The Missing Link in Hybrid Peacebuilding

Localized Peace Trajectories & Endogenous Knowledge

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1.   INTRODUCTION

Peacebuilding and its study has taken a local turn (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013). This turn was informed by a questioning of the goals and methods of the so-called liberal peace. One of the consequences of this examination of the local in relation to the liberal peace agenda is the growing awareness that there is no such thing as a 'pure' local or liberal type of peacemaking. Instead, a growing body of research within governance and development scholarship has embraced the notion of 'hybridity' in the post-liberal peace era.

Case studies using the hybrid lens (i.e. Afghanistan (Debiel, Glassner, Schetter, & Terlinden, 2009), Somaliland (Wiuff Moe, 2011), Congo (Autesserre, 2010; Raeymaekers, 2013), Timor Leste (Wallis, 2012)) unveil aspects of the flux of interactions and forms of cooperation, negotiation and resistance, between 'local' and liberal peace agents. In the field of peacebuilding, development and post-conflict recovery, the actors 'labeled as local, indigenous, liberal, exogenous or international' are indeed composites, resulting from long-term processes of social bargaining and power settlements in post war environments (Mac Ginty, 2011; Wiuff Moe, 2011; Zaum, 2012).

But what should we look for when trying to understand the hybridization of peace? How do we make existing relationships between a variety of actors and networked processes more legible and operational in peace governance? The objective of this paper is to trace how hybrid peace practices actually come into being.

This is needed since much emphasis is placed on the understanding of that moment in which the merging of actors, interests and practices actually occurs, or in other words, thus the time and space where state and international actors interact within a local context. The analysis is focused on the local in relation to the external at a given point in time in a particular place. Consequently, hybridity in peace is seen as something that happens once a conflict ends, or during the post-settlement period, located in the responses of the local to interactions with the liberal agents.

The forward-looking and problem-solving approach to peacebuilding risks ignoring the importance of the peacemaking trajectories found in historical constellations and societal undercurrents. It tends to ignore the prior coexistence of different forms of statehood and governance that usually develop as a response to violent conflict. It also perpetuates the state-centric or elite-centric views of the local in hybrid peace, superficially considering the existing cumulative infrastructures for peace by taking mostly formal, or, at times, informal deals made between warring parties and elites as the point of departure. Such a perspective misses a great deal.

The dominating view presents hybridity as a constant antagonism between the 'local' and liberal peace agents and their agendas, taking the focus away from the fact that people affected by violent conflict have been navigating this conflict as part of their daily lives. Richmond (2015), for example, refers to a prior hybridization of the local and advocates for an examination of the process of 'peace formation' that occurs in the social responses to violent conflict. However, it is not at all clear how such a process of hybrid peace formation takes shape. This paper aims to fill this gap by operationalizing the notion of *peace trajectories*.

In doing so, we propose looking at the 'abilities' of the local in their interaction with state actors and international liberal peace agents, by identifying what we refer to as peace trajectories and the cumulative experiences and knowledge that construct them. Central to our

analysis is the notion of *endogenous knowledge,* which we define as the accumulated learnings of the people in a locale. Endogenous knowledge is generated from an amalgamation of dimensions that interact in the construction of social life in a (post-) conflict setting. It includes, but is not solely shaped by, the influence of 'outside' intervention.

The notions "peace trajectories" and "endogenous knowledge" are conceptually closely related to "peace formation" and "local knowledge" but we consider them more useful in terms of the concrete operationalization of the tracing of the emergence of hybridity.

We propose a close-up analysis of the heterogeneity that the local entails in the tradition of 'critical localism' (Mac Ginty, 2015). This means examining the existing forms of agency and decision-making powers internal to social processes without resorting to oversimplified or romanticized versions of the communal as homogenous, pristine and subjugated (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015; Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013; Paffenholz, 2015; Pugh, Cooper, & Turner, 2016; O. Richmond, 2010). This requires a bottom-up approach that does not overlook power dynamics nor interactions with top-down actors. Neither should it ignore the interplay of vertical and horizontal power relations.

We illustrate our attempt to clarify the formation of hybrid peace through the operationalization of peace trajectories with a case study on Colombia and the peace trajectory of a specific locale: the district of Aguablanca. In December 2017 the Government of Colombia signed a peace deal with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP), ending with this a 52-year conflict. Running through the four chapters of this comprehensive accord, the idea of a Territorial Approach to Peace (TAP) emerges as a cross-cutting approach, and is central to many arguments that have shaped the path to the "construction of stable and lasting peace" which the parties had agreed to pursue.

The TAP includes a set of administrative and political measures designed to address local development and the consolidation of state presence in a regionalized manner, implying a re-engineering of state institutions, such as the newly created Rural Development Agency (ADR in Spanish) and the Agency for the Renovation of the Territory (ART in Spanish). The ART implements the Development Plans within the Territorial Approach in the 234 municipalities prioritized as most affected by conflict, and grouped into sub-regions based on shared development indicators. The Development Plans will include the implementation of the provisions of the Peace Agreement (i.e. Comprehensive Rural Reform and alternatives to illicit economies) and "[…] will begin with an action plan for regional transformation, which will strive to include ample participation from the relevant sectors of the community, in the plan's formulation, execution and follow-up" (Alto Comisionado para la Paz, 2016, p. 9).

Hence, territorializing peace, as framed in the agreement, can be equated to Colombia's own version of the "local turn" in peacebuilding, underpinning efforts to reach out to those locales left behind for decades. The *Territorial Approach to Peace* (TAP) represents an acknowledgement of the State's asymmetrical control of the territory, or the existence of what Mann, cited by Brenner et al. (2008), calls a 'spatial matrix'. In areas affected by violent conflict, alternative forms of governance developed. In the absence of the state, illegal armed actors used their coercive power and war economies to craft rules and enforce them. Additionally, a plethora of donors and social organizations acted in parallel to provide public services, thus becoming the main referents of government for citizens in these zones (Salas Salazar, 2015).

The legibility of the networks, interests, forms of subsistence and social dynamics of the 'local' is where the current government is placing the strongest emphasis on its territorial

rationale. In doing so, as part of the construction of sustainable local peace, the objective is to drive a renewed civic trust in the state's capacity to provide services and security. The emphasis here seems to be on "winning the hearts and minds" of people, as localism is "[…] hardwired into conflict transformation as it emphasizes the need to address relationships between antagonists […] [and to] address the identities, attitudes and the systems that underpin conflict" (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 771).

Even if mainly for instrumental reasons, the TAP shows an interesting shift in governance, a window of opportunity for contextualized policy-making in peacebuilding and the collaborative type of peace that could take the diversity of a regionalized country like Colombia and create peace infrastructures in which the local peacemaking practices are part of operational hybrid institutions and civic-led communal efforts to sustain peace.

The question is, therefore: how is this framework able to connect with what already exists and has developed over time? Hence, the need to examine the available innate resources that nurture existing localized peace trajectories.

The findings of this study are based on a total of 92 days of fieldwork spent in the four communes of the District of Aguablanca, spread over a six-month period.[1] Data were gathered using a range of qualitative methods, but maintaining a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach as the overarching thread.[2]

Exchanges with children, youth, their families, tutors, and the community were conducted within the framework of participant observation and dialogues occurring in site, while sharing the day-to-day activities. In addition, several interviews were conducted with actors operating in formal government and state institutions as well as with representatives of local and global peace agencies. The information was recorded extensively in field notes and interview transcripts, and further analyzed and assigned to pre-existing or emerging theme categories for data analysis and triangulation.

