmament, demobilization, and re-integration processes in these zones (DiPaz 2017b:5).

As the installations and field operations regarded in the Ceasefire Agreement have advanced, monitoring activities have been focused on the protection of the people living in the areas of the ZVTNs, PTNs and ETCRs. DiPaz states in their report (2017c:50) that territories left by the FARC have instead been occupied by other armed groups that have begun to take control over the population with threats and killings. The National Army has not occupied these territories as agreed by the parties, however, continued fighting between ELN and the Army, as well as presence of paramilitaries, is of concern since they continue to affect the civilian population. Moreover, DiPaz reported in 2017 killings of social leaders and FARC members, and situations of threats, control actions, restrictions of free mobility, forced displacement, recruitment actions towards young people, and impositions of transit schedules by paramilitary or other armed groups. These actions put civilians and FARC members at risk in their reincorporation process, and measurements on human rights matters against potential threats have not been upheld, DiPaz states (Ibid:50).
Beyond the insecure situations caused by armed groups around the demobilization zones, DiPaz has identified challenges in the fulfillment of its protection activities due to lack of infrastructure. In March 2017 DiPaz concluded that the process of disarmament began later than planned that year due to uncertain and fragile infrastructure conditions. Moreover, institutional management to provide minimal infrastructure to the ZTVNs and PTNs was also delayed and the contracts for leasing land for the adequacy of camps were not signed in time. Also, FARC had to build improvisatory camps in some of the ZTVNs and PTNs under minimum viable conditions and DiPaz expressed discontent with the execution, or lack of execution, of the infrastructure construction companies in 2017 (DiPaz 2017c:9), especially in the PTN La Florida the Chocó region, where there have been several irregularities in payments to workers and poor construction work of common areas and housing (DiPaz 2017b:11).

The monitoring function is also about giving recommendations to decision makers (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:68). Dipaz is giving recommendations on regulatory follow-ups through their oversight reports, targeting the Government, the Constitutional Court, the Congress, FARC, and the civil society.

The recommendations to the Government are concluded as follows. DiPaz wishes a development of training processes and regulatory updates to legal operators. This will increase the operators’ knowledge of how to apply the new legislation in the framework of the implementation of the Peace Agreement, especially regarding amnesties, pardons and special criminal treatments. Furthermore, DiPaz recommend the Government to generate training in rights and pedagogies for peace with human rights organizations and victims. The objective is here to increase knowledge of rights and processes in current amnesties, pardons and special criminal treatment processes. Also, the Government should find a way to grant ex-combatants legal certainty in order to fulfill what has been agreed on, to generate an adequate reinstatement, and to manage the financial resources necessary to implement and fulfill the Final Agreement as a whole. Ensuring necessary measures regarding amnesty or probation for those who are still imprisoned, and improvement of the conditions in the transfer areas, is also of great importance according to DiPaz. The recommendations include moreover a need for the Government to evaluate, together with the communities and organizations, the implemented protection mechanisms, for the defense of human rights, and to take efficient measures combat armed groups operating in areas where reintegration processes is developing. Finally, DiPaz wants the
Government to guarantee social investments for re-incorporating FARC-members and their communities, and submissions of public reports regarding the complaints and reports submitted by the communities and organizations, presence and territorial control of paramilitary groups in the areas surrounding the ZVTNs and PTNs (DiPaz 2017c:62ff). The recommendations are reflecting an incomplete process in need of improved circumstances to deal with the causes of armed conflict in Colombia, where inequality, injustice, and lack of security are threatening a non-violent peacebuilding process.

The recommendations to the Constitutional Court and the Congress from DiPaz are calling out a need to consider the aspects of concern of the human rights organizations and victims. Moreover, DiPaz demands respect and ensuring of centrality of the victims and the right of the Colombian society to live in peace (Ibid:63).

DiPaz is recommending FARC to maintain information channels towards their own members in the demobilization, re-integration, and transfer zones, and towards the civil society, on the status of implementation of the agreements, the difficulties encountered, as well as the progress made in the constitution of FARC’s political party (Ibid:64).

Furthermore, DiPaz addresses recommendations to the civil society of maintaining actions of political and public advocacy and monitoring, so that the rights of the victims and the right of the Colombian society to live in peace are recognized (Ibid:63; Ibid:65). Moreover, DiPaz emphasizes the importance of strengthening of reconciliation exercises by linking groups and people of different political, social and faith expressions together, to decrease polarization in the society and to increase the openness to peace and demilitarization of daily life (Ibid:65).

