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Expanding LGBTI rights in Colombia
during Internal Armed Conflict and Emergent Transitional Justice (2006-2016):
Process Tracing Tactics of Influence and Levels of Effectiveness
of National Non-Governmental Organizations Specialized in LGBTI Rights

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*A mi familia, mis constantes y razones,
quienes me acompañaron en este camino doctoral:
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Declaración de cesión de derecho de publicación de la tesis

Yo, Carlos Andrés Paredes Minango, autor de la tesis titulada “Expanding LGBTI Rights in Colombia during Internal Armed Conflict and Emergent Transitional Justice (2006-2016): Process Tracing Tactics of Influence and Levels of Effectiveness of National Non-Governmental Organizations Specialized in LGBTI Rights”, declaro que la obra es de mi exclusiva autoría, que la he elaborado para obtener el título de doctorado en Estudios Internacionales concedido por la Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO-Ecuador.

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Quito, diciembre de 2023



Carlos Andrés Paredes Minango

The phenomenon of violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity is both local and global, requiring strong national and international countermeasures to promote respect for sexual and gender diversity under the umbrella of international human rights law.

In recognizing that everyone has some form of sexual orientation and gender identity, there is the regrettable reality that some groups and persons are affected by violence and discrimination, precisely because they are viewed as having a sexual orientation and gender identity that is different from a particular societal norm. This is enmeshed in the political, social, cultural, and economic setting of each country, which invites a context-specific analysis and understanding of each scenario. While human rights are inherent to all persons without distinction, the situation facing those groups and persons may vary; it is not necessarily homogeneous [...]

The work of human rights defenders and the much-needed space for civil society, including for non-governmental organizations and for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex groups and persons, calls for effective safeguards against incursions and reprisals from various protagonists (whether State or non-State actors) who do not comply with human rights. Cooperation with a multiplicity of actors, including community leaders (such as political and religious leaders) and those in the medical and scientific professions, the business sector and the media (e.g. social networks) should be fostered in order to protect against violence and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity, with that protection underscored by international human rights law. This is interlinked with the call for broad-based education, awareness-raising, and action responsive to issues of sexual orientation and gender identity

– Muntabhorn (2017, 18–20)¹.

¹ ‘Diversity in Humanity, Humanity in Diversity’, Human Rights Council Report of the Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

Summary

This interdisciplinary research analyses the expansion of LGBTI² rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice process from 2006 to 2016. Through a logic of retroduction, my original contribution to knowledge is finding that national non-governmental organizations (NGOs), specialized in LGBTI rights, deployed a multiplicity of tactics of influence to advance their goals. Through process tracing and document analysis, this thesis recognizes the suitability of the middle range theory of transnational advocacy networks, to comprehend tactics of influence and levels of effectiveness of national LGBTI rights NGOs, as well as to locate them as significant actors in expanding LGBTI rights in Colombia. Moreover, this idiographic study categorizes the activities that were conducted by the aforementioned actors into tactics of influence, ‘six wide-ranging actions of influence to expand LGBTI rights during the internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice in Colombia’, that are specific to this context. These are (i) communicative wide-ranging actions of influence; (ii) wide-ranging actions of influence through peace campaigns; (iii) wide-ranging actions of influence through promoting visibility; (iv) wide-ranging actions of influence through social engagement; (v) wide ranging actions of influence through network creation and strengthening; and, (vi) wide ranging actions of influence through political empowerment.

A main objective of this endeavour is emancipatory: to provide visibility to LGBTI people in the fields of human rights, peace and conflict studies, and transitional justice. The period to consider internal armed conflict was chosen seeing the enactment of the *Ley 975 de 2005*. This law, also known as *Ley de Justicia y Paz* (Justice and Peace law), provided a mechanism to demobilise paramilitary forces (the umbrella group of paramilitary organizations, *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*). The research ends with the peace negotiations between the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo* (FARC; from here on FARC) guerrillas and the Colombian government that began in 2012 and ended in 2016. Research was based on fieldwork in Bogotá, Barranquilla, and Cali and data compilation relied on two kinds of sources: (1) in-depth semi-structured interviews with key diverse actors and participant observation over the course of two months in 2016, and (2) documents

² The acronym LGBTI stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex populations.

(laws, reports/resolutions from intergovernmental organizations, agreements between relevant actors, press releases, meeting notes, newspaper articles, among others).

This dissertation has a constructivist epistemology and a critical realist ontology. While the interests of the State are taken as malleable, co-constituted and co-constitutive, the methods for visualizing social changes underline the need to categorize them according to their effects in levels of social reality. Further, 'situated knowledge' is central to this research as its design, regarding data compilation and analysis, acknowledges a feminist standpoint: "the relevance of the social positioning of the knower to the content of what is known" (Charis Thompson 2002, 14130). Pecheny offers two reinforcing views on this: "Those who research may do so when done rigorously from an empirical point of view, honestly from an ethical point of view, and in good faith from the point of view of the expression of subjective experience" (2008, 11) and, "those who research have interest, capacity and commitment, [...] share demands, revindications, and dreams with those of the researched subjects" (Pecheny 2008, 12). It is my sincerest wish that this research may contribute to continue/start doing my part.

Hence, in this crucial-case study, the recognition of LGBTI rights in Colombian society is taken as the dependant variable, while tactics of influence by national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights (information, symbolic, leverage, or accountability politics) are the independent variables that influence such a recognition. Meanwhile, the levels of effectiveness (establishing the issue; influencing discourses and national human rights agendas; and prompting public policies, procedures, and behaviours) are the outcomes, associated respectively with the critical realist levels of social reality (empirical, actual, and real). Consequently, in this model, tactics of influence of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights are contingent upon the levels of effectiveness and changes in social reality that previous tactics have enabled to achieve, in terms of the recognition of LGBTI rights in Colombian society, which is susceptible to continue to increase with time.

In accordance with the prevalent literature on transnational advocacy networks, the research in this case study also found evidence that:

(1) Not all politics of influence sought to produce legal changes; and out of these, information politics was the most commonly utilized;

- (2) In order to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice, positive reinforcement mechanisms were more common than negative reinforcement ones;
- (3) Relations between actors in the network were mainly horizontal, which facilitated the sharing of information and achieving consensus on goals;
- (4) The actors in the network experienced change in their identities and interests as a result of their interactions with other members of the network, and their participation in such a configuration;
- (5) Most political parties did not include LGBTI people tacitly within their ranks, which conditioned the expansion of LGBTI rights to using strategic litigation mostly, instead of legislative ways; and,
- (6) In the period under study, internal factors of effectiveness of transnational advocacy networks augmented: strength, density, and capability of actors to exercise pressure.

This research demonstrates the porosity of transnational phenomena, unearthing patterns of activities by specialized national NGOs having effects on more than one level of influence. This is so, as even if patriarchal, heterosexist and transphobic ideologies were exacerbated in this context by various armed groups (including the State), LGBTI people managed to be recognized as actors who experienced war differently, due to violence and discrimination based on their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. In so doing, this thesis contributes to current literature on social movements, international norm diffusion in national spaces - specifically to the expansion of LGBTI rights in contexts of internal armed conflict, emergent transitional justice, and peacebuilding processes.

The axiological, methodological, ontological, and epistemological stances of this dissertation connected 'situated knowledge' in data compilation, to the meso-level theory of transnational advocacy networks. Subsequently, data analysis included levels of reality of critical realism. Thus, in this dissertation, its design and subject of study for scientific production seek to highlight the capacity of research in the field of International Studies - as part of Social Science disciplines- to be applicable and of direct service to incipient global civil society concerns.

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Learning about norm diffusion, public policy making, and the role of partnerships among organizations has guided the development of this research, while assisting me in locating scholars and practitioners of likeminded interests. Hence, I would like to express my appreciation to the folk at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, California, which along with a Davis UWC Alumni Scholarship, funded my graduate

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Please note: All interviews were conducted by the author in Spanish, who translated selected excerpts into English for the main body of this dissertation

Introduction

It is the 10 of December 1948 and the UN General Assembly adopts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Yet, fast-forward to 2011 and the UN Human Rights Council expresses grave concern at acts of violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. All over the world, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT people, are still being subjected to discrimination and acts of brutal violence, torture, kidnapping, even murder. In 76 countries, same sex relationships are criminalized in violations of basic rights. These abuses must end. The tide is turning. Since 1990 almost 40 countries have legalized same-sex relationships; many more have lawfully banned discrimination against LGBT people. More and more countries now recognize the urgency and are pressing for action at the UN. In the past four years this has led to the first adopted UN resolution on the issue, the first official UN report, and the first formal intergovernmental debate at the UN Human Rights Council. On the 26 of July 2013 the UN launched Free & Equal, a global campaign designed to raise awareness of homophobic and transphobic violence and discrimination and to help stop millions of LGBT people being abused for being who they are. We must protect the basic human rights of LGBT people, but it does not just require changes in laws and policies. It takes changes in people's hearts and minds. Like the struggle against racism, like the struggle in gender equality, the struggle for LGBT equality will only be won if we join together, if we speak out, if we stand in the defence of the rights of others. The time to do this is now. Together we can stop violence and discrimination against LGBT people, together we can build a world that is free and equal

– UN Human Rights (2013).

This research aims to analyse how LGBTI rights have advanced in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice, from 2006 (right after the approval of the Peace and Justice Law) until 2016 (signing of the peace agreement between the government and FARC). This is a novel topic since, to the best of my knowledge, in previous processes of transitional justice (in Latin America and beyond) such populations have not been adequately recognized as direct victims of armed conflicts. Further, it is unusual to find case studies within a context of internal armed conflict, where expansion of minority rights has taken place, especially rights regarding sexual diversity³.

³ According to Pecheny: “[s]exual diversity is a field of practices, identities and relations that do not fit within or defy heteronormativity. This term is understood as the organizing principle of social, political, institutional and culturally reproduced relations that makes that heterosexuality reproduce the parameter from which one judges (accepting, condemning) the immense variety of practices, identities and existing sexual, affective and loving relationships: lesbians and gays, which along with their specificities, are far away from the heterosexual pattern; trans men and women, whose identity and gender expression question binary canons themselves; the emergence of intersex claims, which show the extent to which gender and biology are mixed -producing avoidable suffering-; and a lengthy list of etcetera, which include the heterosexualities differentiated by gender,

This introductory chapter is divided into five subsections: (1) Situating the case; (2) Main research question, subsidiary questions, and objectives; (3) Originality and scope (limits); (4) Methodological approach; and; (5) Structure of this dissertation.

1. Situating the case

Processes of transitional justice have taken place since the establishment of the Nuremberg trials at the end of the Second World War, although for some authors they began taking place even before that. They refer to the “set of judicial and non-judicial measures that have been implemented [...] in order to redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses. These measures include criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparation programs, and various kinds of institutional reforms.”⁴

Contemporary transitional justice (which has also been named Phase III transitional justice) (Teitel 2005) is characterized as one in which legitimacy requires the involvement of local and external actors, and where, generally, a multiplicity of political aims are at play. The Colombian case is peculiar because of at least three factors: the length of the armed conflict (approximately five decades, though this figure is still up for debate); its complexity (even though researchers may agree on some initial causes for it, including issues of political representation, social justice, unequal land distribution, among others, the ever changing situation has added a new dimension to it: drug trafficking); and its various actors, including state forces, paramilitaries, criminal gangs (*bandas criminales*, also known as *bacrim*), and guerrilla groups, such as FARC and *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN).

In this thesis, I focus on the period from 2006 to 2016. The year 2006 can be considered as the beginning of the process of transitional justice in Colombia. In December 2005, at the very end of Alvaro Uribe’s first presidential period, the Justice and Peace Law was approved. The law contemplated a transitional justice framework that facilitated the demobilization of some 30,000 paramilitary members of the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC) umbrella group.⁵

age and class (but not exclusively so), that are so naturalized that have become a residual category of this genre of studies” (Pecheny 2008, 14).

⁴ (“What Is Transitional Justice? | ICTJ” 2011).

⁵ (Congreso de Colombia 2005).

Uribe was then re-elected in 2006 and stayed in power until 2010. In that year, Juan Manuel Santos, Uribe's former Defence Minister, was elected as President and remained in power until 2018 (two consecutive presidential periods). During his first administration, two milestones for transitional justice were achieved: the enactment of the *Ley de Víctimas y Restitución de Tierras* (Victims and Land Restitution Law) in 2011, and Ley 1592 in 2012, which contemplated structural reforms to the Justice and Peace Law of 2005. The Victims and Land Restitution Law was an achievement for victims' groups as it recognized the internal armed conflict in Colombia and the responsibility of state security forces for human rights violations. Further, it created the *Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica* (National Center for Historical Memory), assigning it the role of "implementing truth clarifying measures, acknowledgement and memory recovery" (Justicia Transicional 2015). In other words, the National Center for Historical Memory was to conduct research and produce documentation so that not only victims, but the entire Colombian society would unearth the human rights violations to which many Colombians had been subjected as a result of the armed conflict. According to the official registry of victims,

[a]t the time of writing, the official victim registry (*Registro Único de Víctimas*) contains 8.8 million victims of the armed conflict. These figures include roughly 7.5 million victims of forced displacement, 170,000 disappeared, 880,000 killed, 27,000 kidnapped, and 28,000 victims of sexual and gender-based violence. The peak of this violence came in the early 2000s, with roughly 690,000 victims registered in 2000, 750,000 in 2001, and 870,000 in 2002. For 2017, the first year after the signing of the peace deal with the FARC, just over 100,000 victims were recorded (Unidad para las Víctimas cited in Oettler 2019, 11).

The Colombian government started negotiations with the main guerrilla group, the FARC, in Havana, Cuba in 2012. In 2016, the parties reached a peace agreement, *Acuerdo General para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz duradera*. The Colombian population voted narrowly against it via a plebiscite, but the Congress approved a slightly modified version subsequently. The agreement contemplated an integral agrarian reform, mechanisms for political participation, combating drug trafficking and illegal crops, transitional justice mechanisms, including judicial processes regarding the issue of victims of the internal armed conflict. The last negotiated point was about implementation, verification, and validation by the Colombian people.⁶

⁶ (Colombian Government and FARC-EP 2016) Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace (*Acuerdo final para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera*).

During the 2006-2016 timeframe, LGBTI rights gained prominence in the international arena in a variety of ways. In 2006, a group of human rights experts drafted the Yogyakarta Principles, a guide on the application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (*The Yogyakarta Principles 2007*). The epistemic community who drafted the document consisted of lawyers, advocates, and activists. One year before that, in 2005, the United Nations Human Rights Committee observed that no distinction should be made regarding a partner's right to pension benefits regardless of whether such union is homosexual or heterosexual in case 1361/2005 (X. v. Colombia). In 2011, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) requested the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, to

document discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity, in all regions of the world, and how international human rights law can be used to end violence and related human rights violations based on sexual orientation and gender identity (UNHRC 2011).

By the end of 2011, the report was shared publicly, and in 2015 a new report came out. In this context, the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence was invited to advise the parties to the peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC, and accompanied the process, offering insights on how to best take sexual violence into account.

Meanwhile, in the regional arena, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights published the report entitled Violence against LGBTI Persons in the Americas (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 2015). The developments regarding LGBTI rights at the regional and global levels have constituted significant milestones for LGBTI groups regionally and internationally and have enabled them to press for the respect of LGBTI rights. Importantly, they have influenced the ability of national groups to advance transitional justice for LGBTI groups and changed the terms and nature of national debates on sexual orientation and gender identity in Colombia in a framework of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice, as I intend to show in this study.

It is telling that civil society organizations and groups that have been traditionally most vulnerable to violence (rural populations, women, LGBTI, Afro-Colombian, Indigenous groups, among others) have in one way or another taken part in the peace negotiations. For instance, on February 11, 2015, the director of the LGBTI *Corporación Caribe Afirmativo*,

Wilson Castañeda, was invited to participate in the peace negotiations between FARC and the government, representing LGBTI groups. Additionally, the agreement on the fifth point (transitional justice) contemplated specific attention for marginalized social groups, such as the LGBTI population, which meant that human rights violations committed against these groups would receive special attention in the transitional justice process, as well as in the ordinary jurisdiction. For instance, it established a Special Investigation Unit outside the Special Jurisdiction for Peace and as part of the Office of the Attorney General, which “[s]hall implement specialized investigation methodological plans in relation to the most serious acts of victimization undertaken against women, children, adolescents and the LGBTI community by the organizations and conduct that are the subject of this agreement.”⁷

Main research question, subsidiary questions, and objectives

The main research question is: how have national members of transnational advocacy networks contributed to the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016)?