The first part of this paper develops the conceptual notion of 'peace trajectories'. We illustrate how this concept emerges from a critical reading of three established frameworks in the study of peace: everyday peace, peace formation and hybrid peace. Of central concern for our conceptualization of the nature and importance of 'peace trajectories' is what is known as 'endogenous' knowledge. Subsequently, the second part of the paper illustrates the operationalization of what a peace trajectory is and how it can clarify the development and outcome of peace processes, by discussing the case of the district of Aguablanca in Colombia. After explaining the methodological approach, we discuss how emerging responses evolve into systematic or structural responses and ultimately result in the hybridization of peace policy. In doing so, we provide concrete examples of how endogenous peace infrastructures have their foundations in everyday responses to the experience of violent conflict and how these infrastructures strengthen collaboration among various actors, both inside and outside the community.

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[1]   The fieldwork was conducted by the first author of this paper.
[2]   As Heron and Reason (1997, p. 71) describe, PAR has two main aims. The first one is "[…] to produce knowledge and action directly useful to a group of people through research […]. The second aim is to empower people at a second and deeper level through the process of constructing and using their own knowledge". The central focus was the practice of/for peace over time. We place less emphasis on the empowerment aspect in this paper and focus on tracing the process of hybridization uncovered through the PAR approach.

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2. THE MISSING LINK IN ESTABLISHED FRAMEWORKS

We draw on three established frameworks in peace studies to develop an approach that aims to identify and unravel local peace trajectories: everyday peace, peace formation and hybrid peace. These notions are considered to be interrelated and complementary within the examination of local peace dynamics. Below, we discuss these three notions, aim to clarify their linkages and each time identify the need to further develop a missing link, namely the need to operationalize local peace trajectories. Subsequently, we discuss the notion of endogenous knowledge, which we consider to be crucial for the understanding of these local peace trajectories.

2.1. Everyday Peace, Peace Formation and Hybrid Peace

The first notion central to the local turn in peacebuilding is 'everyday peace'. Peace, or its potential, resides in the search for "[…] routinized practices used by individuals and collectives" as they "[…] navigate their way through life in a deeply divided society or prone to episodic violence in addition to chronic or structural violence" (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 549). Everyday peace is a mostly un-structured social practice; an ongoing, heterogeneous and fluid set of interactions that maintain a form of social order through tolerance and coexistence. Mac Ginty (2014) typifies everyday peace as "people to people activities" and even suggests a typology of social practices that can be seen as everyday peace, including avoidance, ambiguity, ritualized politeness, telling and blame deferring.

These micro-mechanics of violent conflict navigation and the manufacturing of coping mechanisms by individuals and collectives reveals how human agency works for everyday peace. People make choices based on opportunities found within their context and decide whether and how to exploit them. These choices are represented, inter alia, in the realm of group affiliation, interactions and exchanges; transgression of or compliance with social norms, unspoken social pacts, selective speech moderation or ostracizing practices that have the potential to alter and transform the dynamics of conflict (Scott, 2008).

Case studies exploring the empirical understanding of everyday practices in, for example, India, Somaliland or Palestinians in East Jerusalem have shown how forms of agency in conflict settings drive human inventiveness (Williams, 2013; Wiuff Moe, 2011) or enact "agential projects with a more or less intentional transformative purpose" (Mannergren Selimovic: 2018, p. 1). In the quotidian, there is an "[…] extensive repertoire of conflict avoidance and conflict minimizing skills used by people […], that point towards a diffuse expertise that does not come from diplomatic training academies or workshops by conflict resolution gurus" (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 551).

The idea that local peace practices carry with them autonomous capacities challenges the established views embedded in the 'capacity development' approach, namely the idea that something needs to be built, such as peace for instance. This often positions people as powerless and non-autonomous actors in (post-) conflict settings and settlements. Instead, the everyday lens requires us to take the micro-level interactions developed before and during conflict as existing capacities and as points of departure to 'read' the local from the bottom-up. However, these everyday social interactions also point to existing processes that lie beyond the everyday: peace formation.

Peace formation processes can be defined, according to Richmond (2016, p. 34), "as

relationships and networked processes in which indigenous or local agents of peacebuilding, conflict resolution, or development, acting in customary, religious, cultural, social, or local political or local government setting, find ways of establishing peace processes and sustainable dynamics of peace."

Beyond the structural institutional arrangements of post-conflict settings, the pre-infrastructures that communities create in response to conflict - whether hidden or public, formal or informal - inform a type of peace formation that is not subject to the external influx of international institutional agents, norms and practices. 'Making peace' has already occurred and often with more success than when the process is prescribed 'from the outside'. This requires the acknowledgement of a type of peace formation that precedes the signing of a peace deal.

Within a trajectory, and here lies our contribution as we will explain below, the gradual emergence of peace practices develops in response to, and parallel with, the violent conflict hindering everyday life in a locale. These forms of agency constitute a genuine alternative to the type of peace that is merely consultative or participatory. The latter is the type of peace introduced by liberal agents in (post-) conflict settings. Identifying and understanding these trajectories could bring more legitimacy via contextualized interventions, while contributing in the long run to the creation of a positive type of hybrid peace.

This brings us to hybridity, the third concept closely linked to the 'local turn' in peacebuilding. A wide spectrum of experiences, norms and practices emerges as an intrinsic part of settlements when the focus shifts away from a dichotomous view of the interactions between international actors and local realities and dynamics. Consequently, peace interventions and conflict resolution activities engage the deeper layers of the local as well as the non-visible forms of agency by local actors rooted in the everyday. The local actors "renegotiate, ignore, engage with, disengage from and exploit the liberal peace" (Mac Ginty, 2010).

Scholars agree that the concept resists neat categorization: "[…] everything is the result of hybridity, everything is a hybrid, there can be no certainty, and all discussions must be smothered in caveats" (Mac Ginty, 2010). Mac Ginty (2011) suggests that hybridization of the liberal peace results from the juncture of four interactive elements. On the one hand, the (a) compliance and (b) incentivizing powers of liberal agents, networks and structures. On the other, the ability of local actors, networks and structures to (a) resist, ignore and adapt the liberal peacemaking, or (b) to present alternatives and maintain their own forms of peacemaking.

While Richmond (2013; 2016) presents a case for peace formation that is more dialogical in terms of local knowledge, capacity and agency, less is said with regards to the way in which this could be done. What should we look for when considering local knowledge for peace and opportunities for collaboration? How do we make existing relationships and networked processes more legible and operational in peace governance?

Answering these questions requires an engagement with that which lies beyond what can be found in short periods of assessment where pictures of the present are constructed. A move towards a broad and deep understanding of existing peace trajectories in a social fabric is needed. This entails the (re-)historicization of everyday life during (post-)conflict in order to reconstruct the accumulated learnings embedded in a locale, or what we refer to as endogenous knowledge.

2.2.   Peace Trajectories and Endogenous Knowledge

The local turn in the study of peacebuilding is inevitably connected to what is generally referenced as 'traditional' or 'indigenous' knowledge. The study and use of 'indigenous knowledge systems' has a long and contested history in a related field: development studies. Proponents explain how "indigenous-knowledge research sets out explicitly to make connections between local people's understandings and practices and those of outside researchers and development workers" (Sillitoe, 1998, p. 224). This trend went together with the introduction of participatory approaches in development aiming to facilitate a dialogue between the 'local' and a wide range of intervening actors (Alejandro Leal, 2007; Somesh, 2002). The objectives are to expand what constitutes 'valid' knowledge beyond the technocratic, scientific or state-centered spheres (Powell, 2006).

The 'indigenous' is often used as a proxy for a know-how that is culturally, socially and geographically rooted, often framed in traditional systems and worldviews.[3] Scholars have examined a variety of areas such as traditional ecological, justice and productive systems and political knowledge and power, with a predominant ethnocentric focus (Bicker, Pottier, & Sillitoe, 2003; Chambers, 1994; Cohen & Uphoff, 1980; Gilbert, 1997; Michaud, Carlisle, & Smith, n.d.; Mosse, 2001; Powell, 2006).