Besides the monitoring activities in the demobilization zones from 2017, DiPaz was monitoring the unilateral ceasefire made by the FARC and the Colombian Army’s de-escalation measures in 2015, and also offered to monitor a future bilateral ceasefire agreement between the GOC and the FARC (DiPaz 2015a). The monitoring activities of the unilateral ceasefire by FARC in 2015 included pastoral visits to conflict areas in Cauca region, including education about the agreements that had been reached so far. DiPaz asked for support from their national and international partners of dialogue through prayers and short messages of solidarity and support to share with the communities during these visits (DiPaz 2015b). Since the pastoral visits are not only applied to the monitoring function, but include education about the agreements set
so far, they also have a facilitation role, enabling communication between the GOC and FARC, and the rural communities.

5.1.3 Advocacy and public communication

In its report from 2017 DiPaz encourages the civil society to continue the political and public advocacy (DiPaz 2017c:63; 65). DiPaz’s vision for its advocacy and public communication is to build and implement a common agenda, covering human rights issues and peacebuilding. This agenda is constructed around its three defining pillars of truth and justice, antimilitarism and nonviolent action, and reconciliation with a gender-based approach in order to strengthen the religious sector and its public and political effects in the construction of peace in Colombia. (DiPaz 2017a).

DiPaz has achieved international cooperation with so called “co-dialoguers”, enhancing it to carry out actions of advocacy. These dialoguers consist of 13 International churches and ecumenical organizations (Mejia 2018:32). The six organizations that currently support DiPaz financially are The Swedish Church, The Lutheran World Federation, Christian Aid, ACT Alliance and The World Council of Churches (DiPaz 2017d).

DiPaz have been publishing public letters on their blog between 2015 and 2016, before the final agreement and the start of the implementation process. The letters consist of appeals to Colombian leaders to maintain the agreements and the peacebuilding progress, to the public and to DiPaz’s own members. For example, in the statement from January 2016, DiPaz asked the delegates of the GOC and the FARC for a space of dialogue in order to express its thoughts on the process and to expand issues that DiPaz find essential and on which DiPaz are willing to promote (DiPaz 2016a).

Moreover, in August 2016 DiPaz publicly communicated their commitment to provide “accompanyment for the civilian populations in the demobilization zones, through the implementation of protection measures, peace education and reconciliation, and verification of the ceasefire and demobilization process.” This statement was written in association with ACT Alliance Colombian Forum, a platform comprising ACT members and observers engaged in Colombian matters (DiPaz 2016b). The statement throws a light on the importance of protection and monitoring in these zones to enable reconciliation and peacebuilding and contribute to DiPaz’s agenda-setting of a non-violent solution to the armed conflict.
Monitoring by DiPaz of the Havana peace talks between FARC and GOC that finally led to the final peace agreement in November 2016 was also conducted. The monitoring function goes hand in hand with the function of advocacy and public communication (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:69), which it also does in cases of DiPaz. Here, DiPaz followed and analyzed the agreements on victims and verification, and expressed the commitment to promote the components of these agreements. In their statement to the conflict parties from January 2016 DiPaz claims that the agreement “opens a path in the compensation of all victims in Colombia and places us as a society in a new scenario in which churches and ecclesial organizations will continue to fulfill our role in favor of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Reconciliation.” (DiPaz 2016a). This statement communicates that compensation of victims through truth, justice, reparation and reconciliation is a way to move forward in the peacebuilding process in Colombia, and DiPaz is committed to promote this victim-oriented part of the agreements. DiPaz also addresses the importance of dismantling of paramilitaries and laws that complicate a fair distribution of land (Ibid). When the peace accord between FARC and GOC was finalized in August 2016 and signed in September the same year, DiPaz celebrated it and stated that it was ready to start assisting in the implementation process (DiPaz 2016c; DiPaz 2016d). As known, this peace agreement was rejected in the public referendum and DiPaz, on the contrary to the result of the referendum, supported the agreement and communicated positivity on the victim-oriented part of it and called out for a continued peace process (DiPaz 2016e). An appeal to the Colombian leaders can be found in the published appeal to the President Juan Manuel Santos that was made in October 2016, calling for maintenance of the agreement with FARC, particularly the part concerning victims and conditions for truth, justice, holistic reparations and guarantees of non-repetition of violent acts. The letter has 255 international and national signatures of religious leaders and members of a range of churches and organizations (DiPaz 2016f).

