

together with grassroots leaders¹⁴ and at the same time they are able to develop projects together with mayoralities (Arias, 2017; “Proyectos”; Bent, 2016).

On the other hand, according to Davies, Kaufman, McDonald, Bendahmane and Kriesberg NGOs provide “channels of communication, new ideas and options” (as cited in Kriesberg, 2011 p. 57). This feature is highly relevant in the midst of a conflict for example when communication is broken between two opposing sides; when violence is implemented there is no chance to interact other than attacking, damaging all channels of communication. In the same way ideas and options are affected. However the efforts and essence of most NGOs permit the healing and persistence of those key points even during terrible violent periods.

Given the previous arguments and ideas, together with the characteristics of Corpovisionarios, the theory of conflict transformation provides enlightening knowledge to analyze the efforts of this Colombian initiative. In order to fully argue this, the key concepts and some limitations of the theory will also be included in this theoretical framework, after that the analysis of the case study will include detailed information and will continue to back the argument started here.

4.3 Key concepts of conflict transformation for the case of Corpovisionarios

The following section includes the most relevant and necessary theoretical concepts to support the arguments of this thesis and understand the case of Corpovisionarios in Colombia. Different authors and types of literature were consulted for these definitions

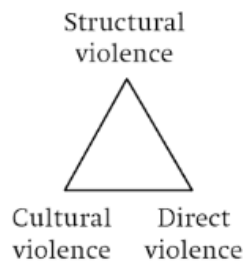
¹⁴ Among some of the projects that Corpovisionarios has, *48 millones* is one that involves grassroots leaders. It is a platform for people who want to volunteer and help. More detailed information about this project will be included later on and in the appendix 1. On the other hand, at the beginning of 2017, Corpovisionarios launched a strategy to reduce bar fights and nightlife confrontation in Bogotá, this strategy was carried out together with the city’s mayoralty (Arias, 2017).

however the approach selected to define them, leans towards conflict studies and more specifically conflict transformation.

4.3.1 Cultural Violence

The following definition of the concept of Cultural Violence is a paraphrased summary of the article of the same name by Galtung (1990); the author to whom we owe the ascription of the term, the inclusion of his ideas in a short analysis seemed necessary and enlightening for the case study of this paper.

Figure 2 Galtung's violence triangle



(Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016 p. 12)

Galtung (1990) argues that there are three categories: Cultural Violence, Structural Violence and Direct Violence, they form a violence triangle that the author concludes to be “a virtuous rather than vicious triangle, also self-reinforcing.” (Galtung, 1990 p.302) This means that Cultural Violence, Structural Violence and Direct Violence, complement each other and if there is no transformation intended they can maintain a system of perpetuated violence.

Structural Violence is coined by Galtung as (1990) the concept that encompasses the following as types of social violence: segmentation, marginalization, fragmentation or exploitation; those are only some examples of actions that penetrate structures; they become part of a state or organization, harming the lives of individuals and masses. For a more concrete example the system of the Apartheid in South Africa could show what is meant with this concept. Direct violence is on the other side, as its name describes the

sort of violence that directly damages a human being, examples of this go from slavery to killing.

Having the big picture of where Cultural Violence is in the triangle, Galtung (1990 p.296) brings attention to “six cultural domains (...) religion and ideology, language and art, empirical and formal science”. He demonstrates how by identifying the cultural element, this can potentially or empirically be used to legitimize the other two types of violence (structural or direct). He states that “the whole culture possesses a tremendous potential for violence that can be expressed at the more manifest cultural level and then be used to justify the unjustifiable” (Galtung 1990, p. 301).

This last idea is highly important to this paper as culture is a key concept for Corpovisionarios and the Citizenship Culture approach. In the following chapter the delegitimisation of the use of violence from the studied NGO perspective will be an essential point to see this as a conflict transformation initiative.

Finally it seems important to include and to echo the call of Galtung (1990, p. 303) when he says “If culture is relevant to violence and peace, and surely it is, then only the dogmatic mind will exclude it from explorations as penetrating and tenacious as the countless studies devoted to the many aspects of direct and structural violence.”

4.3.2 Elicitive conflict transformation

The concept of elicitive conflict transformation here will be taken from the work of Dietrich (2013) who has elaborated on the introduction that Lederach (1995) does for the same concept. Dietrich (2013) explains how the idea behind this concept looks for an expanded approach to the understanding of peace and conflict. He explains that it is “an approach that requires a new attitude from peace workers towards themselves and toward their work” (Dietrich, 2013 p.5)

Elicitive conflict transformation differentiates from prescriptive approaches as it does not have a prefabricated model; it instead takes communally held knowledge of conflict transformation between individuals, groups and communities to achieve its purpose.

Furthermore the concept of elicitive conflict transformation as described by Dietrich is the methodological consequence of another concept worked and coined by the author: transrational peace, he explains that elicitive conflict transformation is based on that philosophy (Dietrich, 2014 p. 53) from which we will see a bit further in the concept description of many peaces.

4.3.3 Many peaces

The concept described here is generally coined by Wolfgang Dietrich, who has done extensive research on the interpretations of peace in history. In Dietrich and Sützl (1997) the question “*which peace are we talking about?*” discusses peace throughout different cultures and humanity’s history, concluding that we need to stop looking at it as a singular concept, in the authors words:

“The world therefore needs more than one peace for concrete societies and communities to be able to organize themselves. The peaces do not become mutually compatible the moment everybody understands one another, but when all live in their own peace, that is, treat others like the members of their own kin, and so respect them even if they do not understand them.
Let us look for our place and act in accordance with it! Let us talk about the many peaces!” (Dietrich and Sützl, 1997 p. 300)

This concept aligns very well to the studied case given its non-deterministic characteristic. Corpovisionarios could be thought as an institution that does not imposes one peace. If this concept and the NGO would unite I believe the result would be prosperous work. Therefore in order to better understand and introduce the many peaces, I have included the following extracts by Dietrich and his team at the University of Innsbruck.

Energetic peaces: “Energetic peaces are holistic. They perceive all existence as a fabric interrelating nature, society and divinities (cosmos). The individual is never separate, but always part and parcel of the larger relationality that, in turn, ultimately is a temporary manifestation of the primal energetic Oneness of all being. [...] the thematic tendencies of energetic peaces revolve around issues of harmony and, while there is a wide range of terms invariably connected to these energetic interpretations, we can observe how they consistently aim at a dynamic balance between society, nature and cosmos.” (“Energetic Peaces”, 2017)

Moral peaces: “While the initial observation of living in a world of polarities coincides with that of energetic peaces, the conclusion derived in moral approaches is quite different: polarities are interpreted as dualism between true and false, good and evil, right and wrong, strong and weak. In the face of those polarities, whether in nature or society, the question that arises is how to achieve peace via doing good and overcoming evil? For reaching such a decision, absolute norms of conduct and values are provided by a single, personified (male) creator God, who brings the universe into existence, yet he himself stands apart from it. He is an acting agent and peace shall be the reward for the ones following his rules. The rules [...] call for institutions and experts to authoritatively interpret and explain His law to the people. [...]” This creates a division between ‘us’ (“the group that correctly follows the true norms”) and ‘them’ (“those who fail to follow the rule”) (“Moral Peaces”, 2017)

Modern peaces: “Modern peaces are mechanic. The spiritual realm is dismissed in favor of a purely this-worldly perception of the universe. While God served as founding principle in moral approaches to peace, in modern interpretations he is replaced by rationality as founding principle of peace. Thereof derives the modern concern with earthly relations. Only that which can be apprehended by the senses is of relevance for peace. [...] Within the modern framework, we find peace in direct relation with the material sphere, where things can be seen, measured and accumulated. The fear of losing them, including the fear of losing one’s life, becomes a high risk, which has to be managed in a safe place.” (“Modern Peaces”, 2017)

Post-modern peaces: “Abstaining from a modern foundation in singularity and embracing plurality, postmodern understandings of peace celebrate the exuberant multiplicity of lived existence without looking for resolving tensions between contradictions but twisting the dogmatism of modernity’s reason, turning its analytical tools on itself. Therefore, postmodern understandings remain small, local and contextual. (...)The result then is a plurality of truths in

peace research and practice, hence Many Peaces of the concrete encounter, of ‘you’ and ‘me’, in the here and now.” (“Postmodern Peaces”, 2017)

Transrational peaces: “Transrational peaces share the postmodern commitment to plurality, yet additionally reintegrate the spiritual component. Trans-rational implies having passed through the rational, but without clinging to its purely earthly perspective. Reason is acknowledged as one possible mode of perception among others. [...] Philosophical and scientific approaches based on transrationality deal with the lack of founding from a so-called bootstrap approach, i.e. accepting a multiplicity of overlapping yet not completely coinciding viewpoints, a shifting of perspectives between overlaying lenses that never completely merge and so their descriptions of reality differ. [...] transrational inquiries are not so much guided by questions of ‘why?’ [...]. but by questions of ‘how?’” (“Transrational Peaces”, 2017)

The evolution of the research on peace led Dietrich to call for an even greater challenge: he questions the use and validity of rationality; they are seen in modernity and post-modernity as the “name of God” Therefore Dietrich looks for a twist in the rational interpretation of the world, a twist into a *trans-rational* interpretation (Dietrich 2006); an idea already introduced by the concept of transrational peaces but that is worth highlighting given its interesting and current nature.

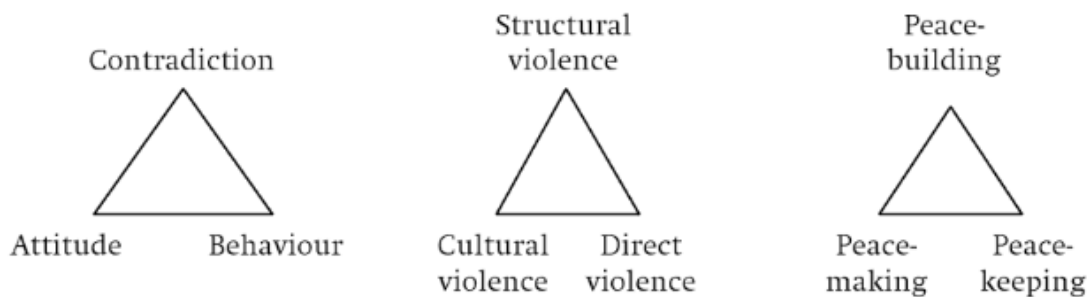
Although the concepts of Many Peaces and trans-rationality are not entirely and directly connected to the studied case, the plurality idea that Dietrich shows with his inclusion of more than one peace and the call for a “twist” in rationality is highly interesting for the case of Corpovisionarios since this NGO attempts and pursues plurality in order to enrich their work.

4.3.4 Peacebuilding

According to the United States Institute of Peace’s glossary the term Peacebuilding apprehended a post-conflict context where efforts pursued recovery, promote reconstruction and reconciliation, however this concept entangles a more complex meaning (“Peacebuilding”, 2017) and in academics it has taken on a broader meaning.

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, (2016 p. 36) dedicate a complete chapter to the evolution and complexity of this concept, they assure that peacebuilding's work supports efforts of peacemaking and peacekeeping, and it addresses structural issues; this latest concept of structure is actually linked to the already mentioned triangle of Galtung (1990) (see figure 2) as cited by Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall (2016 p. 36). They explain that "it can be suggested that peacemaking aims to change the attitudes of the main protagonists, peacekeeping lowers the level of destructive behavior, and peacebuilding tries to overcome the contradictions which lie at the root of the conflict (Galtung 1996:112)"

Figure 3 Galtung's models of conflict, violence and peace



(Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016 p. 12)

From the latest quote, the use of the term 'root' should be highlighted as it touches an important characteristic of peacebuilding, it goes deep into conflict, a goal pursued by conflict transformation as it tries to go beyond the surface of a conflict.