After conducting research in situ, and data analysis, I adapted my main subsidiary questions, which became:

- (1) Who were the main national actors who advanced LGBTI rights in Colombia between 2006 and 2016?
- (2) What is the evidence for the actions (tactics of influence) and their levels of effectiveness?

Hence, the main objective of this research is to explain the role of national members of transnational advocacy networks in contributing to the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016). While the subsidiary objectives are:

- (1) to identify the main actors involved in the expansion of LGBTI rights between 2006 and 2016. And,
- (2) Process-trace evidence of tactics of influence and levels of effectiveness of such actors.

⁷ (Colombian Government and FARC-EP 2016).

Originality and scope (limits)

Having an undergraduate degree in Politics and French & Francophone Studies, my interest in learning about ways in which ideas and dreams materialize through language, and norms -capable of shaping personal and even social behaviour- has been present throughout my higher education. Right after college, I was fortunate to work as Community and Minority Health Specialist in the Long Island GLBT Network in New York, which gave me the opportunity to be involved with human rights and advocacy efforts in a professional capacity.

Later on, during my graduate studies, I have focused on being involved in learning about human rights and peace and conflict studies: In my master's thesis I analyzed the discursive changes regarding 'sexual orientation' that took place between 1983 and 2011 in the Human Rights Council and the Human Rights Committee. Fieldwork was done in May 2012, during the XI Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, while interning at the Ecuadorian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York. The research showed that the United Nations Organization acted:

as a structure, exercising tactical or organizational power; and as an agent exercising structural power when constructing sexual orientation at the Human Rights specialized agencies. The works concludes that [...] there has been a significant discursive change regarding what is said about sexual orientation in UN documents: how sexual orientation is characterized (cf. Paredes-Minango 2013, 6).

This research provided me with an initial understanding of norm socialization through international organizations. I did so through examining discursive changes on 'sexual orientation', as representations of the inclusion of LGBTI rights in United Nations human rights bodies. In this doctoral dissertation I seek to further understand the process of diffusion of human rights norms by assessing the expansion of LGBTI rights in a national environment, specifically in the context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice in Colombia (2006-2016).

The aim of my thesis is like that of researchers who seek to understand how LGBTI rights have advanced worldwide and throughout Latin America, specifically, in different contexts and periods. At the same time, this research is part of the study of social movements in the region, which are often identity-based. This thesis also engages with additional discussions in the field of International Relations, in particular discussions within the Peace and Conflict Studies area on the empowerment of national organizations, in this case NGOs, specialized in

LGBTI rights, to claim ownership of their projects and goals, so that their work with international organizations (partners) becomes part of a more comprehensive repertoire of strategies (tactics of influence). Multiple interviewed subjects referred to their advocacy structure as participating in transnational advocacy networks; hence, the choice of theory for this research was also guided by their self-nomenclature/ classification.

Stressing the feminist standpoint of ‘situated knowledge’ for scientific objectivity, this research is also significant in the fields of International Studies and Peace and Conflict Studies as the researcher’s positionality is considered. This last point is a contemporary concern in the field of International Relations, as Iver Neumann, the 2012-2017 Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics, argued in his inaugural lecture ‘International Relations as a Social Science’:

Feminist work has done a lot of pathbreaking work from what is actually a misunderstood but very simple precondition: If I read this correctly -and I am particularly impressed by a book called *In a Different Voice*- the idea is basically that if a person is the effects of social structures, and if you can only study social structures by their effects, then studying yourself and how you have been formed should lead to an inside into social structure [...] I have mentioned the debate in *Millennium* about the use of ethnography in IR, which was started by a Rumanian researcher by the name of Wanda Vrasti. [She argued] that anyone that did ethnographic research should do this, should use themselves as membranes in order to understand the structures they study [...] The way I read the first pages in *Bodies that Matter*, which I think is the key work of Butler’s in this respect is that -in the level of the discipline and of individual research, she wants to bracket this in order to highlight stuff [...] and that is what theory is for, highlighting something and leave everything else in the dark [...] If you follow Weber and I think you should follow Weber: [...] it is impossible to throw yourself at any research job without looking at the preconditions with which you come in, and I see precious little situating of the researcher in all of that. We should follow feminism in actually putting more weight on situated knowledge and where we see the stuff from [...] If you open an anthropological or sociological journal, in almost every journal there would be articles specifically on this because, quoting Wendell, in the final analysis this is what is science, that we are clear about how we proceed. I would not go so far as to prove about testability as that is fraught terrain for the social scientists, but being clear in what we are doing is super important (Neumann 2013).

With some luck, I envision being able to combine academic and activist endeavours in the near future, since the field of Human Rights has been central to guide commitment into scholarship.

“Existing literature on TANs combines concepts of the social movements literature (Tarrow 2005; della Porta and Tarrow 2005) with constructivist theories on norms (Risse 2000) and organizational theory on networks (Powell 1990)” (Kiel 2011, 78). Academic literature has characterized the roles of national actors in transnational advocacy networks as dependent upon the specific circumstances of the field or issue. For instance, in the initial stages of campaigns, Keck and Sikkink (1998, 194) branded these actors as ‘informants’ in the case of the participants of a campaign to set certain standards and limit to a World Bank loan to the Brazilian Northwest Program. Meanwhile, Pamela Martin (2014), argues that domestic actors have been key in processes of public policy formulation and process implementation in campaigns to advance the rights of indigenous populations from the Amazon rainforest. Drucker (2009, 832) argues that “the problem may be in large part that LGBT organizations in underdeveloped countries lack the solid structures and finances of the biggest NGOs, trade unions, and movements that play the largest roles in and especially between Forums”. In this research, I adapt some of the concepts from the middle-range theory of transnational advocacy networks to evaluate the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia and analyze the tactics of influence and levels of effectiveness of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights who have taken part in such networks. This idiographic case is understood as a crucial case study, where the context from 2006 to 2016 is that of an internal armed conflict and an emergent process of transitional justice.

Scholars of social movements have identified the construction of a common identity as a significant step towards the establishment of LGBTI national groups. For instance, Diez (2011) argued that in the case of the lesbian and gay movement in Mexico, the building, cementing and consolidation of an identity was central, along with the structures of opportunity, so that the lesbian and gay movement in Mexico could further its demands. It is thus likely that similar processes take place in the present case study in Colombia.

Nevertheless, his thesis does not deal with issues of power within the LGBTI movement, or a substantial discussion on identity matters. Nor does it provide a chronological and philosophical exploration of the kind of social configurations present in Colombia so that LGBTI rights would develop. For a comprehensive analysis of LGBTI rights, as well as the birth of the LGBTI movement in Colombia, see the works of Mej and Iglesia (2010); and Fajardo (2006). As these authors argue, an initial LGBTI movement in Colombia appeared in

the 1970s, that is about forty-five years before the timeframe of this thesis. This means that, during the time of study, various LGBTI organizations existed and had gained decades of experience in advocating for LGBTI rights in Colombia.

By using a constructivist epistemology, critical realist ontology and retroductive logic, this research seeks to make visible the actions by national NGOs advocating for LGBTI rights in Colombia, from 2006 to 2016. It does so by using and adapting the conceptual framework of transnational advocacy networks: tactics of influence and levels of effectiveness.

Accordingly, this research attempts to engage with academic discussions on the role of national actors advancing human rights in transnational advocacy networks, especially in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice.

Methodological approach

In order to answer my research question “how have national members of transnational advocacy networks contributed to the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016)?”, I use the categories derived from the meso-level theory of transnational advocacy networks. In particular, this sub-section discusses the concept of transnational advocacy networks and justifies its appropriateness to analyse transnational issues focused on human or environmental rights.

The concept of transnational advocacy network enables us to account for how a wide variety of actors – local, non-state, state, international, intergovernmental, among others – can influence the terms and nature of the debate on a given issue. Transnational advocacy networks are especially suited to deal with human rights issues as these tend to be high-value topics.

The transnationalist research program is intrinsically linked to broader concerns within constructivist IR theory (and some neoliberal institutionalism) with the influence of ideas, norms, and identity on world politics (Katzenstein, 1996; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Goldstein and Keohane, 1993; Lumsdaine, 1993; Finnemore, 1993; 1996). But this literature also engages an older debate in IR theory about how domestic politics and the international system interact. This older debate may be particularly useful as social movement theorists contemplate the interaction of domestic and international opportunity structures (Sikkink 2005, 152).

The emergence of transnational advocacy networks working on these issues is mostly congruent with three scenarios: inefficient channels of communication between the

Colombian government and their citizens; some activists or political actors believing that working within a network will contribute to their campaigns; and, the existence of international conferences and spaces where human rights networks, and specifically LGBTI rights networks, were able to appear and prosper.

Relevant internal factors that contribute to network's success are its strength, density, and capability to exercise pressure. Meanwhile, external factors, such as the ways in which networks construct the topic as a matter of equality, identify the issue as a matter of avoiding violence directed towards innocent actors, and establish a clear cause and effect linkage between the issue at hand and the human rights violations, also greatly explain the success or not of transnational advocacy networks (Keck and Sikkink 1999). In sum, appreciating internal and external factors is key to answering our central research question, as it enhances our understanding of the ways in which LGBTI rights expanded in Colombia, in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016).

Regarding their levels of effectiveness, Keck and Sikkink distinguish between networks' contributions to: 1) calling attention to the issue; 2) defining an agenda; 3) influencing discourses; 3) prompting policies; 4) guiding procedures; and, 5) inciting actor behavioural changes (Keck and Sikkink 1999). In this research, I have condensed the five levels of effectiveness into three, as in this way they can better fit within the scheme of critical realism. So, the level of social reality of 'the eventual' corresponds to calling attention or establishing the issue, the level of 'the actual' corresponds to defining national human rights agendas and influencing discourses, while the deepest level, 'the real', corresponds to prompting policies, procedures, and behaviours. As can also be gathered from these levels of effectiveness, influence is not only a matter of inducing changes in policymaking, as discussed briefly above, but also of transforming 'terms and nature of the debate' on LGBTI people.

Additionally, Keck and Sikkink put forward four key tactics for networks to influence policymaking: information, symbolic, leverage politics, and keeping powerful actors accountable. Information politics entail "discovering problems, investigating them, and framing them so that mass media and powerful actors are aware about it" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 41). Symbolic politics are part of the process of persuasion, as far as identifying and framing shocking events in a convincing manner (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 44). Leverage

politics entail looking for and lending moral and economic resources among networks so that a higher degree of pressure can be exercised (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 45). While, accountability politics involve ensuring that powerful actors are held liable for their public position on a given topic (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 47).

These two types of categories of analysis – tactics and levels of effectiveness – are the organizing framework for the empirical part of this thesis. Each empirical chapter (3-5) delves into a level of influence and is subdivided in sections on the tactics of influence. These chapters show that the main tool in the toolbox of national actors has been managing information strategically, which is why most activities can be classified as information politics. Additionally, some activities have had multiple objectives. Thus, classifying them as belonging only to a politics of influence may hide their range of influence. However, since this research seeks to gain more clarity about the categorization of activities to exercise influence, it attempts not to classify them all as information politics, except those that seem to belong to this category clearly or mostly. Likewise, in cases where the conceptual, methodological, and theoretical frameworks of this research appear to be insufficient to determine whether an activity belongs to one or another tactic of influence, such activity is categorized under the tactic that seems to have contributed the most to achieving objectives stated by the interviewees, along with a discussion regarding its influence through other politics.

Table 1. Summary of the methodological approach used in this thesis

Dependent Variable	Intervening Variables*	Evidence Intervening Variable	Independent Variables**	Evidence of Outcome in Dependent Variable	Level of social reality***
Recognition of LGBTI rights in Colombian society	Information politics Symbolic politics Accountability politics Leverage politics	X	Establishing the issue	Issue in mass media & State documents	eventual
			Influencing discourses and national human rights agendas	Discursive changes in mass media and State documents (human rights agendas)	actual
			Prompting policies, procedures, and behaviours	Differentiated mention, policies, and procedures for LGBTI people in State documents. And decrease of reported violence against LGBTI people in State documents and mass media	real
* Tactics of influence, as per transnational advocacy networks					
** Levels of effectiveness, as per transnational advocacy networks					
*** From critical realism					

In chapter II, I explain this methodological approach in greater detail, including the methods and techniques used to collect data.

Structure of the Dissertation

The following chapter is the theoretical framework of the thesis. It provides a literature review on the main themes tackled in this work and elucidates the conceptual understandings for this dissertation. The second chapter is the methodological framework, which delves into the research design and methodological considerations for this case study, including hypotheses. The empirical chapters which follow examine the tactics of influence and levels of effectiveness of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights, from the theoretical perspective of transnational advocacy networks, in advancing LGBTI rights in the context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia. These levels of effectiveness are linked to the levels of social reality of critical realism. Hence, chapter III describes the emergence of the issue within the eventual level of social reality. Chapter IV looks at the role of these actors in influencing discourses and the human rights agenda within the actual level of social reality. Chapter V focuses on these actor's actions to

prompt changes in public policies, procedures, and behaviours within the real level of social reality. Finally, I present my reflections on the methodology used in this research, main empirical findings, and the theoretical implications of this research in the Conclusions.

The appendices provide supporting documents used during the process of data collection. For instance, Appendix A is the information sheet provided to all my interviewees in order for them to know about the research project and be able to decide whether they were interested in participating in it. Appendix B is the consent and fair-use form, which I asked my respondents to fill in before each interview. Since these documents were in Spanish, I included their translation into English. Appendices C and D are the transcriptions of two sample in-depth semi-structured interviews in Spanish. Transcriptions of other semi-structured interviews are not included for reasons of confidentiality, but they are available to the examiners upon request. The appendices also provide resources on data processing and on partial products of the iterative research design. Appendix E is an interview coding list, Appendix F is a list of national, regional, and international academic presentations done on the topic of this research during my doctoral studies (2015-2020). At last, Appendix G is an unpublished note from the field, revised after submission to the *International Journal of Peace and Transitional Justice* in 2017.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework

[I]n the case of LGBT rights, states do not passively emulate international examples. The norms governing LGBT rights remain contested, which is why they require careful interpretation by the domestic LGBT groups that can channel international examples to legitimize them locally. These actors help to interpret the norm, and they send a clear signal to the state that norm compliance is necessary to fulfilling its role in international society. When these actors are absent, international norms risk being painted as external impositions, precisely because the opposition can more easily frame LGBT rights as 'external' within states that have only recently deliberated the issue. The more internationalized the context, the easier it is for actors to frame the norm as legitimate to policymakers, a process that is particularly important within new-adopter contexts

– Ayoub (2015, 301).

This dissertation analyses how LGBTI rights expanded in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016). This topic has gained relevance as in 2016: (1) the UN Human Rights Council established the first Independent Expert on violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and (2) the FARC and the Colombian government reached a peace agreement, which included establishing a truth commission that would investigate human rights abuses against LGBTI individuals. In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical, conceptual, and epistemological matters that guide this thesis. Thus, the chapter is divided into two main sections: a literature review and a conceptual framework.

1.1 Human Rights and LGBTI Rights

In this section, I review the academic literature in four main areas: (1) human rights and LGBTI rights in Latin America, (2) actors and activists, (3) debates, discourses, and negotiations on advancing LGBTI rights in Latin America, and (4) dialogue with current academic discourses. In the second section of this chapter, I will complete the conceptual framework of the thesis with insights from two main areas of studies: (1) processes of transitional justice (with a focus on truth commissions) and (2) a conceptualization of the middle-range theory of transnational advocacy networks. In the last part of the chapter, I put

these different pieces together, and provide some considerations to link this chapter with the following methodological chapter, which focuses on the research design of this thesis.

1.1.1 Human Rights and LGBTI Rights in Latin America

In this section, I situate this thesis within the deliberative school of human rights and call attention to the context in which LGBTI rights have advanced in the region. The deliberative human rights school of thought emphasizes the social and normative features as part of the advancement of Western liberal values in modern societies. Further, an overview of LGBTI rights advancement in Latin America links this section with the following one, where the activists and actors of such processes are described and problematized.