Yet, in spite of the currency of the 'indigenous knowledge' research agenda, its scope seems restrictive and insufficient for the purpose of this study for two reasons. Firstly, the 'indigenous knowledge' framework tends to cast 'local' knowledge as predominantly 'archaic', 'ahistorical', and 'primitive', the antithesis of scientifically or technically manufactured knowledge or, in the best case, 'isolated' in a socio-cultural bubble. Such a perspective is reifying and thus untenable. Second, related to the first and acknowledged in the literature, an excessive ethnocentrism lurks behind the 'indigenous knowledge' framework (Sillitoe, 1998).

Given this, the concept of "endogenous knowledge" appears more useful and comprehensive. The distinction between 'indigenous' and 'endogenous' is not purely semantic since although "the term indigenous might well comprise the site-specific character of knowledge indicated here, it does not comprise that all-important nuance borne by endogenous: development determined by innate resources" (Crossman & Devisch, 2002, p. 99). Other important characteristics of endogenous knowledge are its "essentially longstanding, cumulative, and adaptive" character (Gilbert, 1997). This is of crucial importance in our attempt to operationalize peace trajectories. The term endogenous encompasses the experiential and the traditional dimensions of the local, including situated knowledge and localized ways of social organization but also sees these as further complemented by exogenous knowledge and resources (Crossman & Devisch, 2002).

We cite Crossman & Devish (2002, p. 110) at length to capture the meaning of endogenous knowledge.

> "Endogenous knowledge refers, in speech or normal conversation, to a community's distinctive resources and capabilities (its modes of understanding, values and institutionalized practices) for both shaping and filtering, concealing and revealing both sensory and cognitive experience, as well as for understanding and encoding, storing and communicating a meaningful and tacitly self-validating

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[3]   Sillitoe (1998:223) explains that the indigenous is also used interchangeably with "rural people's knowledge, indigenous technical knowledge, traditional environmental knowledge, local knowledge and indigenous agricultural knowledge".

or paradigmatic construction of knowledge. A *knowledge-based* and *knowledge producing community* may, at least tacitly, be aware of its actual lived experience in historically or socio-culturally specific circumstances. It may also at times re-appropriate, re-orient, or re-embrace its basic culture-specific postulates or presuppositions, or its projects of knowledge production. Marriage negotiations, funerals or various notions (such as 'honour', 'ancestor', 'authority', 'misfortune', 'parenthood' and 'motherhood', or even 'future', 'industrial revolution', 'migration', 'urbanisation' and 'progress') may underpin and act as a primary orientation for the collective imagination and activity."

It is not unimaginable to add 'social harmony' or 'peace' to this list of primary orientations. In addition, it is necessary to think of endogenous knowledge in dynamic terms, as an evolving trajectory that 're-appropriates', 're-orients' or 're-embraces'. Tracing local trajectories is thus a search for how the interactions of different peace agents, norms and practices at work or put in place to strengthen capacity for peacebuilding can coalesce to create a peace that is legitimized by all actors, local and international.

Consequently, we define a local peacemaking trajectory as a *historical account of the actors, networks, events and social practices determinant to the creation of, changing of or adaptations to the attitudes, norms, values and organizational infrastructures of a community in response to violent conflict over time, leading to the formation of sustained and more systematic forms of peace and conflict governance that combine endogenous and exogenous inputs.*

Figure 1 visualizes a peacemaking trajectory. The endogenous dimension is always at the center of the trajectory analysis: the history of conflict, the agents in peacebuilding, forms of organization and peace governance, and the milestones of action and change in their peace practice. However, with the objective of understanding the forms of collaboration and possible avenues for hybridization, the aim is to also identify the inputs from the 'outside', the exogenous. This is the second dimension. The diversity of what could be considered as inputs is broad, hence why it is important to track the historical turning-points (milestones) and drivers of action within the trajectory. These are the defining moments and events shaping the nature of the interactions of endogenous and exogenous knowledge into comprehensive forms of joint action.

The third dimension of the analysis is what results from the interactions between exogenous and endogenous knowledge in the trajectory, defined as peace outputs. These are the structured forms of peace practice as a product of the evolving application and adaption of response, in the vertical and horizontal interplay of actors shaped by the timeline of the evolution of violent conflict. Peace outputs encompass the knowledge and resources of the local and non-local, the state and non-state actors in liberal peace, and possible forms of hybrid peace formation reflecting the agency of the local in their exchange with these agents.

Finally, with the aim of articulating nuances in the progression of the trajectory and the transitioning periods, three segments were established on a continuum: from responsive everyday peace mechanisms, to elaborated and sustained collective responses, up to the possible converging point of exogenous and endogenous resources that suggest hybridization of peace mechanisms and infrastructures. Therefore, the findings in the trajectory analysis are presented in the following sequence.

Figure 1. Dimensions and elements of a peace trajectory,

Figure 3. Peace trajectories.
Author's elaboration
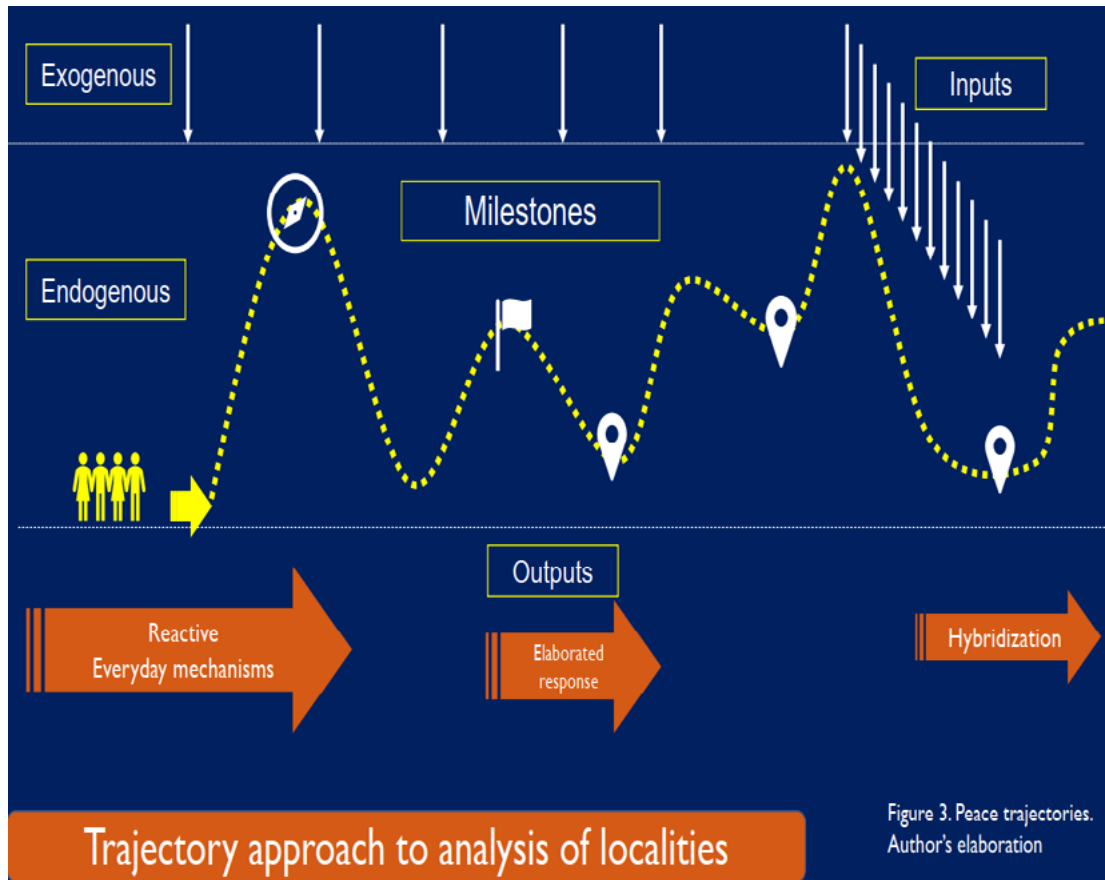
3. Local peacemaking trajectories in the District of Aguablanca, Colombia

The District of Aguablanca is a settlement located southeast of the city of Santiago de Cali (Cali), formed by the communes 13, 14, 15 and 21 (see figure 2).[4] According to the last census, it has a population of approximately 630,000, 30% of the city's total (Alcaldía de Cali, 2017).