The complexity of this concept is further evaluated by the authors (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016). They lay out the need to distinguish nationbuilding, statebuilding and peacebuilding, as they are not completely differentiated in the literature. Looking at the three terms included before, it must be noted that their importance for a post-war period is essential and each one of them represents a relevant aspect to be taken into account; however the authors assure that:

“Peacebuilding [...] is the broadest of these terms and comes from the peace research and conflict resolution tradition. It is most succinctly characterized as the project of overcoming structural and cultural violence (conflict transformation), in conjunction with peacemaking between conflict parties (conflict settlement) and peacekeeping (conflict containment).” Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016 p. 237)

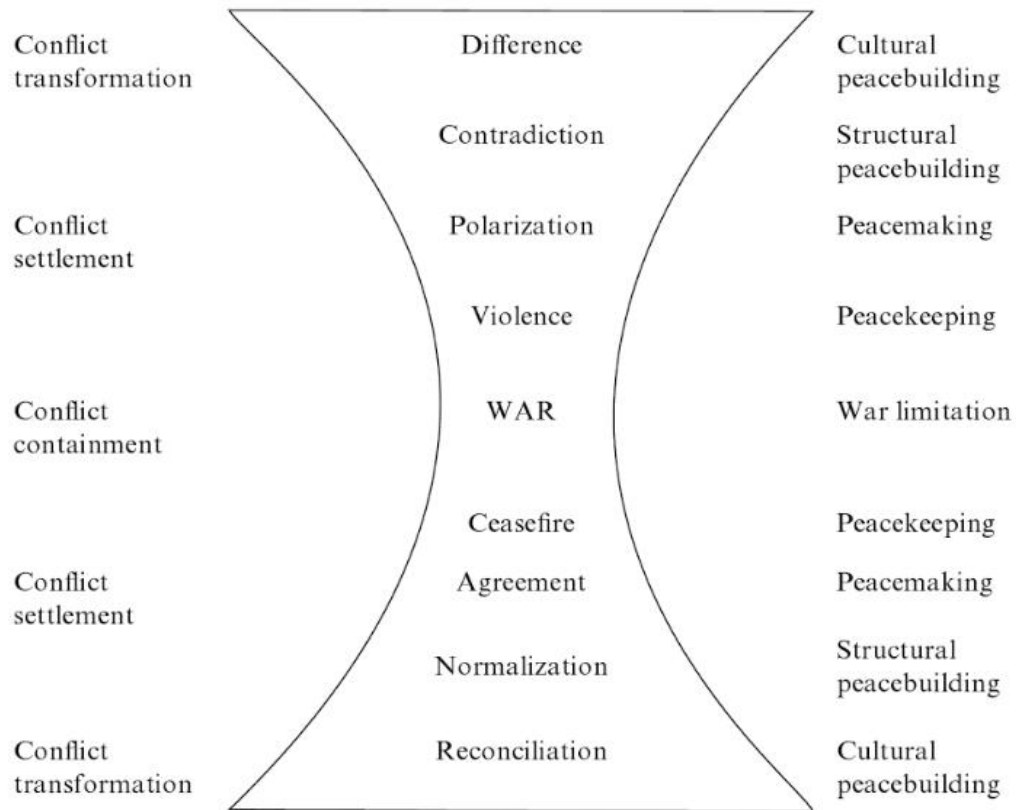
In this sense, peacebuilding is an appropriate and useful concept to analyze the case of Corpovisionarios but more importantly the period that Colombia is going through, as all of the ideas that peacebuilding involves should be taken care of, if the goal is to achieve a stable and durable peace.

4.3.5 Cultural Peacebuilding

The concept of cultural peacebuilding can be easily developed after the understanding of peacebuilding. Although it can be taken as a concept it does not have the recognition needed to make of it a self-sustained and widely discussed term; nevertheless Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, combining the ideas of Galtung (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016 p.17) create the hourglass model (figure 3) where they include cultural peacebuilding at the two ends of the hourglass coinciding with conflict transformation. The authors add that

“In this model, we distinguish between the elite peacemaking that forms the substance of conflict settlement and the deeper levels of peacemaking (including reconciliation and education) that are better seen as part of cultural peacebuilding.” (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016 p.17)

Figure 4 Hourglass model conflict containment, conflict settlement and conflict transformation



(Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016 p.16)

In this concept, different cultural expressions are recognized as part of peacebuilding: from filmmaking, arts or music, those powerful activities contribute in the creation and sustenance of peace. (Seidl-Fox & Sridhar, 2014) This type of peacebuilding seems to be then underused but highly influential for the period of a post-war.

For examples of cultural peacebuilding Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, (2016, p.18) name commissions of enquiry/truth and justice, peace and conflict awareness, education and training, cultural initiatives, sport as reconciliation. They among others authors recognize the role of culture as highly relevant in peacebuilding (Preis & Stanca Mustea, 2013; Seidl-Fox & Sridhar, 2014).

4.3.6 *Diplomacy tracks*

In order to introduce and better understand the four coming concepts a review of the pyramid by Lederach (Figure 1) would be helpful for the reader, as it is a visual and content aid that relates to the tracks described below.

4.3.6.1 *Track I Diplomacy:*

Is the concept that comprehends one of the three groups of actors and their efforts to deal with a conflict; seen in the pyramid of Lederach (1997) he will mention: military, political and religious leaders with high visibility. Defined by authors like Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall (2016), Nan (2003) or Reimann, (2004) Track I is official governmental or intergovernmental diplomacy, this implies the work of state offices or high rank leaders. Their actions can range from negotiation/mediation to sanctions and arbitration (Reimann, 2004); as important as those efforts are, theory shows that in history single Track I work is not sufficient. Although there are successful examples of conflict resolution through this method, the critique of academia to only using Track I diplomacy leads to the conclusion of it being insufficient (Nan, 2003).

4.3.6.2 *Track II Diplomacy:*

In the concept that consolidates the second group of actors and efforts to deal with a conflict. As stated above, the inefficiency of Track I Diplomacy demanded a new or more comprehensive approach towards *who* and *how* it should be dealt with conflict; therefore Joseph Montville (1991) began the idea of *Track Two Diplomacy* looking to involve a greater amount of people and abilities into a mediation process (Diamond & McDonald).

As cited by Mapendere (2005). Montville (1991) defines Track II Diplomacy as “unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aim to develop strategies, to influence public opinion, organize human and material

resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict” (Mapendere, 2005 p. 58). However Montville also emphasized that Track Two Diplomacy does not substitute Track I Diplomacy (Mapendere, 2005 p. 58). This later recognition of the relevance of more than one Track is highly interesting given the fact that it allowed for the evolution into more concepts and approaches like Track III and Multi-Track diplomacy.

4.3.6.3 Track III Diplomacy:

The concept encompasses the last group of actors and actions that on the one hand form the pyramid of Lederach (1997) and on the other is part of the Multi-track Diplomacy concept, from the same author’s perspective.

As cited by Reimann (2004) Lederach (1995 and 1997) states that Track III actors, are those who deal with the people who have been most affected by the violence in a conflict. Given the fact that those are individuals and private groups that work towards the understanding and interaction in hostile communities, their work can be defined and understood by the theory as grassroots and bottom-up efforts ("Tracks of Diplomacy", 2017).

Reimann (2004) mentions some of the strategies that Track III actors develop, for instance conferences or workshops, also “organization of meetings, generating media exposure, and political and legal advocacy for marginalized people and communities” ("Tracks of Diplomacy", 2017). The importance of those strategies is immense given that their aim is to generate social justice and structural change through capacity building and empowerment (Reimann, 2004 p. 11).

4.3.7 Multi-track Diplomacy

Having defined the previous concepts, Multi-track Diplomacy becomes a more familiar and understandable term. As it was stated before, the inefficiency of pure Track I mediation generated the need for further inclusion and demanded a rethinking of the

goals of ‘solving’ a conflict. Track II actors and activities helped in the evolution of a more comprehensive approach, however

“Dr. Louise Diamond [...] recognized that lumping all track-two activities under one label did not capture the complexity or breadth of unofficial diplomacy. Therefore, she coined the phrase “multi-track diplomacy,” in order to incorporate all aspects of mediation from the ground-level work of private citizens to the top-level meetings of state heads. Multi-Track Diplomacy utilizes all levels of society in order to determine the needs and facilitate communication between all levels of society.” (Diamond & McDonald)

The key to this approach is then found in the words of Diamond and McDonald: ‘all levels of society’ need to be part of the work that conflict implies; because conflict exposes and affects, in many cases, every citizen or person part of a community. Therefore, each and every individual involved in one way or another, is able to take part of the transformation of the conflict.

For the purpose of this thesis Tracks I, II and III are used, however the definition of Multi-Track Diplomacy presented by John McDonald includes more than those three Tracks¹⁵; a characteristic that must be mentioned. In addition to this, the analysis of Reimann (2004, p.13) explains how conflict transformation relates to Multi-Track Diplomacy, as one of the purposes of this discipline is to widen the scope of actors involved. The author also suggests that conflict transformation focuses on the short-, middle-, and long-term involvement combining the ideas of Track I, II and III. Reimann (2004 p.13) adds “this three-fold understanding of conflict also suggests a corresponding triple interpretation of success; it can be outcome, process, and/or change oriented”.

¹⁵ “In 1991, Dr. Diamond and Ambassador McDonald expanded the number of tracks to nine. They added four new tracks: religion, activism, research, training, education, and philanthropy. Tracks two through nine help prepare an environment that will welcome positive change carried out by track-one or government (...) they can make sure that government decisions are carried out and implemented properly. This cross-fertilization of the official and non-government sectors of the society allows change to happen.” (Diamond & McDonald)

From this concept two main aspects are highly important for the studied case, on one side the inclusion of multiple actors and on the other the three-fold understanding from Reimann (2004 p.13). Those two features highly relate to Corpovisionarios because it is an NGO that has a connection to Track I, is part of Track II and works with Track III, making it an institution with the capacity to link different actors. However at the same time its Citizenship Culture approach is based on the same interpretation of success, because with their actions they attempt to achieve short-, middle-, and long-term impact.

4.4 Limitations and challenges of conflict transformation

The research done for the state of the art in conflict transformation left enough understanding about the standing of the theory; authors like Kriesberg (2011), Miall (2004) and Reimann (2004) describe achievements but also limitations and challenges that the theory and practice of conflict transformation still needs to take care of.

On the one hand Kriesberg (2011) argues that the field of conflict transformation is becoming institutionalized in non-governmental organizations and academic settings, giving it legitimacy and increasing the amount of people committed to working in the field. However people who apply the ideas and practices of conflict transformation are not fully aware or do not identify themselves as workers in the field, which on one side demonstrate that it is becoming more mainstream, but on the other the people doing the practical work might be lacking the theoretical dimension (Kriesberg, 2011 p. 61).

The need for more development of the theory is also suggested by Reimann (2004 p. 17) who discusses the need to bridge conflict management and conflict transformation to insights from critical theory, social constructivism and feminism. Kriesberg as well calls for more resources in order to support theory-building and research that enriches the data in various stages of transforming conflict. Aside from this he also suggests that it is time

to “undertake greater theory building, synthesising related mini-theories”. (Kriesberg, 2011 p. 67)

In relation to the identification of conflict transformation as such Kriesberg (2011) talks about the ‘improvement of popular thought: popular recognition’ of the field; more popularity would increase the probability that policies design from the conflict transformation theory are chosen. The author adds that “people in the field, broadly understood, should help inform the public at large all over the world of the possibilities of conflict transformation.” (Kriesberg, 2011 p. 68) This idea will be important in this thesis as I hope to uphold that conflict transformation is happening in Colombia and that Corpovisionarios is an initiative of this kind.