Marie Dembour (2010) distinguishes four schools of thought with regards to human rights: the naturalist, deliberative, protest and discourse ones. Naturalist scholars see human rights as universal, where the state respects the individual by the essential virtue of her or him being a human being. Deliberative scholars emphasize the social and normative construction of rights and believe that the current importance of human rights at the global level is due to the diffusion of Western liberal democracy. They place importance on norms, rules, and decision-making processes. Meanwhile, protest scholars contend that the bureaucratic, elitist, and uncritical perspectives of these two schools do not allow to denounce the unequal exercise of such rights. Thus, protest scholars focus on unveiling the shortcomings of the utopian human rights scheme for all. Finally, the discourse school points out the linguistic construction of human rights and the power behind the human rights discourse (Dembour 2010). In this thesis, I take a deliberative approach to conceive of human rights and LGBTI rights. This approach is relevant as there is evidence that Western liberal democratic values concerning sexual orientation⁸ and gender identity have gradually gained international legitimacy though the international regime of human rights, cemented in international and regional institutions and norms.

⁸ Sexual orientation refers to “each person’s capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender or the same gender or more than one gender” (*The Yogyakarta Principles* 2007, 6). Gender identity refers to “each person’s deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerism” (*The Yogyakarta Principles* 2007, 8).

On the one hand, feminist and LGBTI movements have become noteworthy actors who have pushed for the inclusion of sexual, erotic and familiar issues within discourses on citizenship in the public sphere (Hiller 2013, 60). On the other hand, their actions have not taken place in a vacuum, as they have taken advantage of diverse structures of political opportunities in local, national, and international contexts. Social movement researchers emphasize the importance of such structures since LGBTI rights movements are:

crucial but not sufficient to advance gay rights. For, [...] they need to: 1) succeed at 'framing' the issue of LGBT rights in a way that resonates with local majoritarian sentiments; 2) establish strong connections with national-level parties; and 3) operate in countries where courts are both assertive and progressive (Diez, 2015; Encarnación, forthcoming; Pierceson, 2013) (Corrales 2015, 54).

Likewise, for social theorists Cohen, Arato and Reyes Mazzoni (2001, 572),

contemporary collective actors battle for power constantly, to build new identities, to create democratic spaces both within civil society and as part of the system of political organization for autonomous social action and reinterpreting norms and reconfiguring institutions. Thus, the theorist must consider civil society simultaneously as the objective and the place of collective action, observing processes so that collective actors create identities and solidarities to defend, evaluating relations among social adversaries and what is that stake in conflicts, analyzing the politics of the exercised influence of civil society actors over political society, and analyzing the structural and cultural developments that contribute to more self-reflection.

In other words, collective actors, and in this case those who are part of multiple networks (among them, transnational advocacy ones), are central actors for the national expansion of LGBTI rights. But one must not lose sight of the structural and institutional conditions that are present in the field, as they influence the kind of developments, tactics, and actions of activists. Thus, the research question for this thesis focuses on processes: How have national members of transnational advocacy networks contributed to the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016)? In order to answer it, I set out to provide substantive evidence of both structural changes, as well as activities by agents to foster the recognition of LGBTI rights in the context of armed conflict and transitional justice in Colombia. I do so in the empirical chapters of this dissertation.

Some of the cultural developments that have framed LGBTI rights and have enabled national groups, along with international and transnational partners, to expand them are global and regional in scope. First, it is worth recalling that universal instances, such as the United

Nations, have gained prominence in the construction of human rights standards. In those spaces, activists have used international norms, such as those contained in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and regional human rights treaties to legitimize and cement human rights advances. Here, we also consider international humanitarian law, since we look at the role of transnational advocacy networks in pushing for the rights of LGBTI persons who faced violations of human rights during Colombia's internal armed conflict. In the case of LGBTI rights, and in the specific timeframe of my research (2006-2016), it is worth mentioning that in 2006 a group of human rights experts drafted the *Yogyakarta Principles, a guide on the application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity* (2007).

The connection between the global and the regional realms in terms of LGBTI rights is well portrayed when looking at the demand for same-sex marriage. Hence,

in Argentina [it] gained momentum only after 2005, when Spain became the first Catholic majority country to legislate same-sex marriage [...] after 2005, the Spanish government made LGBT rights a priority in its foreign policy toward Latin America [...] between 2000 and 2010, Spanish NGOs spent some 2 million dollars promoting LGBT rights in the region, including 150,000 in Argentina [...] Not by accident, in both Spain and Argentina, the campaign for 'gay marriage' shared the same slogan: 'we want the same rights with the same name' (Encarnación 2013, 689).

Regional instances, such as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights have played central roles in Latin America. According to Drucker (2009, 827), “[i]n some of the most industrialized areas of the underdeveloped world, such as South Africa and South America [...] LGBT cultures resembling those of developed countries have become somewhat more prominent (Gevisser 2000; Green 1999)”. Similarly, major international non-governmental organizations, such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, have managed to increase the relevance of LGBTI human rights throughout the world and have been essential in pushing for specific human rights in many countries, including Colombia.

At last, and what is at the center of this dissertation, national groups -specifically NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights-, have deployed a multiplicity of actions to influence the state's human rights agendas, policies, and procedures regarding serving sexually diverse

populations, as well as to attempt affecting society's discourses and behaviours vis-à-vis LGBTI people. Ayoub (2015) explains that international actors join hands with national actors in transnational advocacy networks to push for human rights and use international norms to achieve their aim. He cites Sydney Tarrow (2005) communicating that:

[t]ransnationally connected domestic groups in new adopter states selectively choose and adapt foreign ideas to local traditions and practices, performing as brokers between international and domestic norms. These actors are crucial because they can frame the message — which is often perceived by society as an 'external' issue in new-adopter states — to make it resonate with a particular audience.

This has been the case in the process of advancing LGBTI rights in the region. In fact, the denominated “homosexual movements in the 1960s and 1970s were marginalized by the right and dismissed by the left, reappearing in the transitions under the recuperated language of human rights” (Pecheny and de la Dehesa 2011, 9). Diez thus contends that: “For some scholars, LGBTI movements are considered as identity movements by antonomasia as the justification behind their mobilization is mostly based on the difference in the sexual practices of their members” (Diez 2011, 691). In the case of lesbians,

[e]xplicit recognition [...] was initially included in the Action Platform of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, [...] only to be dropped from the final document. Ecuadorian and Brazilian delegates at the UN World Conference Against Racism in Johannesburg in 2001 backed calls to fight discrimination based on sexual orientation, which the preparatory Dakar African NGO Forum also took up, while others resisted (Mtewa 2003: 37 – 8, 41 – 2). LGBT activists have seized the opportunities provided by these gatherings to network and highlight the links between sexual emancipation and global justice, for example in the fight against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) (GLBT South – South Dialogue 2003b). LGBTs from the underdeveloped world have promoted these same links at international LGBT gatherings (GLBT South – South Dialogue 2003a) (Drucker 2009, 832).

Civil society at local, national and international levels can be thought of as “groups that despite their differences, obtain a certain degree of unity on pursuing a common good” (Moog Rodrigues 2005, 8). The International Center for Transitional Justice reports that Colombian civil society organizations, Caribe Afirmativo, Colombia Diversa and Santamaría Fundación organized “three meetings with activists and victims of the conflict to learn more about the needs of the LGBTI community, and to consider how transitional justice measures—especially non-judicial approaches—can contribute towards protecting their

rights” (International Center for Transitional Justice 2015).⁹ So, while the actors who take part in transnational advocacy networks are diverse. Some are institutionalized and of global or regional scope, such as representatives of states, political parties, or intergovernmental organizations, while others are more local and organic. In this dissertation, I focus on the latter ones, as the more institutionalized actors – states, political parties, and intergovernmental organizations – have been vastly theorized in the fields of political science and international relations. Or as Hiller (2013, 64) mentioned, “while the study of the processes of recognition of gay and lesbian conjugal bonds is inscribed in a globalized political and academic panorama (Hemmings 2007, Plummer 2003), this work highlights the specificity of the local process.” Accordingly, I am interested in adapting categories from the meso-level theory of transnational advocacy networks to identify how NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights have pushed for the rights of LGBTI people in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016).

1.1.2 Actors and Activists

As previously mentioned, multiple actors can participate in transnational advocacy networks. They can be local, national, and international. Their involvement in the network may vary according to the goal of the network, the designed plan of action or set of actions, resource availability, etc. International non-governmental organizations, the media, and citizens are key actors in transnational advocacy networks. Using Keck and Sikkink’s model, Carpenter (2016, 95) thus explains that: “Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch expose and condemn violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, ‘quickly and credibly generating politically usable information and moving it to where it will have the most impact’”. Then, members of mass media frame discourse to resonate with a broader international audience. Afterwards, citizens pressure their own governments to pay attention to the issue at hand. At the same time, other international actors, like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), persuade belligerent forces to be accountable for their actions, allowing human rights workers to provide assistance (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 16). As this example illustrates, human rights activists include a variety of actors who form a complex network, in which each one has a specific role/expertise.

⁹ International Center for Transitional Justice. 2015. “Colombia’s LGBTII Community Claims Its Space in Country’s Search for Truth.” Accessed July 5, 2016. <https://www.ictj.org/news/colombia%E2%80%99s-lgbti-community-claims-its-space-country%E2%80%99s-search-truth>

In the case of LGBTI advocacy worldwide,

[t]he apogee so far of grassroots queer HIV and AIDS activism was probably reached with South Africa's Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). TAC built on earlier links between LGBT and anti-apartheid activism to put the ANC government under pressure and eventually win an unprecedented (though still inadequate) degree of access to HIV medication for poor and low-income people in an underdeveloped country. Even more impressively, if possible, TAC became a central player in the fight against drug patents in the hands of pharmaceutical multinationals and against 'intellectual property rights', a key point in the 'free trade' agenda of international neo-liberalism. It has been an outstanding example of the queering of the global justice agenda (Drucker 2009, 832).

There are various visions regarding the ways in which LGBTI activists relate to their contexts and act within their social configurations. For instance, Diez argues that the creation of a collective identity "contributes to strengthening personal relations based on trust amongst members of the movements [...] promoting a strong feeling of solidarity" (Diez 2011, 691).

Likewise, Drucker (2009, 827) claims that:

sometimes LGBT people therefore seek and find ways to continue taking part in pre-existing family and community networks, and even incorporate same-sex partners into them. The often central role of religious and/or ethnic 'tradition' in families and communities' ideological discourses can complicate this process of incorporation; sometimes, for example, same-sex partners are just tacitly accepted as 'friends' (Chou 2000: 196 – 7). Another option – often the only one available to transgender people – is to join alternative families and communities of sexual dissidents. In many cases these sexually dissident communities are economically very marginal, confined to the informal sector and sometimes the sex trade.

LGBTI people congregating in NGOs and other social and political configurations have been fundamental in order to document accurate information regarding victims in various countries. This is so because staff members of these national and local organizations are likely to be much more aware of the palpable conditions affecting LGBTI people (regardless of whether they identify as LGBTI themselves) than government officials in centralized bureaucracies.

Conversely, Argüello Pazmiño explains that "processes of politization generate identifications and common collective struggles against social structures of inequality and domination, as well as mechanisms of sexual hierarchization [...] which make evident conflict levels and relations beyond the analytical scheme of domination-dominated" (Argüello Pazmiño 2013, 201). Power relations within social movements are present. Further, they are much more complex than what can be encompassed in a simple binary system of

domination. Hence, researchers must not ignore that a stratifying and political process shapes the goals of a network, as well as its tactics, and priorities.

Further, researchers question the idea of taking an LGBTI movement as monolithic. For instance, in an interview, Ecuadorian activist and lawyer Elizabeth Vasquez explained that: “I have no issue in calling the increasingly public presence of organized groups (LGBTI) [...] a movement in its general sense. I do feel conflicted that the press make it seem as if they were homogenous though” (Lind and Argüello Pazmiño 2009, 100). The academia has called attention to the diversity within sexual diversity movements and has explored and problematized such a diversity. While in this thesis I do not focus on such a diversity within the LGBTI movement in Colombia, in the empirical chapters I nonetheless observe how different identity groups in the movement have been differently affected by the armed conflict, and how this has shaped the actions by these particular groups, for instance transgender people, to expand LGBTI rights.

In terms of access to political parties, the presence or participation of LGBTI people has been an exception in most countries. The same can be said of the inclusion of sexual diversity issues in party agendas. Pecheny and de la Dehesa describe the situation in Latin America:

Most parties in the region have not considered sexual rights, even when their representatives or members in congress have supported some specific demands. Such support may be due to personal sympathies or party-politics calculations, as long as sexual rights can be ‘sold’ to the electorate in the framework of human rights or even as a symbolic marker of a ‘modern’ party (Pecheny and de la Dehesa 2011, 11).

This functionalistic view on the lack of enthusiasm by parties regarding the expansion of LGBTI rights is also shared by Corrales, who argues that “when center-right parties wish to defeat large leftist parties and appear as more modernizing, they may opportunistically embrace LGBT issues as a way to steal progressive urban voters from leftist parties” (Corrales 2015, 57). This is an interesting observation that can resonate in the Colombian case, as the country is widely considered to have a tradition of political (and religious) conservatism. Indeed, in the context of an emergent process of transitional justice, the expansion of LGBTI rights during the 2006-2016 decade in Colombia, when right-wing governments were in power, supports the argument put forward by Corrales. According to which, the right-wing parties in power have embraced LGBTI rights in order to prevent

emergent left-wing parties from obtaining possible votes from these constituencies in future polls.

Corrales also calls attention to the unevenness of the expansion of LGBTI rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, mentioning for instance that countries such as Argentina or Uruguay provide legal status to LGBTI populations in ways that most countries in Central America do not. More importantly, the author mentions that there are cases in the region in which LGBTI rights may be very advanced in one area, but very limited in another one. This is the case of Brazil, for example, which “provides enormous legal protections to LGBT individuals, but it is also one of the world’s murder capitals of LGBTI individuals” (Corrales 2015, 54). Colombia may also fit this pattern, since the expansion of LGBTI rights has occurred in a context of ongoing internal armed conflict, during which LGBTI individuals have been targeted by armed actors because of discrimination due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

However, the literature mentions some exceptions in the region as well, in terms of the involvement of political parties with sexual diversity themes. For instance, in Brazil “the PT [Workers’ Party] provided gay organizations with resources, visibility and access to the legislative arena that other gay movements in Latin America could only dream of, especially during the party’s earliest and most radical phase (1978-1988)” (Encarnación 2013, 714). Nonetheless, while Encarnación highlights the benefits of a major party endorsing an LGBTI agenda, the author also mentions the downside of it. Effectively, this meant that advocacy for LGBTI rights was concentrated on the agendas of the legislative and executive branches of the State, while civil society was less involved (Encarnación 2013, 714).

In other contexts, some original and context-specific initiatives have managed to advance LGBTI rights through the judicial system. For instance, Amy Lind and Sofía Argüello interviewed lawyer Elizabeth Vásquez, who leads the Transgender Project (*Proyecto transgénero*), a trans-feminist ensemble, in the Trans House in the neighbourhood of La Gasca in Quito, and who advanced the concept of “subversion from the inside”. This concept implies developing a political strategy, which included applying theories and judicial techniques to assist the sexual workers in the streets of the capital of Ecuador. Vásquez sees

herself as a paralegal activist, doing judicial activism, that is, using the judicial system to contribute to social change (Lind and Argüello Pazmiño 2009, 98).

1.1.3 Debates, Discourses and Negotiations on LGBTI rights in Latin America

While there is a growing body of research on LGBTI rights, sexual diversity themes, and recognition in multiple academic and non-academic spaces (cultural, social, economic, among others) of sexual citizenships, current debates include: the roles of LGBTI people as part of the transnational advocacy environment, problematization on medicalizing LGBTIness, social acceptability postures, strategies for expanding rights while being aware of the existence of conservative networks working actively against LGBTI-affirmative social changes, among others.

For Drucker (2009, 825),

LGBT people have the potential to play a significant role in formulating and implementing an alternative path to sustainable and equitable development [...] LGBT self-organization, needs to take place in the most basic units of society – families and communities – in order to counter policies imposed from above by the state and capital.