Figure 2. (Left) Location of the city of Cali on the map of Colombia. (Right). Location of the District of Aguablanca in the city of Cali.
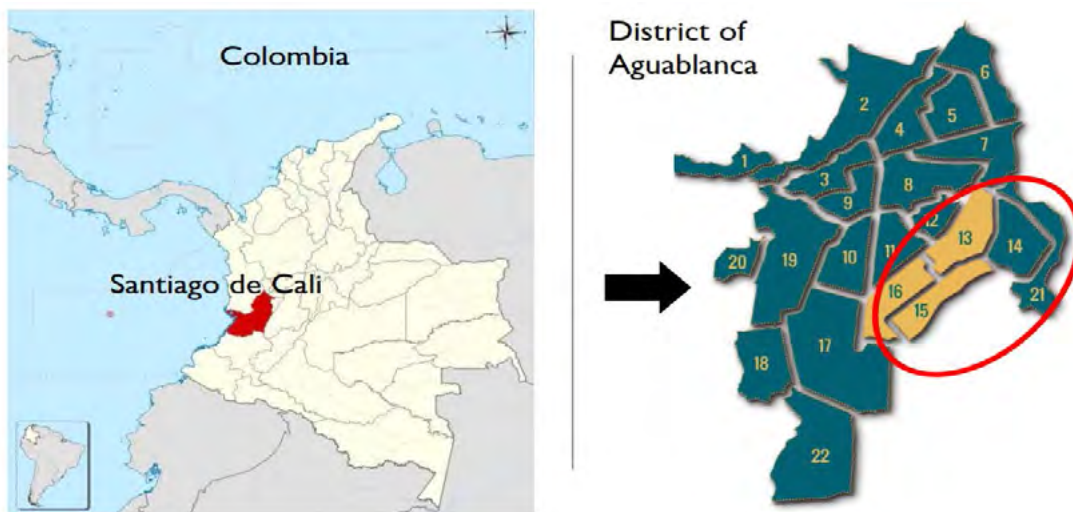
The District was populated during the 1970's and 1980's, by a series of migratory waves of internally displaced persons from different towns in the Pacific Coast fleeing violent conflict or historical extreme poverty and marginalization of towns in this region. Afrocolombian citizens are the majority, with 72%, followed by a minority mestizo population (Giraldo & Cruz, 1999).

In the 1990s, the informal settlement was formally annexed to the territorial organization of city of Cali. However, economic growth and inclusion did not occur and socio-economic asymmetries between this area and the rest of the city remain highly pronounced. The District gradually became a hub of violence. This started with the emergence of gangs and territorial boundaries established between contesting groups, known nowadays as *invisible borders,* which act as barriers that set limits on the free movement of people within the Communes. The population dynamics of the District created a form of socio-spatial segregation of the territory. In the absence of the state the communities developed forms of self-organization and regulation of the locale. This happened in coexistence with armed actors. The intervention of external actors, such as religious missionaries living within the communities, researchers, donors and philanthropists, also played an important role in the organization of the territory. They contributed to the construction of social infrastructure (schools, health centers), and the provision of basic services in the absence of state institutions.

A report by the Municipal Ombudsman (Lasso Toro, 2013) refers to about 134 gangs in the city, of which 104 are active in the communes 13, 14, 15, 16 and 21 of Aguablanca. Most of the members of these groups are children and youth. In 2014, 43.6% of total violent deaths in the

[4]   Neighboring communes 16 and 21 (see figure 3) are not officially part of the District, however they share the same problematic and are informally included in both the civic and institutional narrative as part of the District.

city occurred in the District and 75% of these were youngsters[5].

The proliferation of organized armed groups in the city and the department of Valle del Cauca is imposing a new order in the monopoly of violence in the District. The so-called Bacrim groups serve drug cartels and guerrillas without distinction, as part of a larger illegal network operating around the micro-trafficking of drugs (urban) and drug production (rural). Different sources refer to the association of gangs and the Bacrim groups, *Rastrojos* and *Urabeños*, for activities of micro-trafficking[6] and for-hire assassinations, increasing the complexity of the gang phenomenon in the city and, in general, urban violence (Álvarez, Llorente, Cajiao, & Garzón, 2017; Prieto, n.d.). Furthermore, this process of cooptation of the gangs by criminal organizations has exacerbated the fight over territorial control and the delimitation of zones for criminal activity, along with the forced recruitment of children and youth for illegal activities.

Conversely, the hardships of violence, poverty and social segregation have given rise to a number of social and civic organizations that have developed counter-narratives to those of violence, through interactions with a web of external actors (institutions, NGOs, development organizations). This has resulted in a variety of responses that seek to transform conflict and deprivation competing with criminal networks for the engagement of youth, by providing alternatives in order to deter them from joining these groups.

One of these grassroots alternatives is The Youth Restorative Houses (YRH) - spaces provided within neighborhoods for dealing with youth in conflict. Currently, there are eight houses distributed throughout the communes of the District, operated by Fundación Paz y Bien (FPB), the most recognized grassroots organization in the District. This practice, and the organization itself, was created by a group of local women as a response to and mitigation of the outbreak of conflict involving their children and youth in illegal activities and armed conflict. Both the YRH and the FBP are important community referents of organization in the District, shaping in addition other forms of collective action and social interaction amongst its citizens.

The Youth Restorative Houses implement a model that draws on restorative justice pillars, focusing on the encounter between victims and offenders, reparation of harm caused based on acknowledgement of responsibility and agreement amongst these parties as to what constitutes a good measure of such restoration (Maschi & Leibowitz, 2014). The model encompasses five main formative components, implemented with participants over a two-year period: autonomy, alterity, political empowerment and citizenship, restorative justice and life-project. Throughout the process, restorative justice practices are used to strengthen participants' capacity to solve conflicts without the use of violence, such as sentencing circles, family group conferencing and reparative boards. The extended community is also involved in some cases (López, 2015).

In what follows, we operationalize the peace trajectory of the district of Aguablanca as defined in the first part of this paper. Figure 3 provides an overview of the different dimensions, critical events, turning points and the hybridization at work over time in this specific locale. We describe this trajectory and its different phases in the following sections.

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[5]   The city of Santiago de Cali has a homicide rate four times higher than the national average (National Police Web database).
[6]   Retail sale of narcotics outside schools, bars, universities, etc.