On October 26 DiPaz publicly expressed its view on the gender issues in the rejected agreement where some parts had been criticized by religious communities, as mentioned in the contextualization chapter 3.1. However, DiPaz’s view on lifting a gender perspective in the peace agreement is that it is essential for the dignifying of people affected by violence and for the revision of policies to guarantee human rights in Colombia (DiPaz 2016g). On its website DiPaz also publishes material on gender issues and why it is essential to include a gender perspective in their agenda-setting (DiPaz 2017).
DiPaz also communicated with representatives of main conflict actors and the international community. In August 2016, before the FARC and GOC announced they had reached an agreement, delegates from DiPaz and its co-dialoguer The World Council of Churches held a dialogue with diplomatic missions from members of the United Nations Security Council, the mission from the Colombian Government, United Nations Agencies, the United Nations Political Department, and the international delegate for FARC. Moreover, DiPaz held a public event and dialogues with other NGOs in association with church organizations based in the United States that intervene before the UN in New York. In 2018 another round of cooperative work before diplomatic missions from member states of the Security Council, the UN Political Department, and by a meeting with ecclesial organization that intervene before the UN in New York. As a result, a New York based group of many ecclesial and non-ecclesial organizations was created with the mission of working for peace in Colombia, and it recognized the fragility of the implementation of the Agreement between the GOC and the FARC (Mejia 2018:22). Activities like this facilitate an increase of international awareness of the conflict in Colombia and help to bring specific issues to the negotiations or post-agreement agenda.

DiPaz is also included in the final peace agreement in point 5.1.3.1 regarding the comprehensive reparation measures for peacebuilding. It says that DiPaz may organize early actions of recognition and collective responsibility with the participation of victims and human rights groups, in association with other churches in Colombia (Acuerdo Final 2016:178). This states that DiPaz is continuing to have role in the peacebuilding process, recognized by the conflict actors.

As described in the contextualization chapter, Colombia has problems with threats and killings of social leaders. In a public statement from February 2018 DiPaz urges the killings of social leaders and people in process of returning to a civilian life to stop and asking local Governments and the national Government to take immediate action to guarantee these people’s constitutional exercise of claiming their rights and their lives. Moreover, DiPaz urges the Government on local and national level to take measures to identify and dismantle illegal armed groups that are in control of territories and politics. These threats and killings strengthen and foster anti-peace positions which endanger the peacebuilding process and the negotiated political solution between FARC and GOC, DiPaz claims who also calls out nationally and internationally
to non-violent action to defense and promote human rights, especially the right to life (DiPaz 2018a).

Public communication can mean that claims and demands are made public via demonstrations (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:69). DiPaz co-organized a public demonstration of peace in the city of Barranquilla in support of social leaders around Colombia who are subjected to threats and fatal violence. The main message during the demonstration was a claim and demand for the respect of the right to life (DiPaz 2019a).

5.1.4 In-group socialization

Civil society is a sphere where democratic values are fostered, as stated by Paffenholz and Spurk (2010:70). This function aims to promote a culture of peace within a group which is especially important in societies divided by armed conflict. DiPaz uses the term pedagogy for peace and communicates with its members with the objective of developing democratic attitudes and a peaceful conflict resolution. On this issue DiPaz organizes and co-organizes dialogues where representatives and leaders from its members or co-operating peace initiatives are invited to speak about peace issues related to the peacebuilding process. The dialogue meeting “Why want peace?” in Bogotá in August 2016 is one example of in-group socializing aiming for a culture of peace in the civil society (DiPaz 2016h).

The second type of in-group socialization is building or consolidating of an in-group identity, and DiPaz is consolidating its religious church identity by conducting liturgical celebrations and theological readings of the bible for peace endeavor. These religious elements can be seen in most written statements, appeals and reports published on DiPaz’s website, as well as in organized meetings and dialogues with its members and other parts of civil society. One example is when DiPaz in March 2018 called out for a united prayer to churches, faith communities, civil society organizations and international peace organizations in Colombia at the time of the new elected President Duqué in September 2018. The aim of the calling was “to celebrate prayers, moments of reflection and light a candle for Colombia in our meetings, cults and liturgies” and to pray over reconciliation for the Colombians (DiPaz 2018b). This can be seen as in-group socialization since joint prayer or meetings in a faith based group over a peacebuilding issue such as reconciliation may foster the culture of peace and strengthen its Christian group identity.
5.1.5 Social cohesion

Social cohesion is an important civil society function in peacebuilding that ensures the building of community with the objective of learning peaceful co-existence (Paffenholz and Spurk (2010:71f)). While in-group socialization is occurring within groups, social cohesion is occurring between groups, and DiPaz is looking to heal the relationship between Colombian women and the faith community, as well as between FARC and victims from the armed conflict.