The author has high expectations for this conglomerate as there is the notion that solidarity across groups has taken place and is likely to continue doing so.

The notion of solidarity across social movements as well as within LGBTI movements has been complex. For instance, while themes such as same-sex marriage and adoption by same-sex partners may agglutinate a wider segment of society for such rights, expansion in transgender rights has taken a second seat. Reproductive rights have also been medicalized, “which has contributed to the inclusion of the issue in public policy agendas, though sometimes hiding its political dimensions; in other words, its connections to structures of injustice and inequality” (Pecheny and de la Dehesa 2011, 10).

On this area, it is important to point out that Keck and Sikkink claim that the methods used by transnational advocacy networks differ from the methods used by global civil society and social movements because, in order to exercise influence, actors do not use a “bottom-up” approach, but rather a diffuse one. In other words, dissimilar actors are involved, and each one has a different role in advancing the network’s objectives. Linked to these aspects is the authors’ assertion that the networks are voluntary, horizontal, and reciprocal (in terms of

exchange of information). Thus, actors take part in networks as long as they reckon that their participation provides them with knowledge, respect, and benefits. Further, through the very process of exchanging information, actors see their identities and interests altered (Keck and Sikkink 1999).

This assertion about the networks' horizontality is discussed by Carpenter. According to R. Charli Carpenter (2007), actors are actually involved not in horizontal relationships, but rather in networks where hubs are identifiable, as well as 'gatekeepers' (actors with additional decision-making capabilities who are able to prioritize the prominence of a topic in the network agenda). Some researchers have explored political power as fundamental to the work of transnational advocacy networks, considering that it can be the deal breaker so that conflicts of interests are resolved within the network. For instance, David A. Lake and Wendy Wong (2007) studied the case of Amnesty International, a prominent human rights NGO that, according to the authors, has shaped the international human rights regime in the previous century.

Additionally, theorists of transnational advocacy networks have emphasized that one of the tactics employed by such networks is identifying and making use of powerful actors in order to advance an issue. In so doing, they recognize that some actors hold positions of power, which allow them to exert a certain degree of influence that is almost unattainable by less powerful actors. Such an approach is helpful to consider power in the transnational advocacy networks that have pushed for LGBTI rights in Colombia. Yet, Lake and Wong's assumptions on the nature of the relation among actors/nodes are based on a rational-choice approach and a cost-benefit analysis that is more prevalent in political science approaches to social norm diffusion and influence than in international studies, particularly in constructivist-inspired theories. This is why, this research does not focus on unveiling power relations within a transnational advocacy network, as its aim is exploring the tactics and levels of effectiveness of main actors in such a configuration: national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights in Colombia, in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016).

Further, as mentioned earlier, LGBTI rights groups have had to accommodate themselves to delicate circumstances, where, in order for social acceptance to occur, "LGBT leaders and

movements have needed to adopt a more conservative discourse (e.g., LGBT rights serve to stabilize society, expand local markets). However, in doing so, they may have incurred opportunity costs and potentially compromised other goals (Corrales 2015, 57). Argüello Pazmiño (2019, 497) makes a similar observation, by indicating that the notion of sexual citizenship “adjectivizes and circumscribes the sexual to a sort of collective belonging without relating it to other socio-structural dimensions such as class, strata, and multiple aspects of inequalities (in terms of opportunities, positions, categories, etc.)”.

LGBTI rights politics is part of the battle of globalization. Thus, it has also been used by right-wing and conservative groups as part of the ‘culture wars’ ideology. Corrales depicts this trend:

Just as conservative homophobic groups use religious doctrines and organizations as sorts of transnational convey or belts to spread homophobia beyond borders, pro-LGBT rights are increasingly using international organizations (e.g., the Inter-American Court of Human Rights), cultural productions (e.g., TV shows and films, social media), and host-country foreign policies to pursue pro-LGBT politics across borders as well (Corrales 2015, 58).

In the region, the Catholic Church was against the approval of same-sex marriage in Argentina. As Encarnación (2013, 707–8) argues, “Buenos Aires Cardinal Bergoglio (today Pope Francis) warned that same-sex marriage would ‘destroy the natural family’, adding that the bill ‘was no mere legislative bill. It’s an attack on God’s plan; it is a move by the father of lies to confuse and deceive the children of God” (Encarnación 2013, 708). Hence, the academic literature had identified veto players or anti-rights ones, who have struggled against the advancement of LGBTI rights. The literature has made the networks of pro- and anti-rights much more visible and active in national, regional, and global debates. Corrales (2015, 54), in particular, contends that “the most important veto player in the politics of LGBT rights consists of religious actors: clergy and politically organized church-goers”.

In the Colombian case, the plebiscite to endorse the peace agreement failed by a narrow margin. There is general consensus that the reasons behind people’s rejection of the peace deal were manifold. But some of the main reasons included: (i) the so-called “gender ideology” reflected in the peace agreement, (ii) the possibility of the country moving towards “Castro-Chavismo” (that is, towards a regime with an ideology akin to that of the regimes of Fidel/Raúl Castro in Cuba and Hugo Chávez in Venezuela), (iii) opposition to transitional justice mechanisms, deemed to favour one side, and (iv) the rejection of cash payments to

demobilized guerrilla fighters for reintegrating into society (de la Calle, 2019, pp.294-7; Oettler, 2016;(Oettler 2019, 5). As for the so-called “gender ideology”, one theme that generated particular opposition from certain sectors of society, including religious groups, was that the peace accord advocated for equal rights for LGBTI people.

For a Senior *Liberal* Party member,

There is an issue that concerns the LGBTI community, and it is the referendum on adopting underage children. It is conjunctural due to the theme on gender that was applied in the accord. It is also conjunctural because the strength of Christians in the country is very strong. They are very active. And it is a fight of ideological positions against individual freedoms (Interview with P2, September 2016).

Hence, the gender perspective has been a focus of debate in Colombian society, especially during plebiscite times. This has had repercussions in other public practices, policies, and laws. Ultimately, networks against advancing LGBTI rights appear as important factors affecting national as well as transnational stages of advocacy.

1.1.4 Dialogue with Current Academic Discourses

One of the closest studies on LGBTI mobilization and activism is Jan de la Torre’s *The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Transnational Advocacy Network in the EU: Accommodative Spaces and Unobjectionable Norms*. In this book, the author endeavours to find out the conditions under which transnational advocacy networks are most effective at introducing policies sensitive to LGBTI issues in the European Union. Following Keck and Sikkink’s theoretical perspective, de la Torre delves into what he deems “the transnational toolbox”, which includes information, symbolic and leverage politics to assess the workings of the LGBTI transnational advocacy network, International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) (de la Torre 2006). His study is enriching in terms of exploring success (defined as influencing policymaking), though his normative approach does not ponder informal instances of success that are not related to public policymaking. In this dissertation I build on this work, while attempting to focus on a different area.

In a re-reading of ‘Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics’, Tarrow (2019, 60) finds “three main reasons for its continued authority: its interdisciplinary reach; its intra-disciplinary ecumenism; and its departure from standard variable-based

models in the direction of a mechanism-and-process based approach”. Likewise, Ayoub claims that:

International Relations and social movement scholars have noted the importance of advocacy groups in influencing the international diffusion of rights legislation (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Montoya, 2013; Roggeband, 2010). Social movement organizations are commonly theorized as the most experienced type of organization in channelling a social group’s grievances to the relevant authorities (Ayoub, 2010: 473). Soule’s work on minority rights legislation offers substantial evidence that social movement activity affects the introduction and diffusion of rights and anti-discrimination legislation for various minorities in the US (Soule, 2004; Soule and King, 2006). Focusing particularly on LGBT rights, Kollman’s (2013), Holzhacker’s (2012), and Paternotte and Kollman’s (2013) work has emphasized the centrality of advocacy networks, which organizations like the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA) foster, in addition to a series of domestic factors (Ayoub 2015, 297).

My study fits within the academic literature on human rights within the field of International Studies. In particular, it engages with debates about states’ concern for their international reputation, and the importance of national actors pushing for national pro-LGBTI rights legislations taking advantage of international human rights norms. For instance, Phillip M. Ayoub posited that states that have been newly included in the European Union are more likely to have transnational interactions and transnationally connected LGBT organizations as vital to the international diffusion of social policies, specifically to the adoption of “anti-discrimination, criminal law, partnership, parenting rights, and equal sexual offenses provisions” for LGBT people (Ayoub 2015, 293). Besides, the authors claims that: “transnational channels have the capacity to enhance the salience of norms, and transnationally connected LGBT organizations can act as catalysts in the adoption of legislation by signalling to decision-makers that LGBT rights are connected to the state’s reputation within its international community” (Ayoub 2015, 295).

In our case study, the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence was invited to advise the parties to the peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC, and accompanied the process, offering insights on how to best confront sexual violence. Further, civil society organizations and groups that have been traditionally most vulnerable to violence in context of internal conflict (rural populations, women, LGBTI, Afro-Colombian and Indigenous groups) in one way or another took part in the peace negotiations between FARC and the government. Hence, the UN Special Representative, civil society organizations on behalf of victims, and other actors,

such as delegates of political parties and mass media, have been part of the transnational advocacy network that has sought to advance LGBTI rights in the transitional justice process in Colombia. This role of national actors in the expansion of LGBTI rights in contexts of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice has been little studied, and opens new avenues for future research, as more and more transitional justice processes pay attention to LGBTI rights. This is particularly the case in Colombia, where the truth commission is one of the first ones in the world to put so much attention to LGBTI victims.

Hun Joon Kim (2012) found out that in a quantitative research of 71 countries, where the main question involved learning about what factors influenced human rights prosecutions after democratic transitions, the increasing number of organizations that were part of transnational advocacy networks could explain why governments prosecuted previous state officials for human rights violations. In a similar way, in this thesis the increase in the number of human rights NGOs in Colombia between 2006 and 2016 may have generated an increase in momentum to propitiate transitional justice, including LGBTI populations in Colombia.

Like Kim, Keck and Sikkink (1999) argue that the greater strength and density of a network increase its capabilities to exercise pressure. Such strength and density depend on its capacity to disseminate information, the frequency of communication among members, the quality of such communications, the reputation of the network vis-à-vis its target actors, as well as its capability to represent other networks and engage with them (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 53). For the authors, strength and density are also called ‘internal factors’ that impinge on the network’s capabilities. They can be understood as mobilizing structures, that is, “those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action” (McAdam et al. 1996, 3 cited in Carpenter 2005, 311).

Another way of analysing organized groups of people is through the lenses of social movements, which, according to McAdam, cited in Silva (2010, 60), are “rational attempts of excluded groups mobilizing enough influence to achieve collective interests through non-institutionalized means.” There are also “NGOs and grassroots groups [which] are political actors who directly or indirectly attempt to influence policy and politics at local, national and international levels” (Moog Rodrigues 2005, 7). The difference between NGOs and

grassroots groups is explained since NGOs are “research or advocacy organizations that may provide support to grassroots groups at material and strategic levels but are not identified by the rank and file of such groups as co-participants in their political and material struggles” (Moog Rodrigues 2005, 7). This statement helps differentiate NGOs from less structured or less formal civil society organizations, such as grassroots groups. However, individuals may be part of any, many, or all of the aforementioned configurations. For instance, she/ he may be involved in an informal civil society organization, work in an NGO, and belong to a grassroots group which engages in activism through non-institutionalized actions.

Actors in transnational advocacy networks choose their targets, as well as their tactics, based on a variety of circumstances. In particular, they consider the perceived vulnerability of targeted actors. For Keck and Sikkink (1998, 53), they “must be vulnerable, either to material incentives or external sanctions, or to the pressure resulting from announced commitments and its practice. Vulnerability is a result of the availability of support and the susceptibility of the targeted actor itself”. In the case of transitional justice in Colombia including LGBTI populations, it can be argued that the Colombian state has been susceptible to influence because it has had an interest in presenting itself as a democratic state. Indeed, “the states most susceptible to the pressures of the network are those that aspire to belonging to a normative community of nations” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 53). Furthermore, the response of the Colombian state to the United Nations Human Rights Committee’s ruling of *X. v. Colombia* is an example of the susceptibilities of the Colombian state to be influenced by external pressure regarding upholding equal rights for LGBTI peoples.

The literature on transnational advocacy networks has emphasized positive reinforcement mechanisms as a means of socializing norms. In this strand of literature, stable institutions make use of “a growing roster of transnational causal mechanisms, including emulation, persuasion, flows of resources (ideational or material), framing and power transitions – to name just a few” (Checkel 2014, 12). However, power and coercion mechanisms may also work in some circumstances. Checkel (2014, 16) thus posits that socialization can also “work in more coercive ways”. Still, in this thesis I do not focus on negative reinforcement mechanisms, as bonds among actors as well as participation in common struggles tend to be voluntary. It is thus counterintuitive to contemplate that actors would choose to stay in a network (however flexible it may be) because they are subjected to coercion. Positive

reinforcement mechanisms are more relevant in this work as they are more likely to explain how actors in transnational advocacy networks have influenced transitional justice in Colombia to advance the rights of LGBTI victims of internal armed conflict during the 2006-2016 decade.

Most of the literature on the targets of transnational advocacy networks focuses on states and intergovernmental organizations (Moog Rodrigues 2005; Checkel 2014; Hamberg 2013). In particular, Hamberg (2013, 149) argues that the literature focuses “almost exclusively on how transnational advocacy networks can influence state behaviour, thus neglecting how transnational actors can influence other non-state actors (both domestic and transnational)”. Moreover, such studies are mostly concerned with treaties, policies, laws and formal politics. This almost exclusive focus on the state is congruent with the most classic of international relations theories, realism, where the state is the main object of study, as well as with the previously mentioned first wave of transnational advocacy networks studies. Also, it makes sense that transnational advocacy networks try to have an impact on how the state handles human rights issues, given that the state is to be responsible for the wellbeing of its citizens. Florent Frasson-Quenoz (2014, 220) thus explains that

the principle of sovereignty changed meanings along with social interactions; from upholding royal legitimacy to backing the legitimacy of the people to rule themselves (XIX and XX Centuries), to finally (XXI Century) become a principle of State responsibility in relation to its people and its cognates.

However, when pushing for human rights, actors in transnational advocacy networks do not only seek to influence the state, its institutional and legal procedures. Nor do they only seek to influence international organizations. They also intend to change discourses and societies at large. As explained by Cohen, Arato and Reyes Mazzoni (2001, 48–50),

Just as political society is capable of acting on the administration of the state, actors in civil society are capable to influence discourse and actors in political society. This politics of influence, for which lots of empirical evidence exists (as we have demonstrated in the case of the women movement) is the key element that is lacking in most paradigms used to study social movements currently [...] The success of social movements at societal level must be conceived, not in terms of the achievement of certain substantive goals or in the perpetuation of the movement, but rather in terms of democratization of values, norms and institutions that at the end of the day are part of a political culture. That development cannot perpetuate an organization or determined movement, but it can ensure the category of social movement as a normal component of self-democratizing civil societies. For example, if part of the achievement of movements is the institutionalization of rights, then the end of a social movement- due to its organizational transformation or its absorption of new created cultural

identities-, does not signify and end to the context of generating and constituting social movements. The rights obtained due to movements stabilize the limits between the world of the living, the State, and the economy; but they are also a reflection of the recently acquired collective identities, and they constitute the condition that make possible the emergence of institutional agreements, associations, assemblies, and movements.

This goes well with the corpus of human rights since people are required to actively promote them so that they are exercised. According to Mutua (2013, 27), “the basic purpose of the human rights corpus is to contain the state, transform society, and eliminate both the victim and victimhood as conditions of human existence”. Hence, transnational advocacy networks make use of the intersubjective understandings, practices, norms, rules and laws within the international regimes of human rights to advance human rights, but also push for legal changes at local, national and international levels (Moog Rodrigues 2005, 3). Consequently, transnational advocacy networks are able to frame issues at a large scale so that various and diverse stakeholders change their opinion, thinking and views on certain issues.