Figure 3 The Peace Trajectory in the District of Aguablanca, Colombia
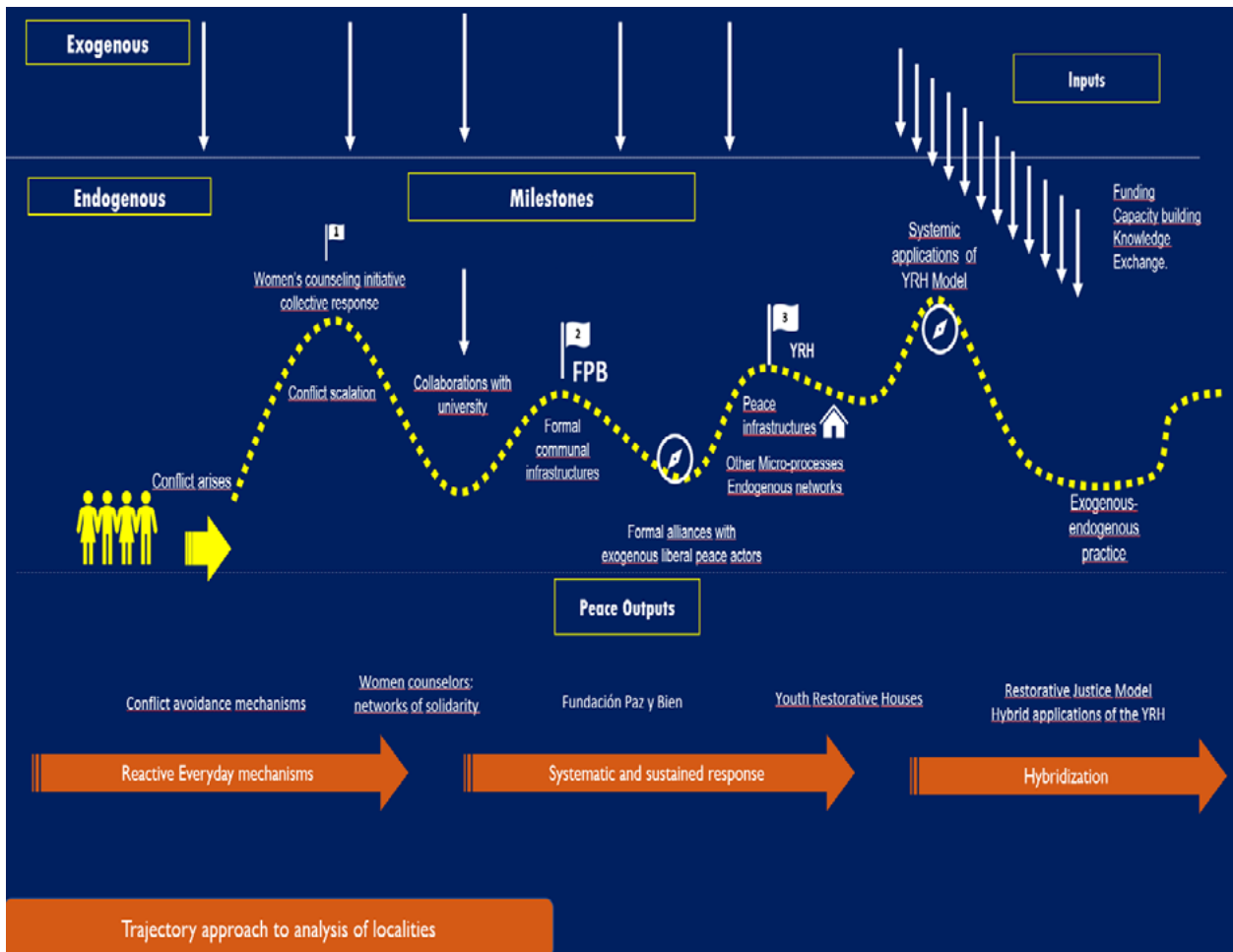
3.1. Participatory action research, participant selection and data collection tools

Adopting an actor-oriented analysis, actors were classified into four groups. Two of them can be classified as 'endogenous' and two can be considered 'exogenous'. The *endogenous* and *exogenous* perspectives used as criteria for the analysis of actors helped to maintain the spatial-territorial dimensions of the practice and uncovered initial tensions in the way the 'local' related to others, especially in the state-society dimension of the analysis. Furthermore, the information obtained in the dialogue with *exogenous* actors provided the 'external' perspective of the trajectory and relation to the external framework of peacemaking.

Research techniques were adjusted according to the characteristics and varying 'ways of knowing' of people belonging to these different groups. In addition, secondary data were gathered to complement the perspectives of these respective actors. We discuss each group and the respective techniques in turn.

Those classified as *endogenous* included the children and youth attending the *YRH* at different stages, their families, and the people in the communes that hosted a House[7]. The

[7]   The people in the Community, although not direct participants, were included in this category after the analysis of actors. This would help connect the results in a more cohesive way with the changes observed in social and violent conflict dynamics, and the elements of interconnectedness between the YRH, and the collective response to conflict.

second 'endogenous' group was categorized as 'organizational actors', associated with the *Fundación Paz y Bien*. They occupied leadership roles or acted as community liaisons with the participants in the YRH.

Focus groups were used to observe different perspectives within the setting of intra-group dialogue and the interactions between participants concerning the topics discussed. In the case of the youth[8], the methodology was adapted, constructing the dialogue around a 'social cartography' exercise. The design of the cartography oriented these reflections around perceptions of space and territory, the dynamics of violence, and the meaning attached to places considered as safe or 'allowed'. Their reflections were deeply intertwined with conflict dynamics, uncovering relevant aspects of their everyday peace and conflict practices and the respective social constructions of this phenomena.

Those classified as *exogenous* had interactive significance or incidence with the practice but did not relate directly to its spatial or social context. A first group of exogenous actors were individuals and organizations identified as the 'support network' of the practice. They included donors, scholars, philanthropists, universities, and others that influence the trajectory of the YRH. Finally, the fourth group included institutional actors related to the practice, especially those implementing policies related to youth crime and the institutional framework for transitional and restorative justice. These included key informants from the local police and the judiciary.

In this group classified as exogenous, key informants were identified that could provide information relevant to the understanding of how the community and the organization create, negotiate, adapt, and sustain points of connection with actors beyond the pure locale itself. Others were added to the sample based on their relevance during the dialogue with local participants, thus following a strategy of snowball-sampling.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the leadership of the organization *Fundación Paz y Bien,* as well as with others in the 'support network' and those operating at the 'institutional' level. The interview guides were designed to allow for triangulation of the information in the data clusters of the inquiry, identifying the main points of agreement, cooperation and friction.

However, with respect to the organization *Fundación Paz y Bien,* most of the data obtained came from periodic in-depth interviews that took the forms of extended dialogues and participation in the organization's day-to-day activities. This allowed for an understanding of the interplay of actors and power dynamics, the human fabric of the organization, their constructed notion of peace making and resistance to conflict, and the different dimensions of the inner-outer world of their social practice.

Secondary data were collected mainly through documentary sources. Official and nonofficial contemporary and historical records were consulted for the elaboration of the territorial context of the peace practice: the demographics, the formation of the territory, the migratory waves, the ethnic dynamics, and the official accounts of violent conflict in the District.

Another important set of secondary data was the one obtained for constructing a comparative framework of analysis of the transitional and restorative justice institutional framework vis-à vis the local restorative practices in the YRH. This included statistics on participation in the institutional program, methodological aspects, actors involved, and the analysis

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[8]   In the program, youth are boys and girls in the age range between 14 and 18 years. In the children category participants are between 9 and 13 years.

of possible frictions between a local approach versus the broad scope of policy initiatives. The data from Government sources were contrasted with a documentary review of records of the YRH's program as well as with the narratives of change and life stories of participants in the four stages of the program.

The data and findings underwent a rigorous process of coding, analysis, triangulation, and comparability. In view of the distinctive character of the practice, comparability was made using proxies such us the use of restorative justice in the institutional framework, in order to find elements of contrast, or transferability in a policy setting.

The breadth of the research covered the four communes where the YRH are present. However, the unpredictability of violent incidents in some of the research sites during fieldwork was a factor in determining adaptations to the research design. As a result, more days of observation and a higher number of in-depth interviews occurred in the places where security issues were minor. Notwithstanding, all communes and YRHs were represented in the sample.

Furthermore, the findings were presented in different forums in order to validate the accuracy of data and the analysis. Most importantly, in line with the PAR approach, the results were shared with representatives from all the communes to validate the accuracy of, for example, the statistics and facts, but also as a way to enable a reflexive exchange around the findings and recommendations that the document offered (López, 2015). The document is used by the *Fundación Paz y Bien* to present a systemic account of their practice to donors and institutions.