One important critique to the field of conflict transformation made by Kriesberg seems very relevant to this paper as it relates to the perspective of outside interveners, the author suggests that the work of post-violence peacebuilding should involve more “people on the contending sides” (Kriesberg, 2011 63). This critique gains closer attention here because the studied case is a local initiative for the conflict of Colombia and the author of those lines is Colombian; therefore my personal effort into this work tries to support the development of conflict transformation as a theory and hopefully in more parts of the world.

As a last remark among the challenges and limitations of the field of conflict transformation, the assessment of the impact of practice should be included here. Miall (2004 p.16) questions “What is the overall impact of these kinds of practice on conflict?” concluding that the field has an “incomplete understanding of the impact of conflict transformation activities on conflict” (Miall, 2004 p.18). This is a concern that applies to the Corpovisionarios’ case; measuring, assessing and spreading the word of success or failure left from transformational efforts, would give more support to the theory and the institutions who try to practice and implement conflict transformation into their work.

5. Citizenship Culture and Corpovisionarios a Conflict Transformation Initiative

With the contextualization and theoretical grounds of conflict transformation discussed in the previous chapters the case study gains complete attention and will be developed in the following lines. To begin with, an introduction containing all the descriptive information regarding Citizenship Culture and Corpovisionarios will provide the necessary information to get familiar with the approach and the NGO; in here I will also try to include the theoretical grounds necessary to understand and support what Corpovisionarios does. Following this introduction of Citizenship Culture and Corpovisionarios, the analysis of the data collected during my stay at the NGO will be done from the conflict transformation theory, with this I attempt to support my hypothesis of Corpovisionarios being a transformation initiative highly relevant for the post-accord phase that Colombia is going through.

5.1 What is Citizenship Culture?

The term Citizenship Culture in the English language does not immediately suggests what is intended. On the contrary in Spanish and online searches the term Cultura Ciudadana (Spanish for Citizenship Culture) does give a hint that could relate to the Citizenship Culture Approach that will be described in this subchapter. Thus as explained by Giancarlo Chiappe (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016):

“When one says ‘*have* citizenship culture’, many people tend to understand it in an informal language as ‘having *good* citizenship culture’, meaning: a set of praxes and beliefs, ways of doing and thinking from people and the community, that lead to having a harmonic coexistence which respects most of all the legality principles”. (Own translation)

This is then what many people would think of when they hear citizenship culture in contexts like Colombia; here I like to use this understanding as an introduction but more importantly in order to give the reader the context to better appreciate the approach.

The Citizenship Culture Approach, its history, main concepts, authors and ideas will be described in the following paragraphs, as it is not only a vital concept to include in this thesis, it is also a major work with proven success that many people who together with Antanas Mockus built as a tool to transform conflicts.

The very beginnings of the Citizenship Culture Approach date back to the years when Professor Mockus was vice-president of the National University of Colombia, a period previous to his term as president of the same institution (1991-1993) ("Antanas Mockus, Nuevo Rector de la U. Nacional", 1991). Together with ten other professors Mockus published "Lineamientos para la Reforma Curricular" (In English: Guidelines for a Curriculum Reform) (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016; Mockus, 1990; Orozco de A, Garcés de G, & Garzón), a document where the wording used was Academic Culture; which was used in Mockus' reform when he was president of the university; in this period the efforts of his work were directed to make alumni holders have a greater diversity of knowledge, beyond academic information they were to have Academic Culture, an idea that will be better understood after looking at Citizenship Culture (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016).

As explained by professor Mockus (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016) at the time the context of Colombia included very important legal changes in the Colombian Constitution of 1991 and the Law 60 of August 12, 1993 concerning education. The discussions for the constituent had a strong focus on citizen participation and people's rights, ideas that merged with the thinking of professor Mockus when he ran for mayor of Bogotá. He says that given this context his first thought about the

mayorship was “this is not only a matter of law, this is matter of culture” (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016, own translation).

Professor Antanas Mockus became mayor of Bogotá for two terms, 1995-1997 and 2001-2003 (“Mockus, Antanas Ficha Bibliográfica”), periods where he was able to develop Citizenship Culture as a governing approach. For details on what this experience left for the future of the Citizenship Culture approach the words of Giancarlo Chiappe would complement its history:

“Cultura Ciudadana (...) es una propuesta de forma de gobierno, desde una alcaldía local, que busca conciliar y generar armonía entre los sistemas de regulación informales y formales que gobiernan el comportamiento de los ciudadanos, desde un gobierno pedagogo; un gobierno con una intención de construcción de... no solamente de garantía de la ley, sino de construir ciudadanía. En el ejercicio del gobierno, aparece algo que llama Antanas el saldo pedagógico; y eso es de algún modo acercar o buscar conciliar las reglas informales y los intereses, las razones y emociones de las personas a lo que se propone desde el gobierno, es decir, generalmente expresado en la ley.” (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016)

In detail, the goals and what was pursued with Citizenship Culture can be seen closer, as suggested by Mockus (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016) in the document *Formar Ciudad* (Mockus Šivickas, 1995) the government plan of his first term as a mayor, here the definition of Citizenship Culture, its objectives and strategies will be included:

“Definición: *Por cultura ciudadana se entiende el conjunto de costumbres, acciones y reglas mínimas compartidas que generan sentido de pertenencia, facilitan la convivencia urbana y conducen al respeto del patrimonio común y al reconocimiento de los derechos y deberes ciudadanos.”* (Mockus Šivickas, 1995 p. 3)

“Acción de gobierno: *comprende la formación ciudadana, en donde todos aprendamos de todos con responsabilidad compartida, cooperación y participación; y la formación de ciudad, en donde la gestión colectiva preserve el patrimonio común y lo enriquezca para bien de todos y especialmente de los más débiles.*
(...) [La Administración] Ayudará a la gente a aprender a usar bien su ciudad. Dicha gestión se facilita con la autorregulación ciudadana, la regulación de la

Administración por parte del ciudadano y una nueva cultura institucional.”
(Mockus Šivickas, 1995 p. 2)

“Estrategias para la Cultura Ciudadana: (...) desencadenar y coordinar acciones públicas y privadas que inciden directamente sobre la manera como los ciudadanos' perciben, reconocen y usan los entornos sociales y urbanos y cómo se relacionan entre ellos en cada entorno. Pertenecer a una ciudad es reconocer contextos y en cada contexto respetar las regias correspondientes.”
(Mockus Šivickas, 1995 p. 4)

The work done for the governing plan leaves us with highly important information and although it is an effort done for the mayoralty of Bogotá, the work and bases come from highly educated people. As academics were chosen over politicians in Mockus' term to govern the city, one could say that it was a feature that made his tenure as mayor different and successful (“Mockus, Antanas Ficha Bibliográfica”).

In relation to the theoretical bases of the approach, the concepts of culture and citizenship must clearly be taken into close consideration. For this the Citizenship Culture approach understands culture from Jon Elster's ideas as cited in one major publication of Corpovisionarios

“Entendemos por cultura el universo de normas sociales, comportamientos, actitudes, creencias y hábitos compartidos por los individuos de un conjunto social. Elster (2001, 87-89) propone entender inicialmente por cultura “cualquier patrón de conducta, normas, valores, creencias y conceptos que sea más que individual pero menos que universal. La cultura es el reino de lo particular. (...) incluye todos los patrones constantes (o frecuentes) de la conducta humana dentro de un determinado grupo y que no se encuentran (o lo son de manera menos frecuente) en otros grupos. (...) La conducta guiada por normas sociales se sostiene por el deseo de evitar la desaprobación de los otros”. (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. XIX)

Citizenship is on the other hand based on the definition of Hannah Arendt, who says that it is “the right to have rights” however, in order to fulfill those rights, duties must be fulfilled as well (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016). Furthermore, a descriptive sense of Citizenship Culture encompasses what Chiappe explains as

citizenship identity; when there is a community of individuals who share a set of common cultural aspects, they would have a common feature: citizenship; but at the same time, these features make them holders of a legal status for being part of a Nation-State where the rule of law then grants and recognizes those individuals as citizens (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016, own translation).

So having the history and two main concepts cleared, we are able to see how the grounds of this approach are built from academics, it is based on strong theory and important authors; and although the transformational feature of this approach is not yet clear the three regulatory systems presented below will present the *how* of transforming conflicts from a Citizenship Culture approach.

Table 1 The regulatory systems, law, morals and culture

Legal regulation	Self-regulation (morals)	Mutual regulation (social or cultural)
Admiration for the law or moral obligation to observe it	Self-gratification for being coherent with principles or Sense of duty to personal moral criteria	Social recognition Trust Reputation
Fear of legal sanction	Fear of guilt	Fear of social rejection

(Mockus, 2013 p. 308)

Mockus (2013) suggests that harmony between the above regulatory systems makes a “peaceful existence”; and on the contrary he states that the “divorce” between law, morals and culture is the cause of violence and corruption. An example of this kind of divorce occurs when there is “moral and cultural approval of illegality” (Mockus, 2013). The later type of situation is crucial here to understand the work of Citizenship Culture, because as explained by Bromberg (Bromberg Z. own translation) a program aiming to generate Citizenship Culture tries to reduce the gap between those who oblige or prohibit a law and what we consider as natural behavior. In other words, through the understanding and modification of human behavior, not only through the enforcement of

authority, Citizenship Culture tries to reconcile the divorce between the regulatory systems mentioned above¹⁶ (Bromberg Z.).

Analyzing this approach it is inevitable not to immediately relate it to aspects and concepts of conflict transformation. On one side, their understanding of the individual's role in society is clearly related, for both theories each individual implies a great complexity, transforming oneself implies the transformation and hopefully positive change of society. This is a perspective of the individual that is formed, among other theory, by the concepts of elicitive conflict transformation and many peaces, for instance. On the other side cultural violence is a concept that we could use here to understand from the perspective of conflict studies what Mockus defines as 'divorce' when is caused by the 'mutual regulation'. One could say that if the cause of violence is socially and culturally accepted (e.g. acceptance of the pay gap between men and woman) this is a case of cultural violence. Therefore, harmonizing the three regulatory systems is what we could call in conflict transformation as peacebuilding and if the focus is on transforming cultural aspects through music, theater and other arts (which is the case of Citizenship Culture and Corpovisionarios), then the concept would be cultural peacebuilding.

Implied in the idea of the three regulatory systems and the writings of professor Mockus (2013, 2012), human beings are very complex, we do not obey only one type of regulatory system therefore the interaction between them may or may not be harmonic. At this point, when the interaction of the three regulatory systems is not harmonic, the issue is usually approached through legal sanctions: fines, penalties or imprisonment. However what the approach of Citizenship Cultures attempts is to provide more regulatory options, especially for policy making, based on the believe that major

¹⁶ “Recordemos que uno de los desafíos de cultura ciudadana es lograr la “armonía” entre el sistema regulatorio legal, el cultural y el moral. Es decir, lograr que lo que ordena la norma venga respaldado por aquello que ordena la cultura o la sociedad y, a su vez, que no haya choques entre ambos sistemas regulatorios y los mecanismos individuales o morales de control del comportamiento. Una comunidad en que estos tres sistemas estén alineados será probablemente una comunidad con mayor respeto a los acuerdos establecidos y mucho más segura para todos.” (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 147)

transformations are done on social and cultural grounds (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 47).

In order to better picture what the product of such an approach is, here I will include one of the many examples of actions taken in the mayorship of Mockus. When Antanas Mockus had his first Security Council as the mayor of Bogotá in 1995 he was shocked when he was informed about 3500 (not the exact number) violent deaths a year in the Colombian capital. He talks about how in this first meeting someone raises his hand and says “mayor don’t worry, more than a third of those are criminals who kill criminals” to which Mockus answered “we are here to defend the lives of everyone, included the lives of criminals”. This anecdote, told by Professor Mockus, was a first step into what would later become the *Life is Sacred program* (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016, own translation).