DiPaz organized a training with workshops addressing a gender based approach for its members in order to build capacity for internalizing gender issues. The workshops can be summarized into three main themes: The responsibility of faith communities in gender equity; Historical and epistemological roots of violence against women, and; Implementation of the gender perspective in biblical texts, faith narratives and from the daily life of the membership from DiPaz. The purpose of this training was to bridge ties between the faith community and Colombian women who experienced violence through a deconstruction of the epistemological referents that have sustained exclusion and violence against women. Why this is relevant in a peacebuilding context is due to the history of violence against women by armed groups, including FARC, during the conflict in Colombia, and the lack of justice for these victims. The church has often been late or unwilling to implement at gender perspective in their organizations and DiPaz aims in another direction, applying a gender perspective on its work, agenda-setting, and identity as a religious civil society actor (DiPaz 2019b).

Moreover, DiPaz was present at ceremonies where FARC members asked their victims for forgiveness for the crimes that were committed during the civil war. Based on its identity as a faith based actor, DiPaz gave support to the victims during these ceremonies.

5.1.6 Intermediation and facilitation

This function focuses on the civil society as an intermediary or facilitator between citizens and the state, or between or among other groups. Activities applying to this function are facilitation initiatives between armed groups, between armed groups and communities, communities, and development agencies. Since diplomatic conflict management is at firsthand a government function undertaken by states or the United Nations, civil societies are rarely limited in this aspect (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:73). However, DiPaz can be identified in such activities on a national and a local level, as an intermediary/ facilitator between the citizens and the state, as
well as between the FARC and the GOC. DiPaz promoted the dialogues between FARC and the GOC during the negotiation period.

Back in 2014 DiPaz was attending in Havana, Cuba, to present itself to those participating in the peace negotiations and share its proposals about an agreement. The main focus was to reach a confirmation on an establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in favor of victims who suffered violence during the civil conflict. DiPaz also facilitated the dialogues between FARC and the GOC prior to the Agreement in November 2016 through follow-ups with the President and FARC (DiPaz 2017c:11).

Moreover, the reports from 2017, that are part of the material of this study, are seen as a contribution from civil society of the faith communities which is highlighting the progress of the implementation process, and DiPaz hopes that the reports will contribute to a peaceful advancement (Ibid:12). The second report provides a qualitative analysis of the Final Peace Agreement in order to create a clearer understanding of how frameworks of two controversial topics have been developed, and the legal and political discussions that have emerged around the implementation of the Final Agreement. The controversial topics are: 1) Amnesties, pardons, and special criminal treatments, and 2) Special jurisdiction for peace. These topics have generated public debate and are of interest to the communities where DiPaz does peace pedagogy work, and DiPaz looks to facilitate the communication about the Final Peace Agreement to the citizens (Ibid:13).

The 29:th of November 2016 DiPaz intervened in the Colombian Senate during the debates in the Congress around the endorsement of the Final Agreement between FARC and GOC. The intervention was a speech carried out by Jenny Neme, the director of Justapaz which is one of the members of DiPaz, and can be summarized as a positioning by DiPaz in favor of the Agreement, emphasizing the importance of ratification and continuing of moving forward in the implementation process, and highlighting its solidarity with victims of conflict. The intervention was at firsthand addressed to the Congress as the representative of DiPaz said, regarding the document of the Final Peace Agreement: “Ladies and gentlemen of the congress, you have before you the opportunity to do your part in this story.” The Final Peace Agreement was ratified by the Congress on November 29-30 (Justapaz 2016).

On a regional/ local level, pastoral visits (those mentioned in the monitoring section) from DiPaz in the rural areas were carried out with the purpose of educating citizens about the
agreements that were made during the peace negotiations (DiPaz 2015b). This is a way for the civil society to engage in facilitating initiatives enabling the communication about the peace-process to the people.

5.1.7 Service delivery
De-mobilizations zones in two municipalities provided limited access to health care for FARC ex-combatants (2017c:60f). However, DiPaz has not reported to be involved in service delivery directly, but was monitoring the situation in the de-mobilization zones in 2017 including the lack of satisfying access of public services.

5.2 Specific patterns and relevance of functions
In this section, specific patterns and relevance of the functions are discussed in order to answer the question of “To what extent can these activities be attributed to the functions outlined by Paffenholz and Spurk (2010)?”

Colombia has a long history of people being targeted by violence by the conflict parties, in particular populations in rural areas. Without protection of local communities and ex-combatants, the peacebuilding process cannot move forward. DiPaz has not provided security in the areas by itself, but it has supported the international community in protection activities of local communities and FARC ex-combatants due to the asymmetric power relations in rural areas of the regions of Antióquia, Cauca, Córdoba and Chocó. More specifically, at the two humanitarian houses DiPaz offers people to come for security and support. However, the activities of protection meet challenges due to lack of infrastructure and security in and around the demobilization zones. And where the state is not able to provide security or the right prerequisites, civil society is less able to fulfill its activities.