Thus, the empirical chapters of this research favour examining NGOs’ actions to ‘change discourses and societies at large’, as well as national human rights agendas; and in a lesser way, state policies, procedures, and behaviours. As Shah (2012, 14) acknowledges, “NGOs play a critical role in a movement by introducing new concepts, and by pressing the government and other actors with legitimate forms of power to implement policy changes”. So, in this idiographic case study, I analyze data through a logic of retroduction, applying process tracing and document analysis to examine tactics of influence and levels of effectiveness (categories of transnational advocacy networks). I do so in order to explain the involvement of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights in their expansion in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice (2006-2016).

1.2 Transitional Justice and Transnational Advocacy Networks

This section is subdivided into two subsections. The first one delves into conceptualizing transitional justice, which is considered to be a form of justice that occurs after a period of massive or systematic violations of human rights. This first subsection also elucidates on how this process takes place in Colombia and explores the role of the truth commissions as one of the main mechanisms of transitional justice. The second subsection is devoted to introducing

the main characteristics of transnational advocacy networks, the meso-level theory selected to analyse this case study.

1.2.1 Conceptualizing Transitional Justice

Latin American countries have had a significant role in the development of novel manners to tackle the systematic human rights abuses that have occurred in the region. Considering that practices of transitional justice have roughly existed for seven decades, it is only natural that they have suffered modifications in response to the changes in the international arena and the context in which human rights violations have taken place locally. For Valencia Villa (2007, 2), transitional justice is a “new and exciting field of study and experiences where ethics, international law, constitutional law, penal law and political sciences converge”. The endeavour is not easy as finding common ground among justice for the victims, punishment for those responsible for violations, reconciliation, and peace, requires transitional justice to be adaptable while abiding to certain minimum international standards.

Processes of transitional justice have taken place since the establishment of the Nuremberg trials at the end of World War II, although, for some authors, they began even before that. Transitional justice comprises “judicial and non-judicial measures that have been implemented [...] in order to redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses. These measures include criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparation programs, and various kinds of institutional reforms.”¹⁰ This is only a brief list of the kind of mechanisms that have been used in transitional justice, since each situation is as unique as the states that have included processes of transitional justice in their respective political histories. Nonetheless, the list represents some of the basic components that are usually required to ensure an integrated approach.

Further, transitional justice is a rich and diverse environment of inquiry; so, no single path is a “recipe for success”. Each one is rather a plethora of responses to the circumstances of armed conflict, dictatorships, and generalized violations of human rights (Valencia Villa 2007). Thus, while transitional justice has been applied throughout the world, each situation is unique, and it is necessary to understand the context in which such processes take place.

¹⁰ (“What Is Transitional Justice? | ICTJ” 2011) Accessed October 22, 2017.
<https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>.

Nevertheless, most processes of transitional justice after civil war share certain characteristics: they occur when a peace agreement between warring parties is reached, during the “beginning stages of a massive public process on truth finding and dismantling of violent structures (Ceballos 2008), advancement in the construction of an ethical consensus on its violent past (Hayner 2001) [...] and advancement in sociopolitical victim reparation policies” (Ceballos Medina 2014, 114).¹¹

While national legitimacy is the *condition sine qua non* for successful transitional justice, much of the literature in peace and conflict studies also emphasizes international legitimacy. For Teitel (2005), contemporary transitional justice (i.e. Phase III transitional justice) is characterized as one in which, for legitimacy to occur, the involvement of local and transnational actors is required, and where, generally, multiple political aims are at play. Some authors have criticized the emphasis on the national condition of transitional justice, as well as its top-down approach. For instance, for Dustin Sharp (2015), transitional justice has been associated with liberal and state-centric positions that privilege international expertise, Western-inspired justice, prosecution of main leaders, and civil and political rights. According to him, alternative practices of transitional justice which emphasize local agency, community-based justice, reparations and economic and social rights could be better suited to face critical questions such as: whose peace, priorities and/ or decision-making possibilities? (Sharp 2015). Sharp’s contributions are noteworthy since they call for greater attention to the direct beneficiaries of transitional justice. This is why the author emphasizes processes of local and community-based justice and highlights economic and social rights.

However, Sharp (2015) offers little advice on how local and community-based approaches can successfully be adapted in order to apply to national settings without disregarding the particularities of each sub-national area, since, by defect, once one considers a national instead of a local setting, issues become more complex as the number of actors, interests and circumstances increase exponentially. Thus, Sharp’s observations are relevant when dealing with smaller groups of people, especially when considering the social and economic rights of local victims. Even so, official transitional justice measures, such as those taken in compliance with the peace agreement between FARC and the government, encompass the

¹¹ The translation of citations written originally in Spanish into English is mine unless stated otherwise.

entire country. Indeed, the Colombian state is the principal agent and structure that impinges on the inclusion of LGBTI victims in the process of transitional justice.

The process of transitional justice in Colombia fits Teitel's criteria regarding Phase III transitional justice, given that the peace negotiations between FARC and the Colombian government involved national and international participants in diverse capacities: victims' delegates, experts, representatives of observer and guarantor states, among others. Further, various political aims were at play considering the length and the number of actors involved in it: FARC, ELN, the Colombian government, paramilitaries, drug-traffickers, criminal bands, landowners, private sector companies, political parties, etc. In this thesis I dedicate attention to the role of national actors who have advanced LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and have influenced the process of transitional justice in Colombia to include LGBTI people and victims between 2006 and 2016.

Interestingly, in Colombia most authors consider that this process is already under way even though, at the time of writing (2020), the internal armed conflict has not yet come to an end. This situation of 'partial peace' is likely to impact the targets elected by transnational advocacy networks to push for the rights of LGBTI victims in the process of transitional justice in Colombia. Indeed, in addition to pressuring the parties to the 2012-2016 peace negotiations, these networks have used different tactics to influence the various institutions that were already involved in transitional justice.

According to Delgado Barón (2011), the Colombian case is special, as it has engaged in a process of transition or post-conflict during the ongoing armed conflict. Ceballos Medina (2014), however, deems that the Colombian case is not one of transitional justice since it does not share the characteristic of advancing in the construction of an ethical consensus on its violent past, meaning "a social agreement on: punishable crimes, dimension of damage, victim identification, perpetrator identification, justice and reparation apparatuses available for victims, identifying structures and mechanisms that perpetuated violence, and the reforms and necessary measures to guarantee the non-repetition of such events" (Ceballos Medina 2014, 114). Rather, she fathoms that Colombia is an instance of a set of processes to overcome sociopolitical violence. While Ceballos Medina makes some valid points to justify her stance, in this thesis, like Delgado Barón (2011), I consider that a process of transitional

justice has been under way in Colombia since 2005, even though as of September 2020, it had not yet included all parties in the conflict.

Indeed, various key laws have intended to address the massive human rights abuses committed during the armed conflict through specific justice mechanisms. These include the 2005 *Ley de Justicia y Paz* (Justice and Peace Law), the *Ley de Víctimas y Restitución de Tierras* (Victims and Land Restitution Law) in 2011, and the *Ley 1592* in 2012. The first one was adopted at the time of the demobilization of the paramilitaries, contemplating transitional justice mechanisms to address the human rights violations committed by members of *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC). The second one contemplated the recognition of the internal armed conflict in Colombia and the responsibility of state forces for human rights violations. Further, it created the National Center for Historical Memory, assigning it the role of “implementing truth clarifying measures, acknowledgement and memory recovery” (Justicia Transicional 2015). Finally, the third one provided structural reforms to the Justice and Peace Law.

Moreover, arguably, it is not strictly necessary that all direct violence related to the armed conflict be over before mechanisms of transitional justice can be implemented. As Delgado Barón (2011) mentions, the Colombian case is indeed special since armed violence has not ceased in spite of multiple peace agreements; however, its intensity has diminished in the last decade. For instance, in 2016 the Conflict Analysis Resource Center informed that the FARC had not occupied a town or rural city since March 2, 2013. Besides, the number of deaths related to the internal armed conflict had diminished from 178 in 2011 to 110 in 2015, and only 8 deaths had been reported until March 2016.¹² Thus, while direct violence related to the conflict continued to take place, its relative intensity had decreased during the period under study, allowing for peace negotiations to occur and for LGBTI victims to be a part of them.

Ceballos Medina’s (2014) description of the characteristics of transitional justice is more precise than the ones provided by Valencia (2014) and by the International Center for Transitional Justice. However, all three emphasize: (i) memory and truth-finding mechanisms, (ii) identifying wrongdoers and advancing criminal prosecutions, (iii)

¹² (“CERAC – Centro de Recursos Para El Análisis de Conflictos” 2016). Accessed May 25, 2019. <http://www.cerac.org.co/es/>

reparations for victims, and (iv) institutional reforms to prevent future human rights abuses from being committed.

1.2.2 Truth Commissions

Owing to the circumstances in Colombia, the terminology of transitional justice itself is contested since in the simplistic dichotomy of ‘victims’ of human rights violations and ‘victimizers’, both actors would regard transitional justice in vastly diverse ways. On the one hand, there is the criticism that ‘victimizers’ would use it as a way to perpetuate impunity and systems of oppression. On the other, the victims would hope that transitional justice offer them a possibility for emancipation, where its rhetorical and legal components become tangible responses to their claims. What makes matters even more complex is that many armed actors -who are often constructed by main media discourses as ‘victimizers’- have been forcibly recruited, and rather see themselves as ‘victims.’ Other actors have explained their involvement with irregular groups due to the structural violence of prevalent socioeconomic inequities (for instance, lack of adequate land distribution) or to the direct violence of other state and non-state armed actors, who often failed to acknowledge their own responsibility in human rights violations. In other words, state actors claim to be victims but have refused to recognize their role as victimizers (Delgado 2011). As a result, transitional justice is likely to be perceived differently by different stakeholders.

One repercussion to having a process of transitional justice while armed conflict has not ended is a possible ‘eternal transition’. This term refers to the ‘limited’ process continuing to unearth difficult past circumstances, without being able to determine responsibilities; which, in turn, contributes to re-victimizing and marginalizing the victims (Delgado Barón 2011). This is also one of the main challenges for truth commissions, often an integral part in transitional justice processes to identify the victims, the perpetrators, and the dimension of damage. In the Colombian case, its truth commission was established in compliance with the 2016 peace agreement between the Colombian government and FARC.

Priscilla Hayner (2011, 11) describes the functions of truth commissions as to “address the past in order to change policies, practices, and even relationships in the future, and to do so in a manner that respects and honors those who were affected by the abuses”. She underlines

five fundamental characteristics of truth commissions: (i) they focus on past human rights abuses, (ii) they do not focus on single events but rather on systematic abuse, (iii) they engage the affected population directly, (iv) they are impermanent (ideally producing a report when ending), and (v) they are official state bodies (Hayner 2011, 11–12). However, as not every specialist agrees with this definition, the number of truth commissions worldwide ranges from the low twenties to the mid-seventies, according to different researchers. In order to overcome this problem, Brahm (2009, 2) defines truth commissions as “temporary bodies that are officially established to investigate a pattern of human rights abuses that occurred in a country’s past”. The Colombian truth commission established as a result of the peace agreement between FARC and the Colombian government fits Brahm’s (2009) and Hayner’s (2011) definition. At the time of writing, this commission had recently been established. In accordance with the 2016 peace agreement, its mandate includes the investigation of human rights violations against LGBTI persons (Colombian Government and FARC-EP 2016).

For Brahm, truth commissions investigate human rights violations. However, they do not investigate all human rights violations. They usually focus on gross or severe atrocities or repression. While Payne et al. consider that truth commissions may investigate individual cases of human rights violations, such commissions tend to focus on patterns of human rights violations that took place over various years (Brahm 2009, 9). Their essential tasks are: investigating, reporting, and making recommendations, according to Freeman’s typology (Freeman cited in Brahm 2009, 12). Thus, truth commissions are not the same as investigative commissions, which are

event-specific, thematic, institutional, and socio-historical in orientation. Event-specific investigations examine a concentrated episode of human rights violations. Thematic commissions focus on the analysis of public policy. Institutional investigations [...] examine events within a particular institution. Socio- historical investigations address historical wrongs, which may have occurred in the distant past, a generation or more prior (Brahm 2009, 17).

As already mentioned, in addition to truth commissions, processes of transitional justice typically include reparations, institutional reforms, and acts of commemoration. In the same way as we conceive of truth commissions as officially sanctioned by the state, this research focuses on reparations, institutional reforms and acts of commemoration implemented by the state and/or major national actors. Thus, while cognizant of the international nature of Phase

III transitional justice, this research emphasizes the tactics and scopes of influence of national actors (working alongside or as part of a transnational advocacy network) pushing for LGBT rights in a context of internal armed conflict and ongoing peace process.

1.2.3 Theorizing Transnational Advocacy Networks

The concept of transnational advocacy networks was introduced by Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink in their well-known 1998 book, *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Transnational advocacy networks intend to make sense of the diffuse and ever-growing relations that take place among actors in the local, national, and international spheres. Indeed,

[a]cross a variety of subfields and research programs in comparative politics and international relations (IR), it has become a truism to argue that the external and the internal, the global and the local, the state and non-state actors are inextricably linked. The theoretical challenge – for scholars in general and scholars of civil war in particular – is to explain the interactions across these various levels (Checkel 2014, 3–4).

For Keck and Sikkink (1998), while subfields of International Relations, such as International Political Economy and Comparative Politics, have dealt with the multiple interactions among national and international spaces, no coherent concept can adequately capture the nature and importance of actors and networks, whose main characteristic is their adherence to principled ideas. So, the authors have put forward the concept of ‘transnational advocacy networks’ and developed it in different articles and the aforementioned book. They provide a lengthy definition of transnational advocacy networks, one worth maintaining in its original presentation, considering that the concept is central to this dissertation:

[M]ore than other kinds of transnational networks, advocacy networks often reach beyond policy change to advocate and instigate changes in the institutional and principled bases of international inter-actions. When they succeed, they are an important part of an explanation for changes in world politics. A trans-national advocacy network includes those actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services. Such networks are most prevalent in issue areas characterized by high value content and informational uncertainty, although the value-content of an issue is both a prerequisite and a result of network activity. At the core of the relationship is information exchange. What is novel in these networks is the ability of non-traditional international actors to mobilize information strategically to help create new issues and categories, and to persuade, pressurize, and gain leverage over much more powerful organizations and governments. Activists in networks try not only to influence policy outcomes, but to transform the terms and nature of the debate. They are not always successful

in their efforts, but they are increasingly important players in policy debates at the regional and international level (Keck and Sikkink 1999, 89).

The concept of transnational advocacy networks is guided by constructivist thought regarding the mutual constitution of ideas and institutions. It also draws on the premise of an international society – which Hedley Bull (1995, 4) defines as requiring basic values, such as: “the protection of life and physical integrity, honouring agreements and a reasonable congruence on property relations” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 60) –, rather than an anarchical world politics arena. Nonetheless, the way in which the authors apprehend the world is self-defined as being closer to another term advanced by Bull, ‘neomedievalism’, which implies that actors and authorities embrace multiple loyalties and establish several alliances, besides the more classical loyalty to their respective states (Keck and Sikkink 1999). The loyalties and alliances that actors experience or are part of can be national as well as international. Here is where the transnational component of such advocacy networks is relevant.

Checkel (2014, 12), distinguishes three waves of transnational politics studies. The first wave of research maintained the centrality of the state as a privileged actor in transnational activism. The second wave focused on analysing the conditions under which transnationalism mattered, while the final wave disaggregated the key assumptions about the concept and characteristics of transnationalism. Keohane and Nye (1972) represent the first wave, while Risse-Kappen (1995), Evangelista (1999), Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) are part of the second wave. The third wave is dissimilar as researchers who adhere to this approach are interested in dismantling key assumptions about transnational advocacy networks. Hence, the first two waves dealt with the conditions for transnational advocacy networks to be effective, and assumed the centrality of the state, preferred target of transnational advocacy networks’ actions. On the other hand, the third wave “sees transnational actors as highly strategic and calculating as well” (Colley and Ron 2002; della Porta and Tarrow 2004; Bob 2005 cited in Checkel 2014, 12).

The state has played a key role in this field of research, and especially so in human rights, since upholding them and establishing processes of transitional justice are its direct responsibilities. However, other actors have played a role too in pushing for LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice. Thus, in this thesis I am theoretically inspired by the objectives set out by authors belonging to the second and third

waves, wishing to explore assumptions about the roles of national actors in transnational advocacy networks as well as on the process that made it so that transnational advocacy networks would attain diverse levels of success.