For his second term as the mayor of Bogotá (2001-2003) Mockus developed the program *Life is Sacred* that was aimed to reflect and sensitize Colombians about the value of life, particularly targeted to young Bogotans. The actions designed to achieve this goal included disarmament strategies, encounters among diverse communities and peaceful compromises, among other actions (Llorente, & Rivas, 2005).

The disarmament action is included here in detail from Mockus’ (2013 p. 323) own words

“The usual assumption stated that armed people are not interested in disarming because they cannot replace the power of feeling safe by carrying a gun. Also, the usual assumption says that among those who carry weapons there are “good” people and “bad” people. “Good” people carry weapons to defend themselves and the “bad” ones do it to be stronger and to be able to attack others. Those who give up their weapons are “good”, naïve individuals who are going to be abused by others. There is a possible asymmetry: “I use my weapon to defend myself but the majority of other individuals do it for attacking.”

So we tried to transform the usual assumption into a new one: Those who carry weapons are naïve people who might suffer accidents. They also might not know how to defend themselves or even might get in a worse situation when

committing a crime. An individual who gives up his weapons is a rational subject who protects himself and his family, and who helps in protecting life in Bogotá. The result was a surrender of 2300 weapons (less than 1% of the weapons in the city) during 4 Sundays of December 1996. But this initiative, in addition to “the carrot law”, cut down homicide rates by 26% that December.”

The process of creating those actions is a key component to its success, especially for the work that Corpovisionarios does in the present. Therefore to include the Citizenship Culture Survey here is relevant for our analysis. This idea of a survey is highly related to an issue mentioned in this thesis before: the lack of data regarding security issues in Latin America. As a result from a Second City Council where Mockus was the mayor, the recommendation was made to have a survey that would be able to measure the before and after from actions taken (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016, own translation). This is then the first step of the four recommendations for Citizenship Culture policies to be successful: 1. Have a data system about attitudes, perceptions and behaviors; 2. Generate creative and focused cultural agency¹⁷ processes; 3. Give feedback to citizens and 4. Understand these processes as collective actions¹⁸ (Murraín, 2009 p.214).

The four steps mentioned above are mainly directed to the creation of policies¹⁹, they are followed when governments work from and with the help of the Citizenship Culture

¹⁷ The concept of cultural agency is cited by Henry Murraín (2009 p.214), from Professor Doris Sommer who is recognized as one of the leading developers of the concept.

“[Agencia cultural] es un término que hemos propuesto desde los Estados Unidos para dar nombre a una práctica, quizá más reconocible en América Latina que en los Estados Unidos, que tiene sus agentes por todas partes del mundo y que todavía no ha entrado en los ámbitos universitarios como tema legítimo, productivo, promovido. Y es el aporte que hacen las artes, incluyendo las artes de interpretación, al civismo cotidiano que no tiene necesariamente un proyecto político particular, sino el efecto de desarrollar una esfera pública, densa, rica, contradictoria y dinámica. El arte hace eso”

¹⁸ “El concepto de acción colectiva es analizado por científicos sociales como Jon Elster y Elinor Ostrom, y es utilizado para mostrar las complejidades de la cooperación humana en la consecución de beneficios colectivos. Un problema que requiere acción colectiva se presenta en una sociedad cuando es deseable obtener un bien que interesa a todos y para su consecución se requiere que las personas cooperen y participen. Sin embargo, es posible que algunos individuos tengan incentivos para no colaborar y esperen que los demás lo hagan, beneficiándose así de la cooperación de los demás.” (Murraín, 2009 p.226)

¹⁹ This will be discussed again for the analysis of Corpovisionarios way of action.

approach; thus one could see that there is a comprehensive method to deal with conflict from a Citizenship Culture approach. I would like to elaborate in this idea: the first step aims to understand the context and find the roots of a conflict; secondly, the actions created to handle the issue do not rely on traditional and customary methods (like fines or punishment), instead they involve creativity and arts, a part of the human being that can easier and more deeply touch the essence of human conflict²⁰. Third, the acknowledgment makes us aware of the transformation that the Citizenship Culture actions pursue, helping the individual in the changing process. Ultimately, and if the process was done comprehensively, transformation will be made in collective size.

In order to conclude this idea regarding the methods used by the Citizenship Culture approach it is necessary to include the attention call that Murraín (2009 p.226) does in the application of the approach. He strongly states that interventions need to be created out of the local context they cannot be extracted from one place and be equally applied in other; as each city has its own dynamics and problems. The same actions cannot be applied even in the same city after generational changes, communities are in constant transformation, therein they need up to date, locally though and designed efforts. Murraín's (2009 p. 226) ideas are then easily relatable to the concept of many peaces, as it intends to make every transformation individual by understanding its own context and definition of peace. Additionally, the approach of elicitive conflict transformation requiring "a new attitude from peace workers towards themselves and toward their work" (Dietrich, 2013 p.5) can also be seen in the ideas of Citizenship Culture approach presented above; because in order to achieve "up to date, locally thought and designed efforts" the conflict transformer needs to be qualified to do so; to this it can be stated that the Corpovisionarios team comply.

²⁰ An idea that highly connects to Dietrich (2014) and Lederach's (2005) writing on elicitive conflict transformation

So far one can see that the approach of Citizenship Culture is highly rooted on the experiences of the terms of Mockus as a mayor of Bogotá, however in the next subchapter, the evolution from this experience will be very comforting as the approach has been able to evolve to something beyond Bogotá in the mid-1990s and the beginnings of 2000s.

In order to end and answer the question of what is the Citizenship Culture approach, concluding ideas from authors involve in the study of this approach will serve as arguments in support of the use and implementation of Citizenship Culture in cases of conflict.

Mockus, Murraín, Villa (2012 p.47) and Bromberg Z. (n.d.) seem to coincide in the fact that the experiences of Bogotá showed that solutions based on coercive methods are not necessarily the most appropriate and successful for complex urban environments. This approach goes beyond force and infrastructure as it transforms communities based on the fact that cultural conditions enable violence, but at the same time they create barriers to it (Bromberg Z. p. 11). In addition some of the issues that Citizenship Culture handles are ‘soft’ problems (domestic violence, quarrels), and it is a perspective that needs to be changed as it takes importance from the impact that those actions have in the life of communities (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. XXVI).

The Citizenship Culture approach has since its beginnings evolved taking concepts like constitutional security, mutual regulation, social norms, (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012p. 253) and including ideas from authors like Jürgen Habermas and Cristina Bicchieri, among other theorists and concepts who even though they are not included in detail for this thesis, their presence in the Citizenship Culture approach alone gives enough material to see the plurality and interdisciplinary characteristics of this transformational initiative. The following quote seems to support this last statement:

“Así, (...) la labor de quienes realizan agencia de cambios culturales –como invitación a los ciudadanos– podemos afirmar que una sociedad tiene la capacidad de transformarse ella misma si comprende la necesidad de realizar ajustes en algunas de sus prácticas culturales. Aunque exista una labor de agencia en dicha invitación, no se puede afirmar que una persona o un grupo de personas transforme una sociedad sino que más bien una sociedad se transforma. (Murraín, 2009 p.214)

Taking a closer look at the last sentence “a society transforms itself”, the theory of conflict transformation is easily spotted in Citizenship Culture because of its inclusion of multiple actors. This is exposed through Lederach’s pyramid (1997 p. 39) where individuals have a place in the construction of peace; which in the excerpt quoted above would be the construction of society. Also the horizontal capacity of Lederach (2005 p. 79) is found when Citizenship Culture pursues the “adjustment of some cultural practices” in order to achieve harmony; those adjustments are in words of Lederach the divisions that need to be approached. Corpovisionarios then has the horizontal capacity and approach to handle these divisions.

5.2 What is Corpovisionarios?

Corpovisionarios was founded after Antanas Mockus’ second term in office (2001-2003), with the main purpose of keeping the legacy of his work by continuing the research, theoretical and methodological exploration from the already mentioned grounds of Citizenship Culture. However, the new status as an independent organization gave a new role for workers in the Citizenship Culture approach they are now agents of change from a civil society position instead of a governmental position (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016).

For his founder, Professor Antanas Mockus, one of the expectations he had creating Corpovisionarios was of helping to generate a democratic culture. He explains that in order to continue in politics there was a need for an institution; but at the same time this

space would be essential for the development of Citizenship Culture. Thinking about the foundation of Corpovisionarios, Professor Antanas Mockus highlights the administrative work of two women (whose names were not specified) each one supported by a young man: on the academic part, Henry Murraín and on the other Jorge Torres. Those people are today continuing the legacy, both men on different contexts, from Corpovisionarios and from the government respectively. On this Mockus reflects upon as an “intergenerational transmission of ways of leadership”, he gives strong credit to these four people as their work gave a “marvelous impulse to the corporation” (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016)

The relation between Citizenship Culture and Corpovisionarios is then evident, thus the dependency between one another is explained by Giancarlo Chiappe who states that Citizenship Culture exists without Corpovisionarios; while on the contrary Corpovisionarios owes more of its existence to Citizenship Culture, as the think tank is based on the ideas of this approach Corpovisionarios nourishes and puts the approach into practice. However Corpovisionarios goes beyond Citizenship Culture and Chiappe believes that the NGO also does much more (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016).

I would like to elaborate on the relationship between Corpovisionarios, Citizenship Culture and later on Antanas Mockus as in my internship experience at the NGO I was able to see how this relation is a clue to the success of Corpovisionarios work, although it also seems to create interference or confuse people about what this institution does.

In the previous chapter most of the material used to talk about the Citizenship Culture approach was taken purposely from the conclusions out of the experience of Mockus in his mayoral terms, however here I took only sources from Corpovisionarios in order to see the difference and mainly the development of this theory throughout the work of the NGO. Thus, as described by Jimmy Corzo, Andrea Ramírez, Antanas Mockus and Diego

Cancino (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p.270 own translation) to promote Citizenship Culture is to strengthen mutual citizen regulation of people's behavior and harmonize this type of regulation with the law; as well as self-regulation. It is also the strengthening of the capacity to trust people and institutions, repair agreements and increase the capacity for tolerance and citizen participation. This extract in the text is highly directed to efforts of security and institutional action improvement which is one of the types of work that the NGO specializes in, working together with governmental institutions.

Here as stated before by Chiappe, the approach is no longer restricted to a governmental office or position, leaving the NGO the freedom of work from a civil society perspective. However it is interesting to highlight how although the efforts do not come from a governmental institution, Corpovisionarios does take it as a responsibility to form citizens and improve their relation with institutions by making them more aware of their role in participation and tolerance. Behind this idea is that individual efforts create collective changes and through better understanding between institutions and citizens, harmony seems more achievable.

Another excerpt by the same authors (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p.257 own translation) focuses on how Citizenship Culture recognizes the human being as multi-motivated and multi-regulated. Even though when an action is motivated by interest, the individual has the capacity to assess it from her/his reason or emotions. Legality, morality or cultural/social acceptance might motivate her/him. This is the reason why in the core of the programs and actions from Citizenship Culture the objective is to reduce moral or cultural justifications of illegality. Looking at this understanding of the individual it seems relevant to note that there are certain differences in the theory of conflict transformation and the theory of Citizenship Culture. From an elicitive perspective the idea of transformation as Dietrich (2013) explained is to look for an expanded approach, it implies a new attitude towards working for peace. This in comparison to the Citizenship Culture might sound much less prescriptive and morally

drive, as from the elicitive conflict transformation there is no model to apply, it is built by knowledge from the community that transformation is achieved. Meanwhile Citizenship Culture is more of a prescriptive method.