The functions of protection and monitoring are closely related which also has been observed in the case of DiPaz and its activities. Monitoring has been carried out in terms of observation on political developments related to causes of war in Colombia, dynamics of armed confrontations, and human rights abuses. More specifically, DiPaz has made visible killings of social leaders and FARC members, threats, displacements, and recruitment of young people to paramilitary or other armed groups which put civilians at risk while the state has not been able to uphold against these security issues. The relationship between the functions of protection and monitoring is about monitoring as a mean for action and requirement for protection for citizens.
and ex-combatants in and around the demobilization zones, and DiPaz has been active in making the situation visible. This become more evident when, besides the reporting of the situation on the field, DiPaz gives recommendations to the GOC, the Constitutional Court, the Congress, FARC, and the civil society. Without monitoring activities, it is less likely that demands for security are being lifted regarding these areas.

Moreover, before the Final Peace Agreement, DiPaz conducted monitoring of the unilateral ceasefire in 2015, on behalf of FARC, and the bilateral ceasefire in 2016 between GOC and FARC, and reported on the fulfillment of these. The same implication is made here, that monitoring is a precondition to protection since it enables to make visible potential human rights violations, or violations of the agreement.

There are a several issues concerning security of the non-armed population and FARC ex-combatants, and the verification of DiPaz from the field is revealing these before the GOC and international community as an important cooperation to precede the peacebuilding process which is why the function of monitoring is of relevance in the given context.

Concerning protection, it is evident through the reports from 2017 that DiPaz is unable to provide security in the demobilization zones. It is however essential to understand that DiPaz has not been obliged to do so, it is the role of the state of Colombia as it is pronounced in the Final Agreement. And when the state fails to provide security, unarmed citizens and ex-combatants are facing threatening situations, and executing of peacebuilding activities, such as monitoring and intermediation, in certain areas can be dangerous. Other functions of DiPaz are generally executed in urban areas and are less exposed to direct threats.

The oversight reports compiled by DiPaz (2017b; 2017c) regarding the demobilization zones are a complement and alternative to reports conducted by the United Nations about the situation in Colombia during the implementation process. This implicates that these reports may have relevance to the positioning of the international community towards the peacebuilding situation in Colombia, since they seek information provided from the field.

As to protection, monitoring is also a precondition to the advocacy and public communication function. In the case of this study, through monitoring the conflict situation in Colombia, DiPaz has formed an agenda for peace which aimed to influence political actors involved in the peace-process with FARC before the Final Peace Agreement, and aims to influence the same during the implementation process going on today.
Colombia has a long history of violence against the civil population, and women and rural communities have suffered severely without reparations. In terms of advocacy and public communication, the gender-based agenda of DiPaz is set on the basis of human rights and peacebuilding, and focuses on the victims and a non-violent solution on the conflict. The agenda testifies about a long-term vision of peace in Colombia, which extends beyond a written agreement between FARC and GOC.

According to Paffenholz and Spurk (2010:69), advocacy is relevant to all phases of armed conflicts. In the case of Colombia, DiPaz has been conducting the advocacy function both during the negotiations between FARC and GOC and after the signing of the Final Peace Agreement. During the negotiation phase, the gender-based agenda setting concerned the outcome of the Agreement, and from the start of the implementation process DiPaz conducted support of protection and monitoring activities in the demobilizations zones aiming to monitor and verify the fulfillment of the Agreement. Moreover, abuses of human rights defenders is a recurring problem in Colombia and DiPaz has made public statements, demands and demonstrations regarding the issue of impunity for perpetrators and fabricated allocations against social leaders, and states that peace cannot be realized without addressing these violations.

The socialization function of DiPaz is embodied in activities featured by religious faith in combination with a consolidation of a culture of peace within the faith community. Colombia is a country where Christianity dominates the religious sphere and the church often has mobilization abilities against violence and injustice. DiPaz is identified as a Christian religious sector committed to peace and makes recurrent statements linking faith to its agenda-setting for human rights and peacebuilding. In many of the written statements, appeals and meetings DiPaz cites the Bible and express needs of prayer and faith-based hope. This may be an essential part of the consolidation of an in-group identity, as described by Paffenholz and Spurk who explain that the aim is to strengthen the identity of a group in order to foster democratic behavior, attitudes and values and therefore has a peacebuilding function. DiPaz is communicating that the Christian faith is compatible with the gender-based agenda setting and peacebuilding process of non-violence and is doing this by integrating Biblical content in its public statements, appearances, and in-group meetings. Given the context of the religious sector in Colombia, the Church has a history of being deficient in defending women’s rights, however, some groups are instead
seeking to build a democratic culture that goes hand in hand with their Christian faith and in their search for peace.