In this thesis, I follow Keck and Sikkink, considering transnational advocacy networks as networks comprised of actors (at the local, national, and international levels) who have common aims, share strategic information with one another, and disseminate it in order to achieve such aims. Further, the authors explain that a network is a “type of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal modes of communication” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 26), which is central to spreading useful information rapidly. Powell claims that “networks are more agile than hierarchies and are particularly adapted for the circumstances where there is the need of efficacious and reliable information’ [...and...] ‘for the exchange of products with a value that is not easily measurable” (Powell cited in Keck and Sikkink 1998, 26). According to these authors, such horizontality – in the ways in which formal and informal communication is maintained – is central to the capacity of a network to deliver information, services, and products of indeterminate value in an effective manner.

The issues and topics covered by transnational advocacy networks in their campaigns are said to have “high value content and uncertain information”(Keck and Sikkink 1998, 18). This is why the authors mention that current transnational advocacy networks have been especially active in issues surrounding human rights, women rights, and environmental rights. Further, according to Moog Rodrigues (2005, 6), “network members exhibit intellectual and emotional commitment to the issues at stake and share knowledge about them”. Their advocacy relies on the fact that the diverse groups of actors that participate in such networks (representatives of international, regional and non-governmental organizations, social movements, private foundations, religious institutions, intellectuals and researchers, advocacy organizations, mass media, the executive and/ or legislative branches of governments, among others) share principled ideas and advocate for the causes of others beyond ‘rational choice’ considerations, based on individual self-interests (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 20). In the Colombian case, intergovernmental organizations, local and national non-governmental organizations, and international nongovernmental organizations have interacted to push for recognizing a specific space for LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict in the overall

process of transitional justice. This is why we can speak of the role of actors in transnational advocacy networks advocating for the rights of LGBTI victims in Colombia.

The beliefs, actions and intentions shared by members differentiate such networks from instrumental networks, such as those comprised of transnational corporations and banks, whose members are interested in accumulating economic resources. Likewise, members of networks based on cause and effect are comprised of epistemic communities with technical expertise and aim at convincing decision makers of adopting certain public policies in their field of expertise. By contrast, transnational advocacy networks are those in which actors are guided by values, and whose main strategies are interpreting and using relevant information to advance their causes (Keck and Sikkink 1999).

Keck and Sikkink (1998, 31) explain that it is more likely that transnational advocacy networks develop as: 1) the channels of communication between governments and their citizens are blocked or inefficient, 2) activists or political actors believe that working within a network will contribute to their missions and campaigns, and/or 3) there are international conferences and spaces where networks can be established and developed.

The authors assign each one of these scenarios with models of influence. The first one is associated with a boomerang pattern of influence. It involves a state with inefficient channels of communication that does not effectively respond to civil society demands. Thus, local/national civil society organizations contact international partners (members of a transnational advocacy network) who then influence their respective governments to pressure the 'ineffective' state. A variant of this model includes transnational advocacy networks also pushing intergovernmental organizations to pressure the 'ineffective' state to listen to the local/national demands from civil society organizations (Hamberg 2013, 8; Keck and Sikkink 1998, 31). The boomerang pattern of influence presupposes the existence of, and coordination between, national/ local and international organizations/ actors/ agents. In the context of the proposed study, the Colombian armed conflict has lasted over five decades and channels of communication between the Colombian government and many local grassroots groups have been either ineffective or inefficient. The 2012-2016 peace negotiations between FARC and the Colombian government could be signs of the opening of channels of communication between some social sectors and the state and hold the promise of better

prospects for upholding the rights of LGBTI people. However, this is only a recent development, which could be considered as a result of the influence of transnational advocacy networks on the Colombian state through a “boomerang effect”.

The second scenario places a stronger emphasis on political activists/ entrepreneurs with the wherewithal and know how on organizing national and international campaigns. These individuals deem it relevant to work within a network in order to advance missions and campaigns. Keeping the Colombian case in mind, it is telling that the directors of national/ local civil society organizations, such as Caribe Afirmativo and Colombia Diversa, were included in the peace negotiations as representatives of LGBTI victims. It is also relevant to point out that Colombia Diversa’s head and founder, Virgilio Barco, is the son of the homonymous former Colombian President who ruled the country from 1986 to 1990. Thus, the second scenario put forward by Keck and Sikkink (1998) appears to also be congruent with this case study as the political capital, material, logistic, economic and social capabilities of these actors who are part of an emerging LGBTI transnational advocacy network indicated that such actors have had the possibility and/ or knowledge to influence public policy and national discourses on LGBTI matters. Further, their participation in the peace negotiations served as a way of acknowledging the expertise of civil society organizations in the specific matter at hand, having the possibility to frame and construct categories, such as LGBTI, victimhood, sexual orientation, gender identity, among others, in the process of transitional justice.

The third scenario implies the existence of international spaces where networks can be created and strengthened. They are dissimilar, from epistemic communities dealing with a specific environmental issue, to international meetings of labour unions, academic and professional gatherings. In the case under study, there are multiple international spaces to exchange information, create networks and strengthen them to advance LGBTI causes. These include United Nations formal bodies and activities associated with the organization, as well as regional bodies of human rights, such as the Inter-American System of Human Rights. Such spaces have been used for debates on LGBTI issues, network creation and human rights strengthening and contributed to the emergence of a network.

As has been discussed in this chapter, I adapt concepts from this meso-level theory to answer my research question: how have national members of transnational advocacy networks

contributed to the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016)? As, while ‘tactics of influence’ and ‘levels of effectiveness’ are thought of as categories to analyse transnational advocacy networks, I adopt these categories to focus specifically on exploring the role of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights. I do so, since through preliminary research as well as in-depth semi structured interviews of relevant actors in situ, I learned that national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights had been central so that LGBTI rights be expanded in the 2006-2016 decade in Colombia, in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice. The upcoming methodological chapter will delve into the epistemological and ontological considerations, as well as, of course, the methodological approaches to have carried this research out.

Conclusions

The concept of transnational advocacy networks, originally developed by Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998), intends to make sense of the various interactions among local, national, international and transnational actors that have an influence in international or national politics. This concept has many advantages in relation to aiding researchers understand the ways in which an issue gains prominence as a result of such interactions. It is particularly helpful in our case study given the involvement of international actors alongside national actors in the process by which LGBTI populations have been recognized by the Colombian government as victims of the internal armed conflict due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Transnational advocacy networks include grassroots groups, NGOs, social movements, political parties, state officials, civil society alongside international actors, such as international and regional intergovernmental organizations.

The concept of transnational advocacy networks is also well suited to investigate this case because it is mostly used on issues where high value content exists. Originally, transnational advocacy networks have been characterized as social configurations where actors participate in voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal relations, pushing for a common goal. However, the most recent literature on the concept has been more skeptic about it, calling attention to the inevitability of power relations wherever they are (inside the network, among its constituents), and with regards to the network vis-à-vis other networks and other actors.

A significant feature of transnational advocacy network is its elasticity in terms of the actors involved. This is helpful so that the specific actions by national actors in the network can be highlighted. Further, as explained in the introduction, since most of the interviewees identified their advocacy work as part of transnational advocacy networks, it aided the research follow the path of the aforementioned theory.

In addition to using the concept of transnational advocacy networks, I use an ontological approach, where social reality is thought of as being composed of multiple levels. The epistemological approach, however, leads me to adhere to the deliberative school of human rights, considering them as socially and historically constructed. Further, this constructivist lens requires a detailed analysis of the place/environment and circumstances in which a process takes place. In the empirical chapters of this thesis, I therefore conduct the analysis of the process by which national NGOs specializing in LGBTI rights in Colombia have advanced LGBTI rights within their particular context of armed conflict and the nascent process of transitional justice.

Chapter 2

Methodological Framework

[There is a] “need to ‘de-center’ gay politics when looking at the experiences outside of the developed West. The point is not to show how the local is trumping the global but rather to get a broader understanding of the historical factors at work in the emergence of gay rights movements, together with a deeper perspective on how different social and political environments are shaping divergent outcomes with respect to the embrace of gay rights in the developing South”

– Encarnación (2013, 715).

The choice of this case was motivated by at least two main reasons. First, the longest internal armed conflict in the Americas was about to come to an official end. Effectively, during the research process the Colombian government and FARC reached an agreement (in 2016). Meanwhile, the legislative branch had adopted the Victims and Land Restitution Law (*Ley de Víctimas y Restitución de Tierras*) in 2011 and a Juridical Framework for Peace (*Marco Jurídico para la Paz*) in 2012. This was therefore a propitious time to study transitional justice in Colombia. Second, the 2012-2016 dialogs between the Colombian government and FARC were the first ones, to my knowledge, to put such an emphasis on victims; and, the agreement on victims was the first one worldwide to specifically address violations of human rights against LGBTI populations.

This chapter is subdivided into three sections. The first one provides a justification and explanation of the ontological, epistemological, and methodological aspects surrounding the research process. The second section elucidates on the levels of effectiveness and tactics of influence of transnational advocacy networks. The third and last section provides the main hypotheses of this thesis, congruence tests/ subsidiary hypotheses, and summary tables about my research design.

In Chapter III, I will begin by discussing the efforts undertaken by national actors to promote the emergence of LGBTI rights in Colombia. Chapter IV will be about the role of these actors in changing discourses on the nature of the debate and including LGBTI rights in the national human rights agenda. Chapter V will tackle the behavioural changes, and the changes in policy and procedures promoted by these national actors. The tactics studied in Chapter V are less prominent than those mentioned in Chapters III and IV because they are linked to much

more institutional and legal processes of influence. As explained in the previous chapters, these tactics have been explored in more detail in other studies, especially in light of the prevalence of realist theories in the field of political science and international relations. However, in the present study, while I do examine such tactics, I find that information and symbolic politics have played a more significant role, given that they are much more related to the initial levels of effectiveness: ‘eventual’ and ‘actual’ according to critical realism. The highest rate of effectiveness of actors in these levels of social reality is congruent with their tactics of influence, which in the cases of accountability and leverage politics would mean deeper changes in the ‘real’ level of social reality. As this does not intend to be a legalistic study, it privileges exploring changes in the nature of the debate and discourses around expanding LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice process (2006-2016).

2.1 Research design

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the theory of transnational advocacy networks follows a constructivist premise, where the interests and identities of States are subject to change because of the influence of a diversity of actors, who, in turn, have their interests and identities influenced by States and other actors. This is the reason why the techniques to compile data in order to answer my research question- how have national members of transnational advocacy networks contributed to the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016)?- included: (i) in-depth semi-structured interviews with key actors, (ii) participant observation, and (iii) the collection of State documents and a review of articles on the topic under study in mass media. These techniques enabled me to gather data on areas in which one would expect to find evidence of LGBTI rights expansion during the 2006-2016 decade, that is, in: (i) civil society activism, (ii) public debates, (iii) State documents of national and local range.

Data processing and analysis occurred through process tracing, and document analysis. In this research, I recognize the actors’ capacity for change in terms of identities and interests, including States. I also believe that it is necessary to delineate the fields in which the actions of actors in transnational advocacy networks have had repercussions. Thus, for data analysis, I use the closely related theoretical approach of critical realism, instead of constructivism, as

the levels of effectiveness theorized by transnational advocacy networks can be easily linked to the theorized levels of ontological knowledge explained in critical realism: ‘the eventual, the actual, and the real’. Hence, issue emergence can be considered within the level of ‘the eventual’. Influencing discourses and shaping the human rights agenda can be considered as part of ‘the actual’ level. Meanwhile, the last level, ‘the real’, deals with behavioural changes and effects on State procedures and policies regarding LGBTI rights.

A logic of retroduction is central to the process tracing method since, from an epistemological point of view, when defining this case study, I knew from preliminary research that LGBTI rights had advanced in Colombia during the 2006-2016 decade. I therefore inferred that this ought to be the result of a process or various processes. I also knew that the middle-range theory of transnational advocacy networks sought to explain how value-charged issues in global politics, such as themes related to human rights or the environment, are socialized and adopted in various contexts (local, national, regional, and global).

These networks are said to be composed of a diversity of members (actors), who perform in different environments and have a complex set of capabilities to exercise influence. In this research, I focus on the actions carried out by national NGOs in the country, as they are central actors in the expansion of LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice. Hence, what this research does is process tracing the actions of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights (categorized within the tactics of influence of transnational advocacy networks) to three levels of effectiveness of the same theory, which coincide more or less with the three levels of effect on social reality that are theorized by critical realism.

I also set out to re-categorize the actions undertaken by national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights as wide-ranging actions influencing multiple levels of effectiveness. I do so by considering that ultimately this research seeks to explain whether the theorized process of advancements of human rights is similar in this crucial case of expanding LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice. Additionally, from a deductive perspective, in terms of methods, my research applies categories that henceforth had been used to analyze the role of networks in order to examine

the actions undertaken by some members of such networks, that is, the national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights in Colombia.

According to Robert K. Yin (2006), there are two main reasons why a case study can be used. The first one is “when your research addresses either a descriptive question (what happened?) or an explanatory question (how or why did something happened?” (Yin 2006, 111). The second one is when “you may want to illuminate a particular situation, to get a close (i.e. in-depth: and first-hand) understanding of it. The case study method helps you to make direct observations and collect data on natural settings” (Yin 2006, 111). The present case study was selected for these two reasons.

Case studies may differ in relation to the extent to which they draw on existing theory. In the proposed study, I conduct a theory-guided case study, which does not follow a “total history” or inductive methodology, where “everything is connected to everything else and which consequently aims to explain all aspects of a case and their interconnections” (Levy 2008, 4). This perspective “cannot decide to leave out any aspect of human history a priori” (Hobsbawm 2007, 109). Thus, at its core, it intends not to choose specific categories of analysis, but rather to provide a deep description of the studied event. A more appropriate perspective for my case study is explained by Jack S. Levy (2008, 4), who considers that “unlike inductive case studies, [theory-guided case studies] are explicitly structured by a well-developed conceptual framework that focuses attention on some theoretically specified aspects of reality and neglects others”. In this thesis the framework adopted relies mainly on the theory developed by Keck, Sikkink and other scholars on transnational advocacy networks.

To collect data, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews in Spanish with diverse groups of actors (see two sample transcriptions of interviews in Appendices C and D). I also collected formal and informal documents that offer data on the role of transnational advocacy networks in advancing LGBTI issues in transitional justice in Colombia. Additionally, I used printed mass media to crosscheck information, for instance to corroborate whether actions by transnational advocacy networks to advance LGBTI issues in transitional justice in Colombia did take place and gained visibility in the print media.

I provided all interviewees with an ‘information sheet’ (appendix A) and a ‘consent and fair use’ form (appendix B), which describes the objective of this research and warrants the confidentiality of the information collected. Interviewees were entitled to remain anonymous if they wished to. By interviewing and collecting primary information from multiple sources, including from those actors who have been directly involved in pushing for the inclusion of LGBTI issues in transitional justice in Colombia, I was able to take into consideration a myriad of views regarding transitional justice in Colombia for LGBTI individuals, conscious of the fact that each actor had her/his own approach to the issue under study. Such a diversity of voices enabled me to triangulate data and get a more accurate representation of the process by which transnational advocacy networks advanced LGBTI issues in transitional justice in Colombia. This contributed to the validity of my findings.

Numerically speaking, I conducted more interviews with members of civil society organizations, activists, and academic experts than with civil servants and representatives of political parties or international organizations (see the full list of my interviewees, including their coding and the sector to which they belong, in Appendix E). I did so since my research had an emancipatory purpose. Thus, it was necessary to provide ample narrative space for those groups who had less objective material access to their truths being told in an academic setting vis-à-vis other groups, such as civil servants and representatives of political parties or international organizations, whose experiences are often shared widely and were better equipped to influence policy making.

The number of interviews, their timing, and the actors that I had access to were not set in stone. Using a snowball sampling method, I identified potential additional interviewees after each interview. It consisted of getting referrals from each source, so that I could get access to more actors (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). These referred actors provided me with new contacts and so on. This proceeding had two advantages: it increased the number of interviewees, and, as I obtained their information/contact through people with whom they were acquainted, the referred actors often felt more confident to provide data to me. Approaching some interviewees without any referral would likely have been more difficult. Nevertheless, as my methodological approach privileged learning about this process from the point of view of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights, other sources in more macro and micro contexts were not taken into consideration, such as community-based NGOs

specialized in LGBTI rights, and/or transnational or international NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights.