In short, the main ideas from Citizenship Culture stand and are supported with Corpovisionarios' work, they maintain the belief that harmony between the three regulatory systems, the legal, cultural and moral makes a community more respectful of agreements and safer for everyone (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012p.151). From Corpovisionarios own voice, a Citizenship Culture policy is

“una política que busca transformar comportamientos específicos de la ciudadanía, y debe contener un ejercicio de focalización e intervención sistemática en problemáticas que afectan la vida en comunidad.” (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012p. XXVI)

Up until this point, the work of Corpovisionarios has a strong direction into governance, however this institution is an NGO, think tank and action center, they describe themselves as the following:

“Corpovisionarios is a non-profit think tank and action center that performs research, provides advisory services, designs and implements actions that make possible voluntary changes on collective behaviors.

Based on the citizen-culture perspective, it promotes citizen participation, making agreements and co-responsibility as potential vehicles of social, economic and political development. [...]

[Actions are focused on the change of social norms] and characterized by empowering people so they can become agents of collective transformation [...].

Besides, the Corporation aims to create spaces for discussing collective action problems by organizing international workshops, courses, forums, and discussion groups. Both technical and books for the general public are published with the results of the projects carried out by the corporation.

As a think tank, the corporation does research and develops tools for identifying, measuring and changing collective behaviors.” (“Corpovisionarios”)

It is important to add to this description that they work with private institutions where they also work on solving conflicts within smaller and more specific communities (“Proyectos”). As an example of this type of work I will include here some excerpts that summarize some of the work they do in private institutions. In *Antípodas de la Violencia* (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 148) there is a reference to a project with workers in Bogotá's electrical sector in which Corpovisionarios conducted interviews and field observations. They found that pressure from the boss or the social group are mechanisms that operate in the cultural sphere and more specifically in mutual regulation, where motives for following the norm come from what other people do, say or what one believes is their thinking about one's own behavior (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 147 own translation).

In order to better understand this concept another project is mentioned in the same book stating that “En una medición hecha recientemente en un campo petrolero encontramos que el 25% de los trabajadores dicen que en ocasiones se justifica incumplir procedimientos de seguridad para que los demás compañeros se den cuenta de que “uno no es flojo o una niña”” (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 150).

However in the same sphere of regulation, Corpovisionarios also found that vertical regulation can be perverse, where the boss in an implicit or explicit way would ask his/her employees to transgress norms in order to achieve company goals. This is an example of disharmony between regulatory systems; because the formal regulatory system, like the security norms established within a company, is contradicting the informal, in this case through the boss' order (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 152).

With these short examples, my goal is to present the type of conclusions that the experiences of Corpovisionarios provide. Through their work with private and public institutions they not only enrich the Citizenship Culture approach but provide experience, independence and standing to the NGO as an institution for change.

The internal organization of Corpovisionarios gains closer attention here as it is highly connected to the structure of projects created by the NGO. Mainly there are three areas of action within Corpovisionarios: 1. The Observatory 2. The Laboratory and 3. Education. As explained partly by Chiappe (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016, own translation) and understood working at the NGO in the 2016 internship, the projects begin with a diagnosis phase led by the Observatory. It is an area specialized in statistical analysis where the Citizenship Culture Survey has evolved and now it even has a specialized version for projects with private institutions or companies. At the beginning of a project the Observatory diagnoses the studied case then shares feedback of the results of this diagnosis, and out of that it builds awareness around minimal agreements and expectations among the targeted community. Along this paper the issue of lack of data to deal with security issues has been mentioned and is brought up here once again in order to argue in favor and highlight the effort of Corpovisionarios to have an area (the Observatory) and a measurement tool (the Citizenship Culture Survey) to diagnose and proceed with enough information in order to approach an issue in a community.

As a second step we find the Laboratory, this is the area where the creative process and the creation of actions²¹ take place. The team in this area implements, assess and closely follow the development of the designed actions for each case.

The area of Education, in the work for a project, takes part in the phase of determining priorities however it is also a space that goes beyond projects. According to Chiappe, director of this area, Education has two main objectives: 1. Knowledge management within Corpovisionarios: here there is internal training for the people at the NGO; the idea is to gather all the learning outcomes from different projects in order to nourish the Citizenship Culture approach. 2. Knowledge management outside Corpovisionarios: here the aim is to share the experiences of the NGO in academic and other suitable spaces to

²¹ Actions in the context of Corpovisionarios and Citizenship Culture refer to strategies like the ones mentioned for The Life is Sacred or The Carrot Law, some other examples will be included later on in this analysis.

spread this knowledge. Specifically Education does: workshops, courses, training activities and currently is working on the Certified Program on Citizenship Culture at EAFIT University ("Diplomado en Cultura Ciudadana en convenio con Corpovisionarios"; G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016).

Thus the big moments of a project are: diagnosis, priority determination and intervention which are specialized in the areas mentioned above²².

The work of Corpovisionarios today includes experiences in different Latin American communities (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012) which was a motivation to get to know their work deeper, as this master thesis is also done from a Latinamericanist perspective. However, an even greater motivation to continue the exploration of this NGO, and besides from the work above described, I would like to highlight the diversity of disciplines, people from different academic backgrounds work at this NGO; I was able to meet psychologists, anthropologists, statisticians, political scientists, sociologists, philosophers, graphic designers, teachers, among many others professions; they are people who bring their knowledge and disposition to work and build Corpovisionarios creating an strategically connected institution like the yeast principle described by Lederach (2005 p. 92) "The principle of yeast is this: A few strategically connected people have greater potential for creating the social growth of an idea or process than large numbers of people who think alike".

²² Here in detailed although condense is the process of a Project "1. Diseño de acciones sobre la base de un diagnóstico que permita reconocer con información objetiva y precisa determinadas motivaciones, comportamientos y actitudes riesgosas; 2. Un ejercicio de intervención sistemático, focalizado y con miras a institucionalizarse en programas y políticas públicas, que se concentre en un solo comportamiento específico de alto riesgo (la violencia de pareja motivada por celos); 3. Un proceso de monitoreo medible con indicadores objetivos en su impacto y evolución que se retroalimente con la ciudadanía; y por último, 4. Mecanismos de regulación y control social que permitan incorporar normas sociales en las dinámicas de interacción social que converjan dentro de la problemática identificada (la violencia intrafamiliar), así como rechazar colectivamente los comportamientos, creencias y actitudes riesgosas diagnosticadas." (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 166)

5.3 Corpovisionarios and its Citizenship Culture approach through conflict transformation theory

Having the previous information about the Citizenship Culture approach and Corpovisionarios, the connection to the theory that is laid out in chapter two: Conflict Transformation is now easier to present; and as the reader might have already sensed throughout this thesis, the NGO and approach do relate to the transformation of conflicts so far as being an initiative of this kind; the previous statement will be explored here.

Let us begin with the context of Colombia, as seen before we are naming this period a post-accord phase rather than post-conflict, due to the fact that conflict is still present and it will always be, as it is an opportunity for change. Lederach's (2003, 2005) ideas regarding this period will back this argument. The author in *The Moral Imagination* does an extensive analysis of what a post-accord phase means, at first the thought such an achievement might give the misleading expectation of an ended conflict, however out of past experience the fragility of those agreements is recognized, because many accords have ended with renewed fighting; this knowledge makes Lederach conclude that the difficulty lies with the fact that "we know more about how to end something painful and damaging to everyone but less about how to build something desired" (Lederach, 2005 p. 41).

The post-accord phase is for Lederach in broad terms "the tip of the iceberg"²³ because negotiations are aimed to stop the shooting and killing, an incredibly important step without a doubt; however with the analogy one can better picture what comes after the negotiations have reached an agreement: the real process of negotiating begins. This idea

²³ Interestingly so the idea and use of the exact same expression "tip of the iceberg" is found in *Antípodas de la Violencia* (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 47) where Corpovisionarios authors conclude that there is much more to see than the obvious type of violence, besides their evidence shows that Citizenship Culture has been a success story in containing these other types of violence.

is inevitably connected to the plebiscite experience in Colombia, when for many it was clear that peace was reached and voting Yes to the peace agreement in Colombia was only a formal step, experience proved that the peace agreement was only the beginning of a new phase.

For many people as described by Lederach “Intuitively, they do not believe the signed paper will make that much difference. And their intuition is correct. Signed papers do not make a difference, and the agreements collapse unless the deeper processes of genuine engagement are created” (Lederach, 2005 p. 49). Many people probably felt that way and it probably was what produced the *No* vote in Colombia. Here in words of Mockus one could say that there was a divorce between the three regulatory systems as there was clearly not enough trust in the government, the law, the FARC or each other, to believe that the peace negotiation and its outcome were trustworthy.

Thus understanding the post-accord from the theoretical perspective and seeing it in the current status of Colombia, the concept and ideas behind *context* deserve close attention. The question posed by Lederach (2003 p. 5) might help develop this idea from a transformational perspective “How do we transcend the cycles of violence that bewitch our human community while still living in them?” Here the *context* is essential as this is what Lederach means by “while still living in them”; the transformation of conflict will not happen through negotiating, it will only be possible if we are able to grasp what needs to be transformed and find a way to transform it within the conflict’s own context. An idea that also relates to the call for many peaces done by Dietrich (1997), the current status of Colombia requires a local definition of what peace means for this society at the current stage.

Not to confuse the reader I could simply say that the hypothesis of this thesis would use the question of Lederach in the Colombian context and suggest that Corpovisionarios and its Citizenship Culture approach are about the *how* of transcending cycles of violence that

bewitch the Colombian community. Corpovisionarios is through their work and Citizenship Culture approach transcending cycles of violence in Colombia²⁴. However this would lack argumentation and demand for an answer to *why* is this idea, therefore the following lines include some relevant arguments.

The concept of multi-track diplomacy was already described in the theoretical framework, nevertheless now we have enough information about the studied case to relate them.

Corpovisionarios is from the perspective of this thesis a multi-track diplomacy initiative because as described by Lederach (2005 p. 80) with his web approach, the NGO finds “resources based on relationships, connectors, and social spaces within the setting that had a capacity to generate processes of change”. For the specific case of Corpovisionarios, their structure and link to Antanas Mockus connects them, allows them to do explicit strategic networking and gives them access to governmental institutions, as his legacy is desired among them. Also Corpovisionarios’ efforts and work have granted them enough recognition so that they can move around institutions (see “Proyectos”). Therefore the range of people they reach goes from high rank politicians to civil society.

The status of Corpovisionarios as an NGO allows them to build connections among different groups of the population coincides with the theory of conflict transformation, which has a special place for those non-governmental organizations. For Miall (2004 p. 13) NGOs are those institutions that take responsibility in transforming conflict, they are according to the author the ones doing a lot of the transformational work. However, as stated by Kriesberg (2011 p.60) many institutions of the kind practice and spread the ideas of conflict transformation without thinking of themselves as conflict transformers;

²⁴ On the topic of context the following text taken from a Corpovisionarios publication will set a connection with the perspective of conflict transformation “El análisis de seguridad que propone el enfoque de cultura ciudadana (...) parte de la necesidad de comprender los comportamientos de los individuos y sus motivaciones para actuar comprendiendo los *contextos sociales* y culturales en los cuales se desarrollan y validan estos comportamientos problemáticos.” (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 143)

this being the case of Corpovisionarios who has not yet included theories of conflict transformation into its approach.