Moreover, regarding the socialization function, DiPaz recurrently organizes and co-organizes dialogue meetings to foster democratic values. It uses the term *pedagogy for peace* and communicates to its members its agenda for peace, human rights and non-violence where gender and victims are central. Paffenholz and Spurk (2010) highlight though that in-group socialization can reinforce existing divisions in a society. This makes it important to analyze whether a group’s building of an identity come across as a threat to other groups or not, and how it is perceived by other groups. In the material, DiPaz is not found to be a threat to other groups in the Colombian society apart from being a peace actor. However, the religious sector in Colombia many times comes across as “traditional” in that sense that some issues are not put on the agenda. The term ‘gender’ in the agreement subjected to the public referendum in October 2016 implied, although not solely, discontent since some aspects of the term were not considered compatible with the traditions of the church. DiPaz on the other hand openly supported the Agreement and the importance of a gender perspective in the Peace Agreement. This may imply that DiPaz builds a religious identity that other parts of the religious sector see as improper, but it is not evident through the material that it is seen as a threat.

The gender-based agenda of DiPaz crosses over the functions of advocacy and socialization, and social cohesion. Concerning social cohesion, DiPaz seeks to unite the faith community with the approach of gender, bridging the ties with victims of sexual violence during the war and in general. The demand for truth and justice for victims, including women who have been subjected to sexual violence, is one of the core issues in the Final Peace Agreement, and DiPaz is aiming to support the implementation regarding this.

Apart from the aim to restore trust between the religious society and women, DiPaz has been attending at ceremonies where FARC-members and victims meet in order to restore trust co-existence. At these meetings, FARC asked victims for forgiveness for crimes that were committed during the conflict, which is one part of the call by DiPaz for healing torn in Colombia. Paffenholz and Spurk (2010) emphasize that this function is essential in building of community where the “good” social capital has been destroyed and is therefore in need of reconstruction (Ibid:71f). Since Colombia has a history of wide-spread and high level violence and forced displacements, the number of victims is high. Many people in the country are looking
for acknowledgement of the truth about committed crimes against them or their communities, and justice for victims, and the ceremonies may be one way of bridging ties between victims and perpetrators in the process of restoring the trust and co-existence.

Concerning intermediation and facilitation, this function requires initiatives by civil society to facilitate communication between groups or to intermediate in negotiations (Paffenholz and Spurk 2010:73). Although Paffenholz (2010x:398) argue that facilitation and intermediation particularly are relevant on a local/ regional level due to their higher impact than on an national level, DiPaz has directed facilitation initiatives on a national level. What is essential to include in the discussion is that, due to asymmetric power relations, DiPaz is likely to have enhanced its leverage by aligning with international actors who give it financial support, or advocacy support in this case called co-dialoguers. The support can implicate that the international allies invite DiPaz to their countries, to UN, or other forums in order to facilitate its advocacy. With cooperation with the international community, the relevance of the intermediation and facilitation function may amplify.

Through its report (2017c), DiPaz was seeking to facilitate the understanding of the frameworks that parts of the Final Agreement are based on, and the legal and political debates surrounding it. The reason this report was generated was due to the controversy around the topics of amnesties, pardons, and special criminal treatments, and special jurisdiction for peace. Paffenholz (2010b:399) has found that the function of intermediation and facilitation is closely linked to advocacy, and when studying the material from which this study is based, this argument is essential to pick up. The report from 2017 (2017b) may facilitate the communication about the Final Agreement to all who take part of it, including FARC, state officials, and officials in other state institutions, and simultaneously it falls under the function of advocacy since it is communicating an agenda for peace and the importance of continuing the implementation process. The same applies to when DiPaz was represented as an intermediate between the citizens of Colombia and the GOC when urging before the Congress for it to accept the Final Peace Agreement. Although the Agreement was later accepted, the relevance of DiPaz making this appearance is difficult to assess since the peace-process was an extensive process where both parties were looking for a solution, and DiPaz was not the only civil society actor looking for an acceptance of the agreement.
5.3 Promotions of human rights

The third research question of this study is “In what ways do DiPaz seek to promote human rights through its peacebuilding functions?”. In summary, throughout the existence of DiPaz, a human rights agenda has been an integrated part of its initiatives, both through its own organization/ co-organization of activities, and through making demands concerning the Colombian state’s respect and protection of human rights.