3.2. Emerging response: Everyday peace mechanisms in conflict navigation

The appearance of violent conflict in Aguablanca at the end of the 1980's coincided with the intensification of drug trafficking and the expansion of drug cartels into the secluded areas of urban centers (Giraldo & Cruz, 1999). In the accounts of the informants, there is a vivid memory of the gradual proliferation of gangs connected to larger criminal groups, and their further evolution into organized groups, each dominating different parts of the District. The divisions established became "invisible-borders".

Intra-territorial conflict posed a greater challenge for the inhabitants of an already marginalized territory, disconnected from most forms of statehood and development. This altered quotidian life prompted people to liaise with each other in order to preserve a form of order and functionality in social life. Everyday practices are here identified as a departing point in a peace trajectory, relating essentially to the possibility of coexisting with violence, and mitigating the impact it has on people's daily life. Thus, the initial connections between individuals are established based on interactions within routinized practices to navigate the 'safer' parts of the territory and access communal spaces; inter alia, schools, local churches, health services, local food markets and economic activities inside and outside the District.

These interpretations of the territory are rooted in people's experiential knowledge and the re-signification of spaces and places as 'safe' or 'allowed'. Locals share information about violent confrontations between groups or related rumors (Mac Ginty, 2014), establish places of encounter and safe corridors, and create identity markers to recognize those participating in violence in any form. Such exchanges and dialogical forms of protection have resulted in micro-networks established at the neighborhood and communal level.

However, with the increased intensity of conflict and violent episodes, these everyday mechanisms and interactions appeared to be insufficient, leading to the transformation of

hidden-transcripts into legible forms of organized action led by women in the District, as one of the informants recalls:

> "A group of youngsters entered our Commune shooting, looking for their rivals. They used the day-care to hide and we tried to protect the children locking them in a room […]. Afterwards we [women working in the daycare] talked about the impact this had in our lives and how there were no limits in that conflict anymore […], so we decided to attack the problem, working with the moms in our Commune about the risks our children had and how to better protect them […]. That is how the Family Counselors project started, we went house by house, talking about our issues, providing each other support and guidance to prevent more children from entering this groups. We became a community."[9]

Relationships within the progressive construction of networks of solidarity are of critical importance in post-conflict interventions. Therefore, we seek the knowledge that nests in these networks and to identify the *milestones* within the dynamics of association of the local.

In this particular trajectory, local women are positioned at the forefront of action in peacemaking via inter-reliable networks with other women within their communes. The historical process reveals the evolution and underlayers of trust and forms of power deemed as 'legitimate' by the locals in the absence of the state amidst violent conflict. In a peak moment of conflict in 1991, the women's strategy of acting as peer counselors and inserting themselves into the homes of young offenders or at-risk youth, steered social mobilization. Going from house to house and speaking the 'same language' in relation to the struggle of conflict and the "shame" of being a mother to a gang member, opened the door to active engagement of other women.

> "[…] at first women did not feel comfortable talking about their child's behavior. They knew they had done bad things and they felt ashamed to discuss with others. Single mothers struggling to meet months end. But once they understood that we were all in one way or another affected by this, and that there was no judgment […] they were very excited to have a group of women to talk to about the best ways to help their children and cope with the many difficulties we as women have in a place like this."[10]

Being endogenously formed, there is an observable correlation between trust built amongst women in the Districts and a collective identity constructed upon shared concerns about individual and social order in the District. The association of women as 'family counselors' marks the first *milestone* identified in the historical progression of conflict resistance in Aguablanca. Micro-level interactions and exchanges enabled the agency of women to address conflict based on their own knowledge and experiential perspectives on its causes, features, and elements of affinity in search of ways to mitigate the impact.

Following Mac Ginty (2014, p. 560), we observe how peace formation is formed through a series of 'micro-solidarities' and networked processes as individuals engage in cooperation and accommodation of the conditionalities violent conflict imposes upon communal life. This also fits the author's description of the everyday as dialogical, in the sense that it relies on interaction, social recognition and social responses (2014, p. 554).

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[9]   Female participant, 44 years old, personal interview. Commune 15. April 25, 2015
[10]   Personal interview, female participant, 46 years old, family counselor in the Commune 14. May 5, 2015

3.3. Systematic and sustained response: from everyday peace to endogenous peace infrastructures

Gilbert (1997) highlights the cumulative and adaptive character of knowledge. These features are observable as we dissect the forms of peacemaking created in Aguablanca. The non-linear patterns of violence in this protracted conflict, and the aggregate of events and interactions that occur beyond what is observable, stimulate the constant adaptation of response beyond the everyday. The resources and capabilities of the local to respond to violence with practices like the *family counselors* transcended into a form of conflict mediation and resolution applied in different areas of the District, as local leaders of the initiative realized that youngsters were more likely to approach someone outside their family circle or accept intermediation from one of the counselors.

The *Fundación Paz y Bien (FPB)* appears at this point in the trajectory as a turning-point in the consolidation of institutionalized peace infrastructures that channel the peace mechanisms used by the local. While created by the counselors and other local leaders, it had a visible center of power embodied in the leadership of a female religious missionary who registered the organization and mobilized women to join it. With no apparent direct inputs from exogenous actors, the organization gained recognition and support from the local, which allowed continued action within the District and adaptations to cope with the changing conflict dynamics.

We observed in the historical accounts of informants how the creation of the FPB had set another important milestone. Not only did the FPB provide a point of reference for organized collective action, but it also seems to have enabled the consolidation of other forms of leadership and citizen participation in the micro-layers of the local, such as the Community Action Boards[11] (CAB). Although the Community Action Boards are meant to be the drivers of citizen participation, they are often inactive, or are co-opted by local politicians. According to the accounts of the CAB Presidents, the insertion of the YRH in the neighborhoods seemed to have created a different form of relationship and organization amongst people in these neighborhoods, with a common goal that revolves around the need to remain in the territory and prevent the involvement of children and youth in illegal activities.

In this context, the FPB is located at the surface of this layered social network that interacts around shared notions of space, (ethnic) identity and citizenship, thus producing a form of what Newman et al. (2004, p. 220) calls the 'counter-public', namely: "groups or networks based on common interests, experiences and identities that have the capacity to challenge official norms and assumptions". Such a 'counter-public' emerges as an option to a fractured governance system.

This alternative governance system embodied by the FPB received initial inputs from exogenous actors. A group of academics conducting research (from a local psychology faculty) on conflict and security dynamics in the District liaised with the FPB and provided what we observe as the foundational exogenous inputs in the hybridization of knowledge and peace practice in the District. Their interest in the study of the behavioral aspects of conflict in the gangs led to the alliance with the FPB members and sector leaders, which then resulted in the articulation of the 'family counselors' practice into a comprehensive written guide.

Up until this point, response was rooted in people's understanding of the territory

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[11] The Community Action Boards (CABs) are mechanisms established in Colombia's National Participatory System, operating at the neighborhood level.

and their innate resources which allowed them to adapt to the new conditions of the environment. The intersection of inputs from scientific forms of knowledge with those existing in the capabilities already developed by the local contributed to the consolidation of the practice in a more systematic way. Textbooks, practitioner's guides and training for women shaped their context-based ability in mediation and counseling, adding conceptual landmarks and alternative practices as part of the *outputs* from this partnership.