The highly important job that NGOs manage according to Kriesberg (2011 p. 63) includes the composition of a civil society, an "important development to secure democratic institutions, popular engagement and mitigation of destructive conflicts". Which is an idea that we were able to see in Corpovisionarios' goals and purposes of work; they make emphasis on the argument that their work looks for the harmonization of three regulatory systems in order to achieve a better relation between citizens and government institutions (among other relations). To the previous idea, Chiappe referring to the work that Corpovisionarios would have to do after the plebiscite said

“nosotros de algún modo podemos llegar a facilitar ese tránsito hacia la incorporación al estado social de derecho de territorios donde ha sido muy ausente el estado o ha habido otro tipo de autoridades paralegales. Por ejemplo, nuestro objetivo de articuladores, como lo estabas diciendo de (...) multi-track diplomacy pues un poco es eso: es de algún modo propiciar un encuentro de la ciudadanía con el estado, con la legalidad y una construcción de una identidad ciudadana en torno a sus principios. Eso podría ayudar pues a integrar probablemente partes de nuestro país que han vivido un país completamente distinto al que vivimos en las ciudades” (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016)

Another key concept part of the theoretical collection for this thesis was *cultural violence* by Johan Galtung, in his article there are two ideas that highly connect Corpovisionarios to conflict transformation. On the one hand the author states that culture “possesses a tremendous potential for violence that can be expressed at the more manifest cultural level and then be used to justify the unjustifiable.” (Galtung, 1990 p. 301) The idea then echoes when Mockus explains how, as an example for the complex issue of drug-trafficking. exploring beyond its impact allowed to come to the conclusion that the major issue behind it was that it was culturally accepted, in that way making illegal and condemnation actions tolerable (Mockus, 2001, 3).

On the other hand, Galtung analyzing Gandhi's sacredness of all life in his article (Galtung, 1990 p. 302) allows me to draw a connecting line between this and the already mentioned program of Mockus' second mayorship: *Life is Sacred*; for the authors the sacrifice of some lives to meet any goal is simply unjustifiable.

Therefore, the strong focus that both, conflict transformation and Citizenship Culture Approach, have on culture links their ideas; making them relatable. To this Lederach's (2003 p. 26) following quote might add even greater connection between the studied case and Conflict Transformation:

“At a descriptive level transformation attempts to understand how conflict affects and changes the cultural patterns of a group, and how those accumulated and shared patterns affect the way people in a given setting understand and respond to conflict.

Prescriptively, transformation seeks to help those in conflict to understand the cultural patterns that contribute to conflict in their setting, and then to identify, promote, and build on the resources and mechanisms within that culture for constructively responding to and handling conflict.”

Furthermore to the question whether professor Mockus believes or not that Citizenship Culture is a way of transforming conflicts, he stated and elaborated on the strong component of the model which is “everyone learns, everyone teaches”; his argument is that many conflicts are caused by lack of information or understanding. (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016). While Lederach's (2005 p. 42) idea of constructive social change also has a strong tendency for human interaction in social conflict; his idea looks for a relational dignity and respectful engagement.

Creativity is what we would like to bring attention to next, as both of the ideas here linked share this interesting and ‘unorthodox’ way of solving conflicts. On the one side we have Murraín's words who assures that the chances, of a Citizenship Culture approach's process to be successful, rise as long as they are done in a systematically,

organized and focalized ways; together with the efforts of intervention actions created from a *creative* point of view (Murraín, 2009 p. 220).

Creativity is then also on the conflict transformation side essential and it allows the inclusion of the arts rituals, theater, music, laughter, to mention some; Lederach (2003) believes that those creative processes “may have greater avenues for learning and understanding than talk can possibly provide”. This idea can relate very well to the experiences of Mockus in his mayorships where using creative ideas like The Carrot Law (Mockus, 2013) or from Corpovisionarios the experience in Barrancabermeja (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 211) with the Hotline for jealousy, invisible theater strategies or the whistle tool, the Citizenship Culture Approach was able to achieve great changes.

To conclude the links between Citizenship Culture, Corpovisionarios and conflict transformation, their approach to achieving results in a short period of time seems to coincide. Lederach (Lederach, 2003 p. 12) explains how often due to the lack of interest or time we decide for a quick solution to a problem, instead of going deeper and explore more solutions; he believes that

“A transformational approach requires that we develop a capacity to see the immediate situation without being captivated, overwhelmed, or driven by the demands of presenting issues. It requires an ability to avoid the urgency that pushes for a quick solution and the anxieties that often accompany a system of relationships as conflict escalates.” (Lederach, 2003)

I believe that this capacity is achieved by the people at Corpovisionarios and working through the Citizenship Culture Approach; from their perspective the conclusion that Bogotá’s experience left in 1995-2012 was that coercive measures were not appropriate for the complex environment (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 47) and from Corpovisionarios, through the procedures followed in the assessment of a conflict, it can be stated that their approach aims to long-term and comprehensive solutions.

5.4 Citizenship Culture and Corpovisionarios' elicitive conflict transformation

In order to continue the analysis and argumentation about Citizenship Culture and Corpovisionarios as a conflict transformation initiative, the exposed theory of elicitive conflict transformation will be elaborated closer and as we could see in the theoretical framework, Lederach is one of the main authors for the theory; therefore he is then going to be essential in this part.

To begin with, Lederach's discussion of the challenges that peace poses come to the conclusion that once the fire ceases and the accord is signed only *peace* is left, what this means is that peace is now an unknown situation (Lederach, 2005) an idea that can relate very well to the case of Colombia. Peace is unknown because like in the case of the studied country, many generations do not know what it implies, what it will mean, so the discovery and challenges that getting to know this new reality imposes are tough and frightening. However what the positive conclusions that Lederach draws from this analysis is that

“People find innovative responses to impossible situations not because they are well-trained professionals or particularly gifted. Innovative responses arise because this is their context, their place. The essence of the response is not found so much in what they do but in who they are and how they see themselves in relationship with others. (Lederach, 2005 p. 165)

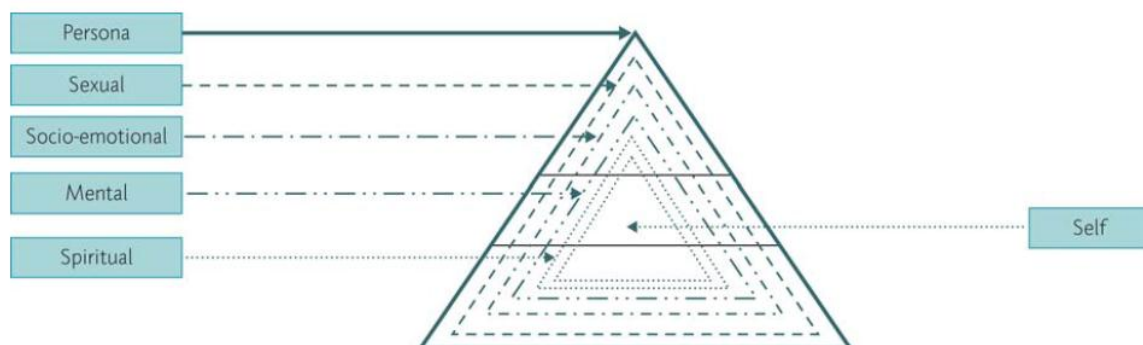
Based on this idea we could see its links to the already analysis of context, here Corpovisionarios is an initiative that was born within the mists of the Colombian conflict and they have been working on issues of “their place”. Therefore for the people at Corpovisionarios, those issues are not only known, they take those issues as theirs and they have the interest and make the effort to solve them. Consequently the people working at this NGO are the center of the point subtitle of the subchapter, as not only are they local people working for a transformational initiative, but *who* they are, even though

is impossible to describe here, I will argue that they show characteristics that would allow me to call them conflict transformers.

For Dietrich (2014) Lederach shift the attention from the group or the individual to the *relation* as a “key factor in conflict work” (Dietrich, 2014 p. 49) which serves in the case of Corpovisionarios as an argument of their multi-track diplomacy efforts, however as this idea lead to the work of Dietrich I would like to use it here in order to introduce the result of his analysis about the *individual*.

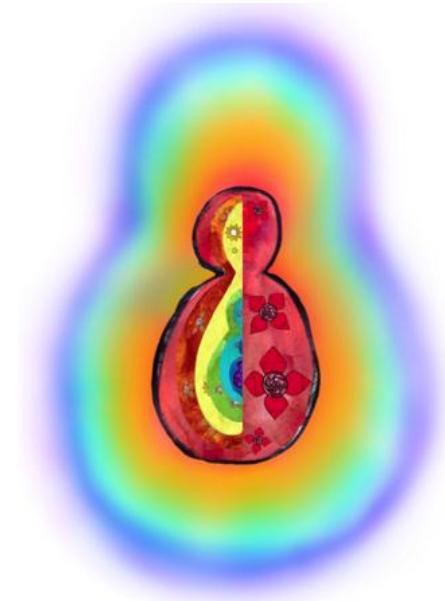
Dietrich (2014) adds inner layers to Lederach’s pyramid (included in point 4.2 of the theoretical framework). Using the *matryoshka* doll principle (image 1) Dietrich lays out the sexual, socio-emotional, mental and spiritual layers that cover the self of a persona, these layers are connected and interact with each other not necessarily only in vertical or horizontal directions. The relation here depicted is the complex connection between the interior and the exterior, resulting in the images below:

Figure 5 The intrapersonal layers of Lederach’s pyramid, lateral view (first published in Dietrich, 2011, p. 355)



(Dietrich, 2014 p. 51)

Figure 6 The matryoshka doll principle



(Koppensteiner, 2017)

Taking a look only at the inner layers the complexity of an individual can be easily understood, I believe we all can relate and reflect about each one of those layers within ourselves. Although how does this idea relate the case of Corpovisionarios? On the one hand it is stated that the Citizenship Culture intention is not to look for the explanation of behavior outside of the people, the intention is to observe what occurs in the individual itself, from both the moral and social mechanisms and patterns (Mockus, Murraín, & Villa, 2012 p. 10)

On the other hand, my argument to connect elicitive conflict transformation and the case study goes along with Dietrich's (2014) profile of people who work on transforming conflicts; this analysis is very complex, in order to argue that Corpovisionarios' team has the profile mentioned, one would have to do a whole analysis to prove this hypothesis and probably write another thesis, however out of my experience I would like to include here the perception I was able to get from the beginning of my internship. When I applied, being only in the third semester of my master in Latin American Studies and coming

from the language sciences, I wondered if the NGO would be interested on having me as a team member, I did not have experience in the field and I was not sure that my academic knowledge would be interesting for their work. Nonetheless I was surprise to see that not only did they take me, but they open all and every door for me to explore the Corpovisionarios experience from inside. Every person I worked with or was able to meet, allowed me to learn, they were open and willing to teach me or let me be part of their projects (48 millones, Farra en la Buena, for details on this projects see “Proyectos”) I was able to develop my skills while helping in the goals of Corpovisionarios, all of this thanks to the people who work there. Measuring an experience of this kind and the characteristics of the people within the Corpovisionarios’ team would be impossible, however reading what Dietrich (2014) states when he talks about a profile of conflict transformers, I would take the risk and say that the people in this NGO as a team and individually, have or at least are close to having the skills and profile needed to transform conflicts.

As it was written before, the multiple disciplines within the team of Corpovisionarios makes of this group of people a diverse, set with the ability of broad perspective from the academic point of view; although as I was able to see, these are people who manage to engage others, an important characteristic that Lederach describes as crucial for genuine constructive change, leaders must be able to encourage and include a wide public sphere (Lederach, 2005 p. 49). This idea together with the introduction to what people in Corpovisionarios represent, from my perspective, would allow me to say that their work and profile as individuals permits their job as relationship improvers in the Colombian community.