The interviews conducted with members of these national NGOs specializing in LGBTI rights as well as with other actors had several objectives:

- 1) Identifying actors who were part of the transnational advocacy networks that advanced transitional justice in Colombia for LGBTI individuals between 2006 and 2016;
- 2) Collecting contact information on LGBTI activists, and other relevant actors, as part of the snowball sampling process;
- 3) Obtaining official information (e.g. formal state documents, laws, and recommendations) and unofficial information (e.g. informal documents, agendas, minutes from meetings, etc.) on the issues under study;
- 4) Finding information on the scopes and tactics of influence utilized by different actors to advance transitional justice for LGBTI individuals in Colombia;
- 5) Learning about significant events that affected activists' participation, their tactics, and those of other actors;
- 6) Assessing the frequency of contact between members of the network.

As for ethical considerations, the first one is that sexual orientation and gender identity themes may be uncomfortable for certain actors, which made my research challenging. This is why I conducted interviews with victims, their relatives and state actors with caution and sensitivity because collecting data on the influence of national NGOs working along transnational advocacy networks to advance LGBTI rights, in a context of internal armed conflict and process of emergent transitional justice, indirectly touched upon human rights violations against individuals and had potential re-victimizing effects. I did my best to avoid such negative effects, as I did not wish to make actors relive the atrocities that they witnessed or experienced, but rather shed light on their agency to gain visibility.

Conducting fieldwork was necessary for my research. While not all the interviews needed to be conducted on site, it was unlikely that I would have been able to interview all the actors I intended to unless I traveled to Colombia. Additionally, some of the written sources were not available online. Thus, my presence in the field for two months was essential.

Economic and time considerations were considered to plan fieldwork. I identified and contacted possible interviewees in advance. I funded my fieldwork with my own savings, those of my family and loans. My fieldwork took place in Bogotá, where the National Center for Historical Memory, the headquarters of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia, Colombia Diversa, state institutions, and major Colombian universities are located. I also conducted research in Barranquilla, where Corporación Caribe Afirmativo headquarters are located, and in Cali, Santamaría Fundación's home. One advantage of conducting research in Colombia was that its proximity to Ecuador made the costs of transportation relatively low.

The research process was circular as data compilation and analysis were conducted almost simultaneously. This strategy was effective since according to Yin (2006, 112), “you want that analysis to happen quickly, so that you can modify your data collection plans while still on the field – either by re-interviewing the earlier person or by seeking to find a third source to resolve the conflict” of dissimilar information gathered from interviewees. This was a challenging endeavour because, in order to corroborate information, sometimes I needed to ask questions whose answers I believed that I already knew, paying special attention not to influence my interviewees to answer according to what I had previously heard.

Further, considering that “constructivism does not limit itself to keeping in mind the processes that are implemented in the social order, but also evaluates the norms by which the actual processes are developed” (Frasson-Quenoz 2014, 223), I used both a sociological method and a critical realist methodology. Thus, my research was at the intersection between what Checkel deems as conventional and interpretative constructivism. According to Frasson-Quenoz (2014, 224), for Checkel the first one is focused on “the role of norms, and identity as a shaper of world politics [...] It prioritizes a qualitative method and process tracing in case studies. Sikkink, Barnett, Finnemore, and Wendt are some of the most representative authors of this group”. Referring to the interpretative aspect of constructivism, Frasson-Quenoz also indicates that Checkel considers that scholars,

in the process of tracking social construction, place emphasis on finding the conditions that permitted the occurrence of the phenomenon they observe, and instead of asking why? they ask how? [...] preferred methods are discourse analysis, textual analysis and narrative analysis. Hopf and Onuf are prominent representatives of this group (2014, 224).

I conducted process-tracing and document analysis. Once I collected the data through semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and formal and informal documents (facilitated by my interviewees and obtained through other means), I conducted a process-tracing analysis, aided by Atlas.ti software. Their combination enabled me to get a sense of network members, the most significant actors (depending on the frequency of contact with other members and their involvement in actions to advance the rights of LGBTI victims), as well as the flux of information. Further, this analysis allowed me to connect the outcomes of the actions undertaken by the national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights, working with a transnational advocacy network partnership, to advance the rights of LGBTI victims of internal armed conflict in a framework of a nascent transitional justice process. I complemented this process with content analysis.

The quantity of actors, as well as the four tactics, four scopes of influence, three internal factors, and three external factors (see Chapter I) that are considered in this dissertation guided by the concept of transnational advocacy networks and ontological approach of critical realism, speak well to the complexity of the concept. Further, it goes hand in hand with a theory-guided methodology to perform process-tracing and document analysis on the single case study of this dissertation. In fact, in theory-guided process-tracing (TGPT)

the researcher has to provide ‘theoretically explicit narratives that carefully trace and compare the sequences of events constituting the process’ of interest. Narratives, [Aminzade] writes (1993, 108), ‘allow us to capture the unfolding of social action over time in a manner that is sensitive to the order in which events occur’ (Falletti 2006, 2).

I seek to do so throughout this thesis, aided by the theoretical framework outlined in the preceding chapter (Chapter I), for the tactics used by actors in the network are arranged chronologically within each scope of influence/chapter.

From a constructivist perspective, political opportunity structures and challenges are constructed as such by actors. Thus, during the analysis of data, I placed a strong emphasis on what actors in transnational advocacy networks constructed as significant events. Further, my research attempted to examine how actors responded to changes in internal or external factors that actors considered to be relevant. At the same time, a critical realist approach to social reality emphasizes the different mechanisms and dimensions existing so that change may take place and be theoretically analyzed in social settings.

Falleti (2006, 5) explains that “in its different variants, the method of TGPT explains the outcomes of interests by going back in time and identifying the key events, processes, or decisions that link the hypothesized cause or causes with the outcomes”. Key events included the approval of legal documents, such as the different laws dealing directly with transitional justice (i.e. the 2005 Peace and Justice Law, the 2011 Victims and Land Restitution Law, and the 2012 Peace Framework Law), as well as peace negotiations with the guerrillas. These events may be significant enough to have affected transnational advocacy networks actors’ perceptions of their structural political opportunities to advance transitional justice. This thesis therefore emphasizes the events constructed as particularly relevant by actors in transnational advocacy networks in order to advance the recognition of violations to the rights of LGBTI persons through transitional justice.

In this chapter, I have sought to address the main categories of analysis of the concept of transnational advocacy networks: scopes and tactics of influence. Besides, a section presents more empirical considerations of data collecting and analysis. At last, this chapter makes explicit the hypotheses derived from the exposed theoretical and methodological conceptualizations, which aid answer the main research question: How have national activists of transnational advocacy networks contributed to the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice in Colombia (2006-2016)? A summary table describing the considered activities in this research is provided following the hypotheses. For more detail about the methodological approach used during fieldwork for this thesis in Colombia, especially the iterative aspect of data analysis and compilation, see the note from the field, revised after submission to the *International Journal of Peace and Transitional Justice* in 2017, in Appendix G.

2.2 Levels of effectiveness of Transnational Advocacy Networks

After having discussed transitional justice, its components, and characteristics in the previous chapter, I now delve more specifically into the targets and scope of influence of transnational advocacy networks. According to Keck and Sikkink (1998), transnational advocacy networks can exert influence in various aspects, which I divide into three categories: (1) framing the issue; (2) shaping discourses and agendas; (3) influencing behavioural changes of relevant actors, institutional procedures and policies. While not all authors, e.g. (Joachim 2003; Moog Rodrigues 2005; de la Torre 2006) use such typology, I employ it in this thesis because it is

the most comprehensive one, allowing me to create a periodicity of sorts regarding the scopes of influence in the proposed case study, as well as to link it to the three levels of social reality of critical realism.

2.2.1 Framing the Issue

Social actors mould norms, information, facts, events, etc. Framing the issue calls attention to the social construction of reality, the importance of language, interpretations, and knowledge production. For instance, as Betsill and Bulkeley (2004, 6 citing Liftin 1994, 6) argue in the case of the international ozone negotiations, “knowledge was not simply a body of concrete and objective facts [...] accepted knowledge was deeply implicated in questions of framing and interpretation [...] related to perceived interest” of actors. This self-reflective, subjective, value-charged nature of the production of knowledge is one of the salient characteristics of transnational advocacy networks that distinguishes it from epistemic communities, since the latter places great importance on the ‘academic and scientific rationality’ of expert members without much discussion on the social construction of norms, information, facts, events, or even their values, identities, and interests.

As Joachim (2003, 269) indicates, “the concept of framing draws attention to the fact that power results not only from military and economic resources as Realists assume, but also, as constructivists approaches suggest, from the power to (re-) define and (de-) legitimize”. In other words, power is not only (or perhaps even mostly) reflected in tangible, material, and so-called ‘objective’ conditions, such as the military strength of the Colombian government, the number of belligerent forces that are part of FARC, or even the economic wherewithal of NGOs and other actors involved in processes of transitional justice. Power can also be found in the capacity to define and legitimize several problems.

For domestic actors, framing is key. In fact, Tarrow (2001, 14) argues that: “the influence of TANs [...] encourages domestic groups to adapt their norms, model their behaviors, and frame their own claims around issues that are domesticated from international politics (Jacobson 2000: 156)”. Ayoub (2015, 295) continues this idea explaining that national NGOs “[n]ot only [...] help states and society, more broadly, to interpret external information, but they also help to frame that information in ways that resonate in local contexts”.

2.2.2 Shaping Discourses and Agenda

One of the main goals of transnational advocacy networks is influencing the discourse of relevant actors in decision-making positions. The literature has dealt with influencing actors in multiple areas. For instance, Carpenter (2005) considers that networks use two kinds of advocacy to transform norms and discourses: “*norm advocacy*, in which advocates ‘teach’ [...] political actors how they should behave (Finnemore 1996; Thomas 2001), and *issue advocacy*, in which advocates use evidence of norms violations to incite others to join their cause” (Carpenter 2005, 300).

Additionally, actors in transnational advocacy networks use *issue alignment*, that is, thanks to being in contact with other networks, actors learn about successful experiences of advocacy and align their frames respectively. These three processes are related and aim at influencing discourse about a certain issue nationally and internationally (Carpenter 2005, 300).

Transnational advocacy networks in Latin America have gained prominence against the dire backdrop of dictatorships in the Southern Cone and internal armed conflicts in Central American countries. Currently, they constantly exchange information on human rights issues. So, Colombian actors benefitted from others’ experiences, incorporating such lessons in the current process of transitional justice.

The work of regional human rights organizations, such as the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights, also likely had an impact in norm and issue advocacy, contributing to a change of perception and discourse in Latin America. For instance, on December 7, 2015, it published a report entitled Violence against LGBTI Persons. Financial support for its drafting and publication was provided by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), the Arcus Foundation, and the governments of Chile, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

States often change their discourses about human rights as a result of the internalization of international norms, a process that “has been referred to as a ‘norm cascade’” (Finnemore and Sikkink; Risse, Roppe, and Sikkink, cited in True and Mintrom 2001, 43). This diffusion of norms through communication among states who push for institution or norm creation is not always straight-forward. It “involves arguing, shaming, persuasion, learning and similar methods of social influence” (Risse 2000; Checkel 2001; Johnston 2001; Schimmelfennig

2001, cited in Hawkins 2004, 783). In other words, states can exercise positive and negative reinforcement mechanisms that can influence the discourse on human rights in other countries.

Non-state and intergovernmental actors can be influential too in diffusing norms. For instance, according to True and Mintrom (2001, 27), “transnational networks composed largely of non-state actors (notably women’s international nongovernmental organizations and the United Nations) have been the primary forces driving the diffusion of gender mainstreaming”. The mainstreaming of gender in states’ discourse and at the United Nations became prominent at the end of the 21st century as a result of the efforts of a network of actors who managed to frame a problem (the inequalities that women faced in society in general and that were exacerbated in situations of conflict) (Carpenter 2005, 310). In the Colombian case there is evidence that the discourse regarding LGBTI victims has changed during the period under study. One example is the report *Aniquilar la Diferencia* published by the National Center for Historical Memory in 2015, which focuses on the human rights violations experienced by LGBTI populations due to prejudice based on sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

For Joachim (2003, 268), civil society actors in transnational advocacy networks “engage in strategic framing processes to set the agenda in three stages: the definition of problems, the development of solutions or policies, and politicization”. This progression of actions cannot be seen as apolitical, objective or uninterested. As Sell and Prakash (2004, 168) describe, “ideas and normative frames cannot be examined without specifying whose interests they serve”. Or, as Carpenter (2005, 297) claims, “actors manipulate norms in their own strategic interests (Barnett 1999, 7; Joachim 2003, 249)”.

Setting the agenda involves identifying a problem and defining it as an issue. According to Carpenter (2005, 311) “This usually involves changing the intersubjective perceptions of target publics” framing the problem at hand, ensuring that it fits within the symbolic and normative previous frames used by the targeted group, and propagating information. This process does consist of excluding certain frames that may be thought of as less useful vis-à-vis attaining desired objectives. Hence, as Sell and Prakash (2004, 164) argue, “agenda setting [...] debunk[s] competing arguments”.

Agenda setting in international organizations can be divided into three phases: (1) the *problem stream* in which unacceptable situations are identified; (2) the *policy stream*, which contains solutions generated not necessarily in response to a particular problem; and (3) the *politics stream* carrying motivations and justifications for political action” (Joachim 2003, 250). Transnational advocacy networks usually participate in all of these phases, at various times and with various degrees of intensity. In fact, True and Mintrom (2001, 28) emphasize multi-level interactions among “international organizations and governmental and nongovernmental actors in raising awareness, for example, of structural injustices” as central to the success of agenda setting.

For some authors, the setting of the agenda tends to be somewhat ‘natural’ or, in any case, difficult to pinpoint (e.g. True and Mintrom 2001, 43). However, for other authors, a ‘naturalist’ notion of agenda setting may obscure the power relations and negotiation that takes place so that actors in transnational advocacy networks adopt a problem, make it an issue, which then becomes part of the agenda, and eventually launch a campaign (Carpenter 2007). For instance, for Livingston (cited in Joachim 2003, 250), “agenda-setting in organizations such as the UN can be a tool for securing and extending power, because political skill and persuasion are as important as material resources”. Additionally, while disagreeing on the ‘naturalness’ of the bandwagon effect, actors generally agree that agenda setting does not take place in isolation. It may coincide with key events that draw attention to the respective problem (Joachim 2003, 269). In this thesis I look at how the problem, which is human rights violations against LGBTI people during the internal armed conflict in Colombia, became an issue, which was then included in the agenda of transnational advocacy networks, and eventually gave rise to campaigns to advance LGBTI rights.

Campaigns are the culmination of the process of problem identification, issue framing and agenda setting. For Keck and Sikkink (cited by Sell and Prakash 2004, 114), campaigns “are processes of issue construction constrained by the action context in which they are carried out: activists identify a problem, specify a cause, and propose a solution, all with an eye toward producing procedural, substantive, and normative change in their area of concern.” At the time of writing, there are international campaigns for LGBTI rights throughout the world. The campaigns work on several topics, including influencing states to decriminalize

homosexuality, recognize transgender rights, and advance same-sex marriage, among others. For instance, the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA), as well as other human rights organizations, engaged in lobbying the UN Human Rights Council and member states to establish a special procedure on sexual orientation and gender identity. The campaign was successful, since on June 30, 2016, the Council created the position of independent expert to work on these issues for the very first time.¹³

2.3.3 Prompting Behavioural Changes of Relevant Actors, Procedures and Policies

Transnational advocacy networks can foster behavioural change, procedures, and policies in various regards. In order to prompt changes in governments and belligerent forces, some authors argue that economic, political and economic incentives are more useful than the more ideational forms of positive and negative reinforcements, such as information politics, shaming, and symbolic politics (e.g. Hamberg 2013). On the other hand, Campbell (cited in Joachim 2003, 250–51) believes that “actors deliberately package and frame policy ideas to convince each other as well as the general public that certain proposals constitute acceptable solutions to pressing problems” and thereby generate changes in the behaviour of actors. Having said that, one may entertain that actors respond to more ‘objective’ factors when dealing with behavioural changes than when framing issues and establishing the agenda, shaping discourse, institutional procedures, and policy changes, where framing is decisive.