> "When they [the researchers] said that they will help us write a guide for the family counselors, we gathered a group of about 40 women and worked with them for a year to design the activities […]. They brought their knowledge and we brought ours".[12]

Clear tensions in the 'us and them' narratives of participants interviewed were evidenced with regards to actors outside the District (particularly state agents). However, the coalescence of FPB and the university seems to be a rational *quid pro quo, where* the interest that exogenous actors have in conducting research on these local practices meets the interest of the people. These overt forms of negotiation and engagement between the local and exogenous (liberal) agents, point to a flaw in the framing of the local as subjugated by state and non-state liberal peace agents (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015; Richmond, 2009). Agency is constantly exerted by people as they capitalize opportunities for the kind of life they are allowed to live in the District.

> "When people from the university came asking if we could connect them with the communes for their research, I said 'yes, but what is in it for us'? We don't want to just be studied and people coming to interview us. They need to leave something for the community. […] Eventually it helped us a lot, because I had heard of Restorative Justice and they knew how we could apply that here, we became familiar with restorative justice practices and that is how the Counselor's Guide was created. They had the knowledge we were missing and we had the possibility to move within the territory as a recognized organization. Thus, we all won".[13]

The amalgam of external inputs and local agency in the trajectory also hint at the inter-reliable and dynamic nature of peace formation that is community-based, and forms of knowing and doing that move beyond the local-local, without necessarily undermining their agency. Thus, the first stage of hybridization of local knowledge observed is information exchange and adaptation in terms of the dialogical nature of forms of cognition.

Whereas in fast-track context analysis there is a higher risk of falling for the 'purely local' ideal of the communal and its dynamics; in the trajectory analysis the points of intersection surface as the thread of conflict navigation is historicized. This also assists with the aim of identifying not only the peace infrastructures that could mobilize local peacebuilding, but also the composition of such infrastructures and the networks of trust established from within. Instead of positioning the endogenous in antagonism to the exogenous, the factoring of external inputs in interaction with local capabilities reveal intersubjective *entry points* to the locale, and possible avenues of cooperation and trust in the construction of a positive type of hybrid peace, in the implementation of the *Territorial Peace Approach* in the Colombian Case.

[12]   Female participant, 44 years old, personal i*nterview, coordinator of the YRH. April 22, 2015*
[13]   Female participant, 71 years old, personal i*nterview, FPB Director. April 22, 2015.*

3.4. When the lines get blurred: Hybridization of knowledge in local peacebuilding

Violent conflict drives state action, especially from those agents attempting to enforce law and security. Paradoxically, what the District lacks in social services it does have in police presence, with the largest police station in the city established in Aguablanca. This is perceived by the community as a repressive approach to justice, increasing tension in the narratives of state and citizenship, especially with stories that refer to police abuse of power and possible ties to illegal groups in some sectors.

Violent conflict changed over time from gang and group identity dynamics into the criminal groups currently known as BACRIM, as explained above. Yet, snapshots from present-day Aguablanca and the Aguablanca of the previous years during the trajectory indicate that state – civic cooperation remains distrustful.

The creation by FPB of the Youth Restorative Houses (YRH) further on in the process marked the next milestone in the course of systematic and sustained response, which resulted from the efforts to "decentralize" action beyond Commune 15 (Where FPB operates) and establish centers of social encounter for youngsters and the community in general at the micro-level of the District. With this, space acquires greater meaning in peace formation and conflict management. The YRH are valued by the people as a 'safe space' for children and youngsters, an alternative use of their free time and a place that offers protection from the risks they face in the streets of the District. However, underlying these narratives are the signals of soft legitimate power that these infrastructures send to other actors, contesting to some extent their control of the territory.

These long-standing connections established at this micro-level are the primary enabling factor in the consolidation of local peace infrastructures beyond the realm of the FPB. Indisputably, this displays a reinforced social organization cohesion and the expansion of the protective capacity of civil society in the locale (Paffenholz, 2010). It is also identified as the pivotal point for broader endogenous and exogenous action, and a stronger presence of inputs from liberal peace agents in the District.

Representatives of the liberal peace arrived in the District on a variety of missions althoughmainly represented by donors from the global north interested in the 'successful conflict management' practices in the District. Their inputs followed the creation of the first YRH, when the International Organization for Migrations subsidized the opening of more Houses. Certainly, the extent of action within endogenous capacity is constrained by people's possibility to make their efforts self-sustainable. Therefore, the engagement with national and international non-state actors is identified as primarily based on their capacity to obtain financial aid. The nature of this relationship involves a certain level of compliance with the regulatory frameworks of these actors and project logic. However, the roles do seem to be clearly outlined: the locals play by the donor's rules and the donor relies on the legitimacy and existing capacity of the local to deliver results under the established framework of 'outcomes' expected by the liberal agents.

When asked about the pros and cons of their association with donors, the members of the FPB openly criticize the burden some of the procedures and requirements associated with the projects imposed on them – the timelines, the "endless cycle of reporting", and the use of language and format that often exceeds their capacity. Nonetheless, they recall that in essence the nature of their agency in decision-making within the YRH remains unchanged as they have

the primary knowledge about the local conflict dynamics, and a solid network of cooperation within the communes in the District to guarantee the positive outcomes of the process within the YRH.

When beneficiaries of FPB's initiatives[14] in the communes were asked about the donors funding of the YRH and other programs, they showed little knowledge of the nature of these organizations or the extent of their agreements with FPB. The restrictions on free mobility imposed by conflict in these areas makes it difficult for donors to reach this "micro-level" in the District, often remaining at the level of direct relations with the FPB's leadership. Without the full spectrum offered by the trajectory, one could consider this centralization as exclusionary, and counterproductive for the consolidation of other forms of organization and leadership in the community. Yet a triangulation of the narratives in the District related to the YRHs shows that the broad perception of FPB's efforts and representation as legitimate, based on the perceived benefits and 'intentionality', creates a compact system where FPB is positioned as the focal intra-organizational linkage to the rest of the locale.

Thus, hybridization is not defined in this practice as something that is neatly demarcated in operational terms. It appears as the product of a sustained set of inputs entering the locale, from one or more sources. These inputs interact with localized experiential knowledge, worldviews, and long-term aspirations regarding life in the District. But the depth and breadth of these interactions vary, especially in terms of the capacity and abilities of the local to negotiate the scope of their cooperation with exogenous actors. In the early stages when the *Family Counselors* model was structured with inputs from the researchers, the leverage of the FPB was subtle as the organization itself was in its starting point. Further along, now that the YRHs have been created and the FPB has consolidated the communal networks around the Houses in these places, the organization seems to hold a stronger position from which negotiate the adaptations, or subvert the forms of liberal peace promoted by the exogenous actors.

This brief recollection of events leading to the YRH as a hybrid peace infrastructure portrays the fluidity of actors and the varying and dynamic ways in which these coalesce in pursuit of their strategic goals (Mac Ginty, 2011). Such is the uniqueness of each trajectory for the construction of hybrid forms of doing and knowing in peace activity, that the idea of a contextualized differentiation of each locale is of critical importance in the 'local turn' (Paffenholz, 2015). Furthermore, it shows that endogenous knowledge is, as advocated by Rist (2011), a construct of these multiple sources of information. The experiential knowledge of the local, the scientific knowledge brought in by the support groups, and the flux of information occurring every day between individuals that share similar interests, leads to blurred boundaries between the notion of the local-local and the non-local.

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[14]   The FPB currently has several other programmatic lines, including "Truth and Reconciliation Circles" with victims of armed conflict, and micro-finance projects with women in different communes. However, the YRH is the program that receives the most funding and support from international organizations and private donors.

3.5. Hybridization in peacebuilding policy: a problem-solving to a collaborative approach in local peacebuilding

The YRH has proven to be effective in addressing juvenile criminality, with a recidivism rate of only 5% of the youngsters finishing the two year program, according to the FPB Director[15], compared to the 70% in the government youth resocialization program (Berríos Díaz, 2011). A government official from the National Institute for Family Welfare (ICBF) in the city of Cali acknowledges the flaws in the policy and the contributions of the YRH model in the District[16].