After looking at the profile depiction of the Corpovisionarios team and individuals Dietrich’s toolkit of conflict workers gains attention

“Conflict workers need a toolkit that allows them to apply rationality and also methods that work on the sexual, emotional, mental and spiritual layers, which

correspond to the familial, communal, societal and policy layers. These methods have to be effective in the sub-conscious, the conscious and the super-conscious layers.” (Dietrich, 2014 p.53)

The methods to which Dietrich (2014) refers to include: yoga, dynamic meditation, dance, psychodrama, expressive theatre, among others; methods that lead once again to a connection with the studied case. I was personally able to experience the openness and willingness of Corpovisionarios to take-in diverse methods from other institutions or approaches. As examples I would like to name two experiences: on 16th and 18th of August 2016, the initiative *Pasos de Paz*²⁵ gave a first workshop to sensitize us, the participants from the NGO, about the new Colombian reality: *peace*. In the two session workshop we, the people who participated from the NGO, were able to experience techniques like body scanning or an example of a family constellation method.

Another experience that I was able to register was “Pillow talk”; this was an exercise created by Jacqueline Hsia, a fellow intern at the NGO, who came up with this idea while taking classes from Professor Mockus at New York University. Although I did not take part of the exercise, I was able to hear the positive feedback to the idea of having a conversation with your coworkers while lying down and resting on a pillow. Both examples, *Pasos de Paz* and *Pillow Talk*, not only include methods that are unconventional to deal with conflict, but they also show the willingness of the NGO to explore and acquire all kinds of knowledge.

Furthermore I was interested in having the insight of a person who had enough time and experience working at the NGO, and who would be able to tell me in detail about his or her perspective regarding the individual development within Corpovisionarios. My internship job was at the Education area under the direction of Giancarlo Chiappe, given

²⁵ They are three women who designed a series of workshops on peace. They were looking for feedback from Corpovisionarios in order to improve and exchange experience and work.

the fact that he has been working around 8 years at the NGO I decided to interview him to find out more about his relationship with the approach and the institution.

Giacarlo Chiappe said that when he began working at Corpovisionarios he was the only anthropologist (at the moment there are at least four). He states that among the many things that he contributed to was on the use of qualitative data analysis and research software: ATLAS.ti and on the symbolic analysis of rituals. However and interestingly for the purpose of this thesis, he believes that his own explorations have also been taken and have contributed to the NGOs work. As examples of this he named: social norms and social representations. He states that people working at Corpovisionarios (Ana Araoz, Javier Gillot or Henry Murraín for instance) have also helped in the construction of the approach. This information allows me to conclude this subchapter by connecting once again the efforts and work of Corpovisionarios with elicitive conflict transformation.

Being elicitive an approach that gives as much importance to the knowledge of the community as to the knowledge of the conflict workers, Corpovisionarios is highly relatable to elicitive conflict transformation. Their work has shown through different experiences that they create strategies or actions entirely out of context and the local knowledge. It is much more centered in a comprehensive transformation process of each individual part of a project, than when the approach of Citizenship Culture is applied with the target of policy making for instance. The experiences of Citizenship Culture approach as a government strategy might have shown more of a prescriptive method of transformation than what Corpovisionarios has done; which might show some of the differences between the approach alone and when it is done from Corpovisionarios.

The experiences at Corpovisionarios show that there is awareness of the individual scale and its relation with context; but also from my perspective they achieve the goal mention by Lederach (2005 p. 49) of genuine constructive change by human engaging, be it

engaging the public or the internal sphere of the NGO, Corpovisionarios manages to engage people in order to transform conflicts.

5.5 Building Peace from Corpovisionarios

I find no better words than Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall's (2016, p. 281) to define peace building because as they say "Peacebuilding (...) is a complex and multi-level process involving a diversity of actors, a wide range of essential professional expertise, and a multiplicity of civil society actors." Thus as far as we have seen, I hope I have been able to demonstrate that Corpovisionarios is a place with professional expertise, it is formed by and includes a multiplicity of civil society actors, a place where their approach is to take complexity as a challenge and opportunity for change, precisely what is needed for peacebuilding.

At the interview with Professor Mockus I asked about his biggest concerns after the rejection of the peace agreement, now it also applies to the postaccord phase. Mockus answered through the metaphor of him being willing to be Timochenko's bodyguard, with this he tried to explain that from his point of view, the worst thing that could happen was a comeback of violence out of revenge. Therefore he believes that Corpovisionarios should foster good sense and help weaken the justifications of violence. (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016).

Kriesberg's (2011 p. 53) statement relates well to what Mockus suggests. The author explains how conflicts like the one in Colombia generate fear, extreme resentment and other emotions that are not completely realistic; but also Kriesberg believes that mediators' work is to cut right through those feelings and other hostile beliefs; which for the case study one could say that Corpovisionarios with its Citizenship Approach *does* manage, as they fight some of those culturally rooted issues.

Together with Kriesberg's previous idea, Lederach's (2003) call for "spaces of exchange and dialogue" will be seen here in the practical case of Corpovisionarios. Giancarlo Chiappe in the interview gave details of the experience and work that the NGO has been able to do in direct relation to peace work. On the one hand he describes how the Education area has been involved with projects of Peace Theory. In relation to the plebiscite they did different efforts to disclose peace, one of them was in the Putumayo department where meetings with mayors and the departmental governance took place; the project was aimed for the future implementation of the agreements. There Chiappe describes that the work involved strengthening of institutions, local capacities and alignment of expectations between mayors and the departmental governance. Reflecting about this work, Chiappe emphasizes that it was a very interesting and beautiful project with rewarding results (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016).

Another example of project from Corpovisionarios directly connected to peace is *48 millones*, (during my internship I personally collaborated in this project) which as described by Chiappe is an initiative of volunteering for peace. *48 millones* was part of the Education area, they did workshops and disclosure of information, but one of the most important steps of this project was the national gathering in Bogotá of social leaders who began shaping the net of *48 millones* (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016).

This project is a digital platform for people to volunteer and collaborate with small projects in different parts of Colombia ("¿Qué es 48 millones?"). The word platform not only describes the physical or digital tool to connect people, it also helps us to connect this project with the ideas of what is needed for conflict transformation; in Lederach's (2005 p.93) words

"The place where the critical mass and the critical yeast meet in reference to social change is not in the number of people involved but rather in creating the

quality of the platform that makes exponential growth strong and possible, and then in finding ways to sustain that platform.”

Connecting people in the way that *48 millones* does allows for networks to grow, but at the same time it is a potential builder of strong relations and awareness of the different needs that Colombians have, spreading in this way the responsibility of transformation among civil society.

Other efforts from Corpovisionarios in peacebuilding include an attempted approach to peace from a Citizenship Culture perspective; Chiappe describes how they began to make a revision of different versions of Peace Theory in order to generate their own proposal. Those efforts are now part of a bigger project with the District Education Secretariat (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016).

In general, for the director of the Education area, Citizenship Culture is very close to the “peaceful resolution of conflict” as from his point of view, all the workshops on Citizenship Culture help to build peace (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016). Let us note here how a very suitable term could be conflict transformation instead of “peaceful resolution of conflict”; this fact allows me to connect Corpovisionarios with the discussion about awareness of the practice of conflict transformation, they seem to be part of those NGOs that do not see themselves through conflict transformation, but it might define their work very well.

To continue the argument on building peace from Lederach’s (1997) perspective he brings attention to the fact that not only material or financial resources build peace, there are valuable socio-cultural resources, including here people, who should be seen as “resources rather than recipients”.

Following the previous argument I would like to link the experience collected at the NGO to argue that this initiative sees people and of course culture as their main resource for conflict transformation. On the one hand as Chiappe explains, the NGO makes great

effort to invite and gather authors who they read, theories from outside the Citizenship Culture approach, in order to get to know them better, share their work and integrate it to the Corpovisionarios collection of knowledge (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016). This is exactly what my job was at the time of the internship, I had the responsibility to contact speakers, researchers, academics, practitioners and other types of experts previously selected by the NGO. I helped organize the second International Conference on Citizenship Culture on the 18th and 19th of October 2016, a space of two days to share the ideas of people like Lois Holzman, Dan Friedman, Pablo Abitbol, Gina Zabłudovsky , Juan Camilo Cárdenas, among many other interesting speakers who shared their experiences with the public and ultimately nourished the knowledge at Corpovisionarios (“Conferencia Internacional de Cultura Ciudadana La otra Salida: Abordando la Violencia desde la Cultura”, 2016).

Among the diverse of topics and speakers at the conference, creativity was a common feature within their work. Here I could see the importance and inclusion that Corpovisionarios gives to this topic. One type of expression of creativity is of course the arts and during my stay, given the context of the No vote, arts were a cathartic way to deal with the situation. Around the days after the vote Corpovisionarios team members shared and participated in artistic activities, like the enormous shroud by artist Doris Salcedo at the Plaza de Bolivar in Bogotá (Brodzinsky, 2016), I mention this specific example as it connects my experience, the sentiments and engagement of the people at the NGO and the peace process that Colombia is going through, however arts is something that has always been highly connected to Citizenship Culture, from the strategies of invisible theater to the theory of Doris Sommer, Corpovisionarios actions are carried out in high concordance with the Citizenship Culture approach; which includes art as part of their way to transform conflicts.

In order to conclude and link the previous idea to a concrete statement from the conflict transformation theory Lederach will once again explain in a comprehensive way the importance of art and creativity in the process of building peace:

“Taking the relationship of art and reconciliation seriously would then suggest that reconciliation should not try to obligate people to think or act linearly, as in “if you do A and then B, you will get C.”

The artistic process has its own sense of time and it is not chronological. When the creative process is forced or obligated, less than desirable and artificial outcomes emerge.” (Lederach, 2005 p.159)

5.6 Corpovisionarios difficulties, chances and responsibilities

The work of transforming conflicts is naturally a very complex task and full of difficulties. It can be easily assured that there are thousands of issues that affect conflict workers in diverse ways; therefore I would focus my attention in only one issue that from my perspective affects the case of Corpovisionarios the most.

Being an NGO puts Corpovisionarios in a tricky position, it is of course the kind of institution that they should be, however it comes with all the difficulties that those type of organizations have to deal with: they constantly need to seek financial support to develop their own projects; there is of course given the economic situation of Colombia lack of investment and due to the demand of their work, a rapid expansion has made it difficult to maintain a stable structure, creating an issue of employment turnover and sometimes lack of human resources. From the perspective of this thesis these issues are important and they deserve attention, however they are within the range of problems that an NGO has to deal with.

On the contrary, an issue that the theory of conflict transformation (Kriesberg, 2011) discusses and that is connected to Corpovisionarios is their connection to governmental institutions. As exposed throughout the document, Corpovisionarios can be considered a multi-track diplomacy initiative because of the net that they manage to connect between

leaders from the top, mid and lower levels of the pyramid. Here Antanas Mockus is an important part of their web building (using the concept of Lederach). However this strategic and mostly fantastic link has its downsides. On the one hand, Corpovisionarios depends in crucial ways on Antanas Mockus and his popularity with the public due to the good reputation of his experience in Bogotá. He is powerful enough to have influential connections, among other situations; depending on him is not necessarily bad, but it proves to be problematic; when Corpovisionarios tries to explain their work without naming professor Mockus their own work is perceived as unknown or difficult to comprehend. I was able to come to this conclusion after attending an event of the Chamber of Commerce of Bogotá where Giancarlo Chiappe and Eduardo Gómez introduced the work of the NGO to an untargeted public. This situation affects the recognition of the work done by the NGO which is not directly related to professor Antanas Mockus.

On the other hand politicians in general share the disgrace of being strongly supported or disliked, which happens less so to Antanas Mockus but it still happens²⁶. This situation affected the NGO directly on March 2017, when there was a small scandal (see article “Un negocio llamado Antanas Mockus”, 2017) where Corpovisionarios and its president are being attacked about the contracts of projects that they did with different cities in Colombia. Corpovisionarios’ goal working with the government is clear and legitimate; however Mockus’ relation can sometimes be used against them.