Looking at the protection function, DiPaz is involved in activities to protect non-combatants from direct violence and repressions by armed groups through its two humanitarian houses where people can seek protection and support. From a human rights perspective the protection function includes protection of these civil rights, which is at firsthand the role of the state as the duty bearer, however, civil society is supplementing the state on this matter in collaboration with the tripartite mechanism MM & V. The concept of Improving economic and social conditions, retrieved from Gunner and Nordquist (2011:141), is found here since DDR projects have the aim of lay-down of weapons while also aiming for a creation of a secure space, and to transfer power into civilian hands. Apart from the direct involvement in a project with a protection function starting in 2017, DiPaz also communicated its commitment to provide accompaniment for the civilian populations in the demobilization zones, before the implementation process had started. This positioning in favor of the non-armed population is frequent throughout the years.

Frequent human rights work takes place within the monitoring function, and the concept of Establishing transitional mechanisms is actively used by DiPaz through projects of monitoring the parties’ respect for human rights. This type of projects is a part of Gunner and Nordquist’s (2011) approach where human rights and peacebuilding are jointed, and when looking at the monitoring function, human rights are understood in terms of protection of civil rights of communities and ex-combatants’ living close to the demobilization and re-incorporation zones since the start of the implementation process in 2017. The purpose of monitoring from a human rights perspective is to ensure that the former conflict enemies do not longer violate human rights, and that the duty bearers do not ignore an active human rights implementation, but instead show the importance of getting rid of obstacles for fulfilling their human rights obligations (Ibid:147f). DiPaz did not only monitor the implementation process, but also the unilateral and bilateral ceasefire with the same aim, to promote peace and human rights simultaneously.
Frequent human rights work also takes place within the advocacy function. First, the agenda for peace covers, with a gender perspective, both peace and human rights which is communicated to DiPaz’s own members, other parts of civil society, state institutions, and FARC, and sets the base for parallel action on human rights and peacebuilding. Moreover, DiPaz advocacy human rights by communicating its support for a peace agreement that embraces both a peacebuilding agenda and a human rights agenda. An agreement like this may, according to Gunner and Nordquist (2011:95), make human rights the conflict-solving principle, which is in line with the agenda of DiPaz. The support is embodied through the agenda of DiPaz composed by the themes of truth and justice, anti-militarism and non-violence, and reconciliation, but as well through the web-published material during the years of 2015 and 2016, where it called out for a settlement between the conflict parties, and made statements of the importance of protection and monitoring.

The achievement of a partnership with the international community and NGOs may have allowed DiPaz to enhance its work to promote human rights through its peacebuilding functions. The support has not only been of economic nature. Information about DiPaz, its agenda, and activities is allowed to spread over a significant amount of channels, strengthening its capacity to carry out relevant and substantial functions for peace and human rights.

The human rights perspective within the advocacy function is as well detected when DiPaz is stating that a peace agreement will open a path in the compensation for victims’ suffering. Gunner and Nordquist (2010:145f) explain that the compensation can be individual and/ or collective, and symbolic and/ or remunerative. DiPaz seek to promote human rights in this manner by supporting a peace process based on human rights which in turn will open the path to compensate victims through Truth, Justice, Reparation and Reconciliation where DiPaz is continuing its involvement.

DiPaz is continuously expressing its view on gender issues, stating that it is essential for the dignifying of people affected by violence, and for the revision of policies to guarantee human rights. The sexual violence by armed groups such as FARC throughout the conflict testifies about the importance to bring a gender perspective to the agenda, aiming for truth, justice, reparations for victims, and reconciliation.

Although the conflict between the GOC and FARC is officially terminated, other armed groups are still operating in Colombia. Threats and killings of social leaders is a problem and
DiPaz has been claiming that the duty bearer, the state, takes immediate action to guarantee social leaders’ and FARC ex-combatants’ constitutional exercise of claiming their right to life and protection from violent infringements. The capacity of DiPaz is limited to take action of advocacy and monitoring through organizing of demonstrations to create public pressure on the state, and to raise national and international awareness of the situation. DiPaz stated, as mentioned in chapter 5.1.3 (p. 34), that the killings and threats are creating anti-peace positions which endanger the negotiated solution between the GOC and FARC, and therefore it is an urgent matter to raise awareness and create pressure about these human rights violations.

Moving on to the socialization function of DiPaz where human rights are a fundamental part of the fostering of democratic values. The pedagogy for peace, as DiPaz is calling it, is reflected in their agenda for peace, and is combining the two agendas of peace and human rights in order to develop democratic attitudes. Moreover, DiPaz is consolidating its Christian identity simultaneously as issues of gender are being an integrated part of the positioning as a faith-based actor.