The cooperative dynamics observed in the coalition between the exogenous actors in the 'support network' of the FPB and the locals interacting in the YRH contrasts with the tension in their views of the state and government agencies. As explained earlier, state absence has undermined trust in institutions, and the narratives of otherness and segregation prevail in the inhabitants of the District.

> "How could we possibly fit our model in the logic of the ICBF [national family welfare system]? They want the tutors to be graduates from university; they measure square footage per child and a bunch of impractical guidelines that we will never meet. When the woman [from ICBF] came to see the House in Potrero she looked disgusted! What did she expect, a palace? She could not understand that our main asset is not the neat space we offer, is the possibility to adapt to the reality of our communities […] to be flexible. […] We did not even bother reading the rulebook she left."[17]

While recognizing the capacity of the community to navigate the territory and the acquired legitimacy of the *FPB* to operate (which institutions lack), the respondents in this focus group discussion ruled out the possibility of cooperation due to different norms guiding their behavioral practices.

> "FPB's intervention has yielded important results in conflict mitigation in the District. We were working with 'the sister' [FPB's Director] to support their program, but it was impossible to make our approach and their approach match. Our intervention lasts 6 months; theirs can be 1 or 2 years . They do not keep safety protocols; the Houses can be any place available, no matter the conditions. The tutors are women from the community without formal training". […] Personally, I would like to work with them, but I can't break the rules."[18]

Overall, the interactions between the state and the local actors in the trajectory show continuous friction and bargaining. Friction is a constant in global connections between exogenous and endogenous knowledge, processes and practices (Tsing, 2005). In this scenario, moving from restricted areas of cooperation to the creation of a hybrid peace that recognizes the capability and agency found in the communes seems elusive. While in public discourse the donors and state claim a willingness to 'partner' with the local, in reality communal organizations remain under the tutorship of those actors higher up the ladder which are considered more

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[15]   Female participant, 71 years old, personal *interview, FPB Director. May 26, 2015*
[16]   Male participant, 51 years old, personal *interview, Regional Director of the ICBF, Cali. May 28, 2015.*
[17]   *Male participant. 26 years old, tutor of the YRH, Commune 14, May 25, 2015.*
[18]   *Male participant, 51 years old, personal interview, Regional Director of the ICBF, Cali. May 28, 2015.*

capable of managing the list of requirements for compliance with liberal peace interventions and the structural barriers imposed by technocratic approaches.

Paradoxically, while the narratives from both sides (local and non-local) are in constant friction, the praxis of the *FPB* shows a rational insertion of the liberal peace paradigm in the use of restorative justice that carries with it a recognition of the importance of civic ideals, notions of state and citizenship, and compliance with the social contract[19]. The addition of the technocratic perspectives and knowledge from outside actors has permeated the way in which the ideals of peace are shaped and how this translates into what is taught out in the YRH. Nowadays the model incorporates the 'community projection' module, where youngsters learn about both the internal communal organization as well as the functioning of the state - individual and collective rights and obligations, and accountability mechanisms.

Current peace and conflict dynamics, however, are also altering the landscape of state-civic relations in the District, with the Government's attempt to reestablish order in the areas most affected by the war, which includes the shift in policy from centralization to 'territorialization' of peacebuilding via the *TAP*. The Peace Agreement signed with the FARC sets forth the guidelines of such decentralization, seeking a more inclusive, empowering and dialogical type of peace. Although the term appears broad, 'territorialization' in Aguablanca entails thus far a wave of new projects and public offices settling in Commune 15, including those implementing truth, justice and reparation programs. In contrast, there has been an increase in security measures amidst the surge in new armed groups or BACRIM (Álvarez et al., 2017). These groups threaten the sustainability of the settlement, which drives the State to a new form of reactive action.

In this changing environment the boundaries in interactions established by both state and non-state actors are being redefined in hybridization. For the first time, using the *Territorial Approach to Peace* as the umbrella policy, the Mayor's office signed a 'partnership agreement' with the *FPB* for the opening of additional YRHs in the District, in areas where BACRIM and other forms of organized crime associated with drug trafficking are spreading rapidly. The justification of the agreement states that *"the government admits its deficient capacity to intervene in the district, the lack of familiarity with the territorial conflict dynamics […], and the long trajectory of the FPB as a grassroots organization"* (Alcaldía de Cali, 2017).

This official acknowledgment of FPB's trajectory, legitimacy and capacity to navigate the territory is a major shift from the narrative of the local as uncapable or unruly, towards one that shows the interdependent character of the State's resources and power, and endogenous knowledge of the local-local. Therefore, beyond the need to 'win the hearts and minds' of the people, the peace trajectory shows "[…] *notions of hybridism and peace [that] encourage us to note how actors and institutions are capable of change, and become adept at managing change. Most individuals, groups and institutions will, if coerced or incentivized, act instrumentally and often tactically".* In this sense, the YRH and other peace infrastructures that channel local action are seen as drivers of collaborative forms of peacebuilding where the endogenous and exogenous converge.

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[19]   One of the core components of the YRH program is "political empowerment", emphasizing aspects of citizenship such as the understanding of state functioning, participation, accountability, rights and responsibilities, framed within the resignification of notions of the social being in the youth.

4. CONCLUSION

Capacity development approaches are often a one-way street, where top-down actors do not seem willing to adapt their interventions in order to coalesce with local knowledge and practices. The main reason for this is that peace trajectories and similar in-depth assessments are deemed as 'unfeasible' and 'impractical' within the timelines and funding restrictions of project logic. As Mac Ginty (2010b) indicates, an "[…] understanding of the hybridized nature of peace can help counter such perspectives through its emphasis on the long historical pedigrees of conflict and peacemaking".

Nevertheless, hybrid peace is little understood and so are the peace outcomes of hybridity. This paper illustrates and advocates for a dynamic approach to the study of hybridity found in the local, acknowledging the agency, forms of power and knowledge identified in the localized response to violent conflict and the everyday forms of adaptation to a restrictive context. This requires a historical analysis of the way in which response and resistance is collectively crafted into a more elaborated and sustained form of peace practice. The latter is better understood when seen as a non-linear peace trajectory in which interactions, responses and alternatives are constructed in parallel with conflict, mixing endogenous and exogenous inputs.

The chain of events connecting the trajectory, the responses and the determinant moments in the timeline established – milestones – aid the understanding of the evolution and composition of these peace mechanisms and how they reflect and apply the different interconnections of knowledge.

Here is where the analysis of 'peace trajectories' becomes relevant. Such an inquiry should help liberal agents to incorporate local peacemaking knowledge, trajectories and infrastructures into the ways of doing in sustainable peacebuilding. Whereas in peacebuilding the approach to the local is an 'invitation' to participate in dialogue for policy-making and other purposes; in the search for hybrid and inclusive peace infrastructures, the trajectory analysis supposes an inquiry guided by the need to depart from what already exists, in search of avenues of collaboration between state and civic actors. In the former, participation becomes the means to an end in an extractive relationship that seeks to obtain information and establish rapport with the people. In the latter, there is an approximation of the local with an a priori recognition of existing knowledge and capacity. The latter is a vital input into the design and sustainable implementation of contextualized peacebuilding policies.

It is important to take into account both the endogenous and exogenous perspectives in the analysis of local knowledge as an evolving trajectory of events. Both dimensions shape peace practice. It is therefore necessary to identify where interaction takes place and to scrutinize the turning points shaping hybridization. Such an approach moves the discussion beyond the local and the non-local as categorical opposites. This approach also contributes to the understanding of the way in which people navigate conflict and structural constraints, and how their practices and collective action shape the political order, its structures and hierarchies, "[…] [associating] the political arena with the forces of resistance and alternative political projects undertaken by endogenous communities" (Rist et al., 2011).

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