Looking at this later issue from the theory of conflict transformation Kriesberg (2011 p. 66) citing Rubenstein (2008) explains how many NGOs dependent on government contracts, which constrain them from cooperating with possible partners or it might modify their practices due to government policies, which can also be the case of

²⁶ In his first term (1995-1997) Mockus obtained the mayorship of Bogotá with 64.51% of the electoral support (492.389 votes). In the second term (2001-2003) he won with 681.017 votes, 43,72% of the electoral support (Otálora Castañeda, 2004). Most recently and in a higher political position, he was a presidential candidate in the 2010 Colombian elections, where he obtained 3.587.975 (Covo, 2010).

Corpovisionarios sometimes. However I believe that the previous issues do not jeopardize the quality or complete outcome of the NGOs work, fortunately they are coping well and their work seems to increase nationally and internationally.

On the last positive note I would like to introduce two chances that I see for Corpovisionarios; on the one hand the fact that their approach is based on culture has the potential to be applied globally, because culture is everywhere. They have been able to create change in Colombia and so it can be said that they could be a tool for changes in other parts of the globe. What this NGO does is something needed around the world. To look at our essence in culture and see how we might produce violent conflict out of it would give more communities awareness of themselves and help in their coexistence. Besides culture or social aim changes, as the theory of conflict transformation says, their work can have more impact than alone big economic or financial efforts (Lederach, 2005 p. 172).

Another chance that Corpovisionarios has is related to their measurement tool, the Survey of Citizenship Culture²⁷ is an important instrument that can also contribute in great ways to the transformation of conflict, although at the same time its recollection of data would allow us to better understand our communities, our differences and similarities as societies and human beings, there is no better kind of tool than one that helps us understand ourselves in order to eliminate violence.

On the more challenging side of this conclusion-like subchapter I will include here what seem to be the most important responsibilities for Corpovisionarios currently in

²⁷ The Citizenship Culture Survey is an instrument that began with the second mayoralty of Mockus in Bogotá (2001-2003), it was a recommended tool to measure the before and after of the strategies carried out in his term in office. However this tool was continued to be used at Corpovisionarios, now with the purpose is to diagnose the levels of Citizenship Culture in a community in regard with the targeted levels; which helps in the identification of strategic areas, subject to intervention. Then the survey is done once more in order to assess the impact of actions created for each of the individual project from the NGO. The survey at Corpovisionarios has three kinds: 1) Survey of Academic Culture (directed to universities) 2) Survey of Organizational Culture (directed to companies) and 3) The Citizenship Culture Survey (directed to cities) (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016; Laserna, 2017).

Colombia. As Giancarlo Chiappe explains, Corpovisionarios has the responsibility to avoid a strong political polarization like the ones that Colombia has experienced in its past, it is a situation that ended with the formation of guerrillas. From his point of view it would be a tragedy that people working on society integration, like Corpovisionarios, would be blind to this fact and not take it as a main task for the postaccord in Colombia (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016).

From Antanas Mockus' perspective there are two main challenges which the Colombian society has to principally work on, one: inclusion of the civil society and two "not to play the game and at the same time play with its rules" meaning that the rule of law and legal agreements, like the constitution, should be protected, otherwise the legal system would be at risk (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016).

Specifically for the postaccord phase Antanas Mockus believes that from Corpovisionarios the challenges include the protection of the signed peace agreement through lobbying, protests support and information sharing, among other strategies alike. But also the ever standing goal of Citizenship Culture: 'to reduce and question justifications of violence' is an essential challenge from Mockus' perspective, because there is no excuse for people to justify their behavior due to structural or direct violence (A. Mockus, expert interview, October 14, 2016).

As Giancarlo Chiappe explains, an essential cultural change that the Colombian society needs to work on is the ability to make agreements. The studies from Corpovisionarios show that people usually are reluctant to make agreements with people they don't know while, they easily work out agreements with family, maybe with friends and less likely with neighbors, however unlikely with a stranger (G. Chiappe, expert interview, October 22, 2016). This is a remarkable conclusion for the challenges that the Colombian society needs to figure out as it has the potential to explain how the lack of trust generates conflict among our society.

6. Conclusions

Why is the Citizenship Culture approach from Corpovisionarios a conflict transformation initiative highly relevant in a postaccord Colombia? Because the Citizenship Culture approach from Corpovisionarios sees conflict as an opportunity for change, not as a foe, it has all the elements: theoretical bases, human capacity, measurement tools, local knowledge, awareness and willingness to learn, elements essential to transform conflict. And their work is especially relevant in the post-accord Colombia because the ‘hardware’ work has been done by the Track I leaders, so now the ‘software’ part needs to be done by institutions that do a multi-track diplomacy work like Corpovisionarios.

Some of the most important findings of this research include the great difference between initial expectations and reality. This was the case as at the beginning of the research, because its outcomes showed Corpovisionarios as a small institutions created by Antanas Mockus but not necessarily still working with him; the information on the NGO was few and showed little potential for conflict transformation. However in the shadow of professor Mockus was Corpovisionarios, created by this reputable man his legacy overtakes the work of his NGO. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Corpovisionarios’ legacy is overshadowed by that of its president, their work and efforts lead me to believe that it will overtake the great work started by its president.

The Citizenship Culture approach is for many the experience of Bogota under Antanas Mockus; however, the findings of this research show how this approach has a life of its own. It is the backbone of Corpovisionarios, but it grows out of being interdisciplinary and open to creativity. This answers one of the questions posed in the introduction of this thesis: Is it the same approach used by Antanas Mockus in his terms as a mayor of Bogotá? Yes and no, the experience of Bogotá was the root but Corpovisionarios has developed to be its trunk.

But not only was I able to answer the previous question regarding Citizenship Culture, I was also able to find a small point of this approach to take a closer look at and see a bit more critical about it. Found in different quotes cited²⁸ throughout this thesis, one of the aims of harmonizing the three regulatory systems (legal, moral and culture) is that society should be better, so that it can among other things follow and respect the rule of law. This seems to miss the flaws that legal systems also have. The state and the rule of law, as are made by human being, are inherently imperfect and there will always be things to be improved inside them. Therefore I attempt to call for further insight from the Citizenship Culture approach on this issue. I hope and only attempt that this idea enriches the theoretical discussion within the Citizenship Culture approach's researchers.

Traditional punishment or conventional approaches were proven in this thesis as negligent, they lack a comprehensive approach to conflicts, therefore one of the most important findings and coincidences of the Corpovisionarios' approach and conflict transformation is their call for the inclusion of arts and creativity for the process of change. Both prove that alternatives to traditional and coercive methods get closer to the core of conflict.

Not only this conclusion was found in the writing process but the reflection was made when the question posed in the introduction about whether we in Colombia after the peaceaccord really *resolved* conflicts, was reconsidered once again for the conclusions, this exercise allowed me to realize how after this entire work I landed in the idea that we do not need to resolve conflict, I hope we will now be able to embrace it and transform it.

Another type of outcome from this research showed how NGOs doing conflict transformation work do not define themselves through the theory, which reflects very well the case of Corpovisionarios; in this sense it makes this study an example for other authors to create their own theories on the topic.

²⁸ From texts published by Corpovisionarios and Antanas Mockus.

My main attempt with this work was to share the local and successful efforts of an NGO that works in the midst of conflict and achieves extraordinary changes. Through this de-colonial attempt, I hope I was able to provide the reader with an example of an interesting and potentially global approach an institution that can collaborate in the work that is to understand humanity and conflict. Furthermore by writing this thesis in English I also hope that I will be able to spread the word and share with other cultures what one incredible team from my culture has to offer.

Doing an internship as a research method not only enabled me to do: fieldwork, direct observation, acquire experience with the Citizenship Culture approach, gather information and carry out interviews; I was also able to truly see the connection between this NGO and conflict studies, besides I was lucky enough to be in Colombia at the time of so much work related to peace.

On regards to this thesis' contributions to literature I believe it can be used as an example of methods and initiatives of conflict transformation, it should also contribute to the analysis of NGOs' work from the theory perspective, it should also give research details of the local efforts that Colombia has to show and share.

Regarding the inclusion of the principles of the LAI master at the University of Vienna I would say that the most important aspect is interdisciplinarity. This approach guided my research and interest into finding an initiative and theory open to many disciplines, methods, ideas and approaches a common characteristic between my program and the study case's features.

Clearly this thesis does not answer each and every question related to the Citizenship Culture Approach; "what is the exact procedure of projects at Corpovisionarios?" is an example of a question not answer here but could enlighten other NGOs or initiatives to apply their method. In relation to the theory of elicitive conflict transformation I also posed the hypothesis about the potential of the people at Corpovisionarios to be conflict

transformers according to Dietrich's (2014) perspective, this is for example another question that this research leaves open to hopefully future research.

To conclude this work I would like to gladly say that the conflicts mentioned in the contextualization part of this document. Be it political disenchantment, opposition to gender equality, religion fanaticism, regionalism, fear, lack of critical thinking, conflicts shown after the plebiscite, they are part of the many conflicts that Corpovisionarios with its Citizenship Approach can transform; in that sense it makes this initiative a platform and a method to deal with the complexity that it is to be a human being.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Most Relevant Projects by Corpovisionarios in Relation to the Arguments Exposed in this Thesis

The following table is a personal selection of projects, that I believe are highly important for the post-accord phase and the evolution of Corpovisionarios; I believe these projects might increase the NGOs importance as an institution in different spheres in Colombia. However, they were also selected because they are projects that I was able to get to know personally in great detail, I either took part in the process or had enough access to be able to tell from inside: their content, intention, team and connection to this thesis. It is of course not a complete source to what each project is or attempts, this table is only intended as an introduction of examples of what Corpovisionarios does. Most of them have been mentioned in the text.

Project	Description
48 millones	As described in the text, in short, this project is a platform, a physical or better digital tool to connect people. Earlier projects helped to create a net of leaders and pioneers, people who personally or within a community began an initiative of peace. Those initiatives became the first projects offered in the 48 millones platform, a webpage where anyone can look for a project that needs hands on help or donation of objects. People thereafter simply volunteer to what they believe they can help with (“¿Qué es 48 millones?”).
International Conference in Citizenship Culture / <i>Conferencia Internacional de Cultura Ciudadana</i>	This academic space is a two day event organized mainly by Corpovisionarios and it takes place every two years. It is one of the most important spaces for this institution, as its purpose is not only to share knowledge of many different theorists or institutions, but it also pursues the enrichment of Citizenship Culture approach (“Conferencia Internacional de Cultura Ciudadana La otra Salida: Abordando la

	Violencia desde la Cultura”, 2016). Being a free and open to the public event, I believe it is a highly important effort to create peace, through knowledge sharing and education.
Diplomado en Cultura Ciudadana / <i>Citizenship Culture Certified Education</i>	This is a certified program made of three modules that attempt to give the student enough knowledge and insight on the approach of Citizenship Culture. It includes the foundations, methodologies and experiences of the approach. The program is offered to anyone who is interested, however as it is written on its official webpage, it is conceived for organizations and policy making spaces (“Diplomado en Cultura Ciudadana en convenio con Corpovisionarios”). The program is therefore an example of education, a major tool for peacebuilding.
Con la Paz Renacemos	Con la Paz Renacemos is an initiative that although was not entirely mentioned in the text and is not a proper project of Corpovisionarios. It was a project that I was able to see from its start, as in the beginning the ‘headquarters’ where at the NGO. Con la Paz Renacemos had the first objective of supporting the Yes in the plebiscite. Through work and campaigns the project had the Citizenship Culture approach on its roots and the support of Antanas Mockus. Right now the project continues to support peace and as it is stated on the official webpage, they attempt to promote a citizenship culture of peace (“Nuestro Proyecto”).