The social cohesion function ensures the building of community with the objective of learning co-existence. At one hand, DiPaz is looking to heal the relationship between women affected by sexual violence by armed groups and the faith community that historically has failed to include a gender perspective during the conflict years. At the other hand, DiPaz has been present at ceremonies where FARC members have asked victims for forgiveness. These are initiatives that aim to open up a process for truth, justice, reparations, and reconciliation.

The intermediation/ facilitation initiatives on a national level have given DiPaz a national platform to communicate its agenda for peace and human rights directly to the GOC, the Colombian society, and the international community. The call for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission before the GOC in 2014 is a way of aiming for truth, justice and human rights for victims as a way forward in the peacebuilding process.
Chapter 6 - Conclusion

In this thesis I have studied the role of DiPaz in the Colombian peacebuilding process between FARC and the GOC, and the aim was twofold: Firstly it was to explore the relevance of the peacebuilding activities of DiPaz using the framework of Paffenholz and Spurk (2010). Furthermore the aim was to find out how DiPaz’s activities seek to promote the respect of human rights in Colombia. The civil society in Colombia is multifaceted and consists of thousands of NGOs and associations across the country, and this study examines one example of how civil society may contribute to peacebuilding and respect of human rights.

The two first research question was “What peacebuilding activities are the churches and faith-based organizations of the network DiPaz carrying out in Colombia?”, and “To what extent can these activities be attributed to the functions outlined by Paffenholz and Spurk (2010)?”. The study reveals that only six of seven functions are topical in the case of DiPaz, since service delivery has not been a reported initiative. Consequently, DiPaz has been seen to execute functions of protection, monitoring, advocacy and public communication, socialization, social cohesion, and intermediation/ facilitation. The time frame has covered peace talks, signing of the Final Peace Agreement, and the beginning of the implementation process, and DiPaz has been adjusting its initiatives to these different phases, keeping its work relevant. Considering this, the second research question is followed by the conclusion that the functions of DiPaz are of relevance for the peace-process in Colombia. However, some observations have been made throughout the study. Paffenholz and Spurk (2010:74) refer the function of social cohesion to the restoration of the relations between ‘[former] conflicting groups’, referring to armed groups who has been involved in a conflict. In the case of Dipaz, the bridging initiatives between the women population and the faith-community are not directly linked to the restoration of relationships with the GOC or FARC, and therefore are not applicable to this function. However, restoring the relationship between women and churches that have been affected by the conflict, although these groups are non-armed, could nevertheless be of relevance. The restoration and integration of a gender perspective within the civil society in Colombia may be relevant in a sense where we are looking at the root causes of the civil conflict (e.g. human rights violations), and taking them into account when building the peacebuilding agenda.

Moreover, facilitation has been relevant on a national level where DiPaz has been carrying out initiatives of facilitating on a national level. Although Paffenholz (2010b:399) argue that
overall the relevance of facilitation is higher on a local level that it is on a national level. The observation here is that DiPaz is a religious civil society actor recognized by the state, FARC, and other parts of civil society, which is increasing its relevance on a national level.

The last research question was “In what ways do DiPaz seek to promote human rights through its peacebuilding functions?”. The conclusion here is that DiPaz is frequently integrating a human rights agenda within its functions by the demanding the duty bearer (the state) to take on measures to prevent violations of human rights, especially within the functions of monitoring, advocacy, and facilitation. A human rights perspective on in-group socialization is suggestively applying to the building of democratic attitudes, where respect of human rights is a fundamental part in a democratic behavior. Moreover, considering the protection function, DiPaz has itself been taking on substantial measures of protection in the demobilization and reincorporation zones, offering security and support in its two humanitarian houses of protection. The state has the main responsibility of protect the non-armed population from threats and violence and need to deal with the security dilemma around these zones, but DiPaz has yet been taking on a role that is relevant to a situation where security is a severe issue.

Looking at DiPaz and its functions in an overall perspective, the support by international NGOs and collaboration with the UN may have enhanced the capacity of carrying out relevant functions covering peacebuilding and human rights. The support has been of both economic and non-economic nature, assisting DiPaz to organize and co-organize dialogues and meetings, spreading its agenda, and enhance its recognition of being a relevant actor in the Colombian society.

Finally, what can we learn from this study? We know that the two traditions of peacebuilding and human rights are in many cases separated into two different dialogues, and that this does not have to be the case. The agendas may be seen as two perspectives aiming for the same goal and sharing the same values, and civil society has increasingly been using human rights as key concept to sustainable peace. Although the Final Peace Agreement has been signed, the Colombian society is torn by many years of conflict, and is risking renewed violence every day. Yet, the civil society still has to carry an active role in the continuing of the peacebuilding process, being the link between the former conflict parties and the citizens as a recognized intercessor of non-violent peacebuilding.
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