This is why most of the literature on transnational advocacy networks has emphasized material factors (for example economic and military factors, among others) as some of the most salient reasons why actors may be prompted to change their behaviours. Thus, Betsill and Bulkeley (2004, 471) indicate that “local governments most effectively engaged with the network [of Cities for the Climate Protection Program] are mobilized more by the financial and political resources it offers, and the legitimacy conferred to particular norms about climate protection, than by access to information”. Likewise, referring to Stephan Hamberg’s study of transnational advocacy networks’ influence on rebel groups’ use of child soldiers, Checkel explains that “social shaming – the most common mechanism of transnational activism – failed to induce a change in rebel group behaviour. Rather, child soldiers were

¹³ (“ILGA Supports a Call for the UN Human Rights Council to Establish a SOGI Special Procedure” 2016). Accessed June 5, 2019. <http://ilga.org/ilga-supports-call-un-human-rights-council-sogi-special-procedure/>

demobilized – including by the SPLA¹⁴ – only when the international community granted material concessions or at least promised them to rebel groups” (Hamberg cited in Checkel 2014, 14). These findings provide useful references to understand the inclusion of LGBTI victims in transitional justice in Colombia, where reduced sentences for perpetrators in exchange for comprehensive truth may facilitate perpetrator’s acknowledgement of human rights violations against LGBTI persons because of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

Actors in transnational advocacy networks also seek to affect institutional procedures of relevant bodies since these are the structural and normative bases that guide institutions regarding how to manage a definite issue. The creation of new institutions serves a similar purpose. In the case of transitional justice in Colombia, for instance, including LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict in the overall national registry of victims and having some of their representatives take part in the peace negotiations are visible changes in the institutional procedures of transitional justice vis- à- vis populations with diverse sexual orientations and/or gender identity. These procedures are innovative both at the national and international levels since no process of transitional justice had included the issue of LGBTI victims to this extent or elsewhere before.

True and Mintrom (2001) argue that certain conditions make it easier for transnational advocacy networks to influence institutional procedures in gender-mainstreaming. These include a higher level of democracy, a greater “amount of resources available to the national government, a higher quality of education for women, a higher percentage of women in the workforce, a wealthier state in relation to the percentage of participation in government spending as part of the entire state GDP, and higher levels of GDP per capita” (True and Mintrom 2001, 45–46). These findings can be applicable to the Colombian process of transitional justice, as similar factors may have provided political opportunity structures for activists in Colombia to achieve the recognition of LGBTI victims in key institutions, such as the National Center for Historical Memory.

Another salient example of affecting institutional procedures is provided by the women’s movement. By portraying women as ‘innocent’, ‘vulnerable’ and calling attention upon the

¹⁴ Sudan People’s Liberation Army.

immorality of bodily harm (direct violence), activists pushing for women rights have gained the sympathy and support of the international community, and have obtained “the most institutional success in recent years when they have ‘framed’ the issue [of gender violence] as one of bodily harm” (Joachim 2003 cited in Hawkins 2004, 81). This has led to changes in institutional procedures. As Keck and Sikkink (1998) argue, actors in transnational advocacy networks increase their chances of success by using frames about victimhood, innocence, vulnerability, inequality, cause and effect processes, and injustice.

Transnational advocacy networks can also influence policies at various levels: international, national, and local. For instance, actors employ symbolic contests and negotiations, where the framing of issues has an impact on the kinds of policies that can be conceived, in order to prompt structural, normative, and behavioural changes. In particular, “the struggles ‘over the naming and framing’ of a policy situation are symbolic contests over the social meaning of an issue domain, where meaning implies not only what is at issue but what is to be done” (Joachim 2003, 251). In the Colombian case, in the transitional justice period between 2006 and 2016, activists successfully implemented policy changes regarding LGBTI rights in general. Some of these policy changes at the national level are: legalizing adoption by same-sex partners, legalizing same-sex marriage, and allowing transgender individuals to have the names and gender, with which they identify in their identity cards. Additionally, at the local level, departments, such as the *Valle del Cauca*, enacted public policies to guarantee the rights of LGBTI people.

While this thesis contends that states are responsible for the wellbeing of their citizens and therefore play an essential role in upholding human rights, it not only considers how actors in transnational advocacy networks in Colombia have influenced state behaviour, but also how they have contributed to the inclusion of subaltern identities and peoples in the discourses and practices of human rights during the process of transitional justice. Specifically, I look at how transnational advocacy networks have, on the one hand, contributed to new legislation regarding the rights of LGBTI victims during the internal armed conflict and the process of transitional justice. And, on the other, I analyze how national actors within transnational advocacy networks have managed to change the nature and terms of the debate on sexual orientation and gender identity in Colombia during the internal armed conflict and transitional justice process.

2.3 Tactics of Influence

This section delves into the kinds of tactics used by actors in transnational advocacy networks in order to advance their interests. Here, I continue to pay particular attention to framing in general as the main strategy to advance actors' interests. Framing processes indeed enable the transformation of actors into agents, allowing them to make sense of the political structure of political opportunities, the structures of mobilization, and the subsequent heteronomy in order to achieve their goals.

Framing in general is strategic whatever the choice of tactic. In the process of deciding what tactic to use and the most appropriate frames to advance an issue, it is important to 'read' what the targeted audience feels more comfortable with. Effectively, "activists seek to align their frames not just with 'values presumed basic to prospective constituents' but also with 'structurally unconnected but frame-compatible sentiment pool's" (Snow et al. cited in Carpenter 2005, 316). More generally, actors in transnational advocacy networks use certain frames on purpose to increase the effectiveness of their campaigns. Such frames include identifying the issue as a matter of avoiding violence directed towards innocent actors, constructing the topic as a matter of equality, and establishing a clear cause and effect linkage between the issue at hand and the human rights violations (Keck and Sikkink 1999). Yet, this process of guessing what prospective constituents desire is not exact.

Frames that "reproduce the traditional notion that 'women and children' (but not adult men) are 'innocent' and 'vulnerable'" are particularly effective (Carpenter 2005, 296). Similarly, frames that invoke the unacceptability of bodily harm and claim a victim and innocent status are useful in human rights campaigns (Hawkins 2004, 799). In particular, "the symbolic victim must be seen as entirely lacking agency; she/he must be both unable to help herself/himself and an unequivocal non-participant in the political events from which his/her misery results" (Braumann cited in Carpenter 2005, 316). Likewise, the late inclusion of LGBTI victims in processes of transitional justice in Colombia, might have been affected by previous frames regarding what is considered 'moral', 'ethical', and 'innocent', among others.

Transnational advocacy networks also often construct the topic as a matter of equality, as this is based on a moral principle that is then institutionalized and legalized. The struggle to achieve women's suffrage, end slavery, and the anti-apartheid campaign all made use of a

call for equality to appeal to a wider audience (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 53). In the case of women's suffrage, for instance, actors in transnational advocacy networks claimed that, since equality is one of the defining aspirations/ values/ morals for which many societies strive, there was no reason women should not have been able to vote, while men were able to. All in all, an appeal to equality made these campaigns stronger (Carpenter 2005, 310; Joachim 2003, 259; True and Mintrom 2001, 41; Keck and Sikkink 1998, 224).

Transnational advocacy networks also “employ ideas strategically to frame debates, capitalize on policy crises to create political opportunities, and graft their preferred goals onto debates as solutions to pressing policy problems”(Sell and Prakash 2004, 144). Framing processes go beyond merely describing a set of events. They create meaningful and symbolic knowledge and do not appear out of nowhere. Indeed, “framing efforts by advocates draw upon pre-existing *symbolic technologies* or intersubjective systems of representations, and representation-producing practices” (Laffey and Weldes cited in Carpenter 2005, 311). For instance, they “render events or occurrences meaningful and function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective” (Snow et al.; Snow and Benford cited in Joachim 2003, 250). As Comor (cited in Sell and Prakash 2004, 157) affirms, they “help to translate information into knowledge” and then continue framing this ‘established’ knowledge to prescribe solutions and make recommendations, based upon previously established symbolic, ethical or moral bases.

So, information itself is not objective per se, but is constructed/framed, according to perceived structures of political opportunities. In this case study, as we will see in subsequent chapters, framing was used to generate a consensus on the systematic human rights violations to which LGBTI populations had been subjected during the Colombian internal armed conflict. As this thesis mentions, human rights violations were determined to be causes/effects of heteronormative, heterosexists and patriarchal structures that target individuals based on their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

Researchers, such as Joachim, indicate that the political opportunity structures have various effects on framing:

- (1) it functions as ‘gatekeeper’ (Mazey 2000), privileging certain frames and marginalizing others;
- (2) it provides a ‘tool kit’ for action by providing material and symbolic resources for

social actors (Swidler 1986); and (3) it creates ‘windows of opportunities’ for action because of its dynamic nature (Joachim 2003, 251).

It also conditions – for better or worse – the actions that can be taken by actors in transnational advocacy networks and the possibility for such networks to set a specific agenda, such as the rights of LGBTI victims in our case study. This is why it is relevant to examine the frames used (or dismissed) to advance LGBTI issues in the context of transitional justice in Colombia.

Actors establish frames that they believe will be susceptible to receive a good response from donors, state forces, the media, among other relevant actors (Carpenter 2005). For instance, NGOs that have advanced women issues use a language that “‘resonates’ with the moral language familiar to international donors, belligerents, and the media, and that is acceptable to political allies in the women’s network” (Carpenter 2005, 297). Framing processes are based on both the political opportunity structure (external to the network) and the mobilizing structure to which the network has access to (Joachim 2003, 252). Mobilizing structures, which are “those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action” (McAdam et al. 1996, 3 cited in Carpenter 2005, 311) too have an impact on transnational advocacy networks’ ability to achieve success.

While Keck and Sikkink (1998) consider framing as the main strategy of transnational advocacy networks to advance particular issues, they also identify four tactics, within an overall legal strategy, that actors in such networks employ to achieve their goals: symbolic, information, leverage, and accountability politics. I will now discuss each of these four tactics in turn, noting however, that activities often target a diverse audience, have multiple objectives, and do not take place in isolation. Actors in transnational advocacy networks often combine them to maximize their chances of success.

In other words, the different tactics are used as the main categories to guide the analysis in each chapter in order to attempt maintaining consistency in analysing advances/ actions for each stage/ area of influence. However, it should be noted that not all tactics have been used in all areas/ stages of influence, as not all have been deemed as relevant, and some tactics are likely to overlap with others. Hence, the criteria for activities to be included into one of the four tactics are mediated by a dose of subjectivity on the part of the researcher.

2.3.1 Information politics

Information politics consists of the actions used by actors in transnational advocacy networks in order to draw the attention of a specific actor or set of actors. They seek to inform about a problem, gain adepts to a cause, and frame discourse on a particular issue. Various authors argue that information politics is successful when “ideas and arguments [...] fit well or resonate with wide-spread pre-existing understandings, a condition that applies to both rhetorical action and learning” (Kratochwil; Goldstein and Keohane; Cortell and Davis; Legro; Schimmelfennig; Joachim cited in Hawkins 2004, 784). Hence, information politics requires framing discussions in ways that are acceptable for the status quo, that fit within previous frames, and that are perceived as likely to be successfully adopted by actors in the chosen venue of influence (Carpenter 2005, 316). Information politics does not only include disseminating objective facts, but also other more ideational resources, such as “knowledge, intelligence, values, vision, judgement” (Bennington and Harvey cited in Betsill and Bulkeley 2004, 479). Therefore, the initial process of defining a problem, collecting data on it, and establishing it as an issue cannot be separated from the production of frames, as the decisions taken by actors to highlight a certain topic, and the manner in which this is done is intrinsically linked to the issue itself.

Risse explains that there are two conditions for argumentative rationality to take place: “a common life world, and relative equality among the participants” (Risse cited in Hawkins 2004, 784). Thus, the process of information politics requires “rhetorical action, in which actors strategically use arguments to promote their interests (Shimmelfennig 2001), as well as complex social learning, in which actors lack well-defined interests and are thus open to new ideas and views (Checkel 2001)” (Hawkins 2004, 784). Rhetorical action and social learning assume that actors are self-interested, that communication is capable to influence state interests and values, and that collective identities and understandings are important. In particular, similar worldviews may allow actors in transnational advocacy networks to negotiate frames, agenda setting, and so on, supported by their desire to advance an issue because they share similar values, upbringing, and/or even professional affiliations.

Information politics can exponentially call attention to an issue depending on the superimposition of goals, venues, and specific mechanisms used to do so. Superimposition is the congruence of goals, “in which interest group agency points in the same direction” (Sell

and Prakash 2004, 154). Once congruence is achieved, there is frame amplification: “[It] is used to encourage action as well as to broaden the legitimacy of a frame. Activists frame an issue in such a way as to provoke a response: a check in the mail, a letter to an elected official, an interventionist force” (Carpenter 2005, 318). Then, ‘venue shopping’ refers to actors in transnational advocacy networks choosing and shifting the place, agents, and procedures involved in the policy process to better advance their interests (Schattschneider; Baumgartner and Jones cited in Sell and Prakash 2004, 154). These factors – superimposition of goals, frame amplification and venue shopping – are vital to ensure that the information politics used by actors is more effective at achieving its purpose, be that framing issues, agendas, discourse, institutional procedures, policies and/or behaviours. In the Colombian case, it is important to understand what united civil society organizations, international NGOs, state institutions, political parties, grassroots groups, and others in the pursuit of the common goal of advancing visibility of LGBTI victims in the process of transitional justice. Likewise, it is worth identifying the venues that were deemed more appropriate to advance LGBTI human rights in that context.

Carpenter (2005) and Hawkins (2004) provide excellent examples of information politics in action. The first author mentions the use of statistics by transnational advocacy networks to “affect constituents’ sense of moral urgency (values) as well as their empirical understandings of the current system (beliefs)” (Carpenter 2005, 318). Meanwhile, in his study, Hawkins analyses the convention against torture to explain that “states are likely to be persuaded by arguments that draw on widespread taken-for-granted norms, in particular, prohibitions on bodily harm, the importance of precedent in decision making, and the link between cooperation and progress” (Hawkins 2004, 779). In other words, information politics in both cases appeals to moral, ethical, and symbolic frames in order to influence actors.

2.3.2 Symbolic politics

Transnational advocacy networks have made use of symbolic politics in order to advance their interests. In particular, some scholars believe that “symbolic events can be instrumental in gaining access” (Kingdon; Keck and Sikkink cited in Joachim 2003, 251). They can “recast or challenge prevailing definitions of the situation, thus changing perceptions of costs and benefits of policies and programs and the perception of injustice of the status quo” (Zald cited in Joachim 2003, 251). Likewise, for Carpenter “‘trigger events’ such as the Abu

Ghraib scandal, in which sexual abuse of male prisoners was highlighted in the media and by the humanitarian community, might also create agenda space to deal with gender-based violence against them” (Carpenter 2005, 324). The importance of symbolic actions cannot be over-emphasized, as the massification of images, discourses and knowledge about such events can do much in order to force actors to re-frame their ideas, re-think their actions, and/or include new paradigms in their thinking and worldview.

Symbolic politics is a performance of sorts, as the theatricality of political action in itself is highlighted, in order to elicit a response from the audience. The International Encyclopaedia of communication defines it as “the strategic use of signs to meet society’s requirements of political orientation. Attention may be attracted; willingness for political action, loyalty, or protest may be shown by symbolic politics. In the process, the symbolic worth of signs is converted into political power” (Sarcinelli 2008). Thus, symbolic politics is focused on a functionalist political goal: expanding political power. In terms of how to understand it, symbolic politics is more closely related to a conjugation of meanings, rather than the reduction of all meanings to a stable and mutually intelligible one. In other words, “the symbol is capable of revealing a perspective in which diverse realities can be fitted together or even integrated into a ‘system’ (Mircea Eliade, 1965, 201-2013)” (Edelman 2013, 7).

Symbolic events do not occur in isolation but are part of a wider system/ environment/ structure that has previously framed certain issues and conditioned how problems are understood. For instance, the campaign against gender violence worldwide occurred in the context of the end of the Cold War, which “unleashed a series of events that were beneficial to women’s organizations” (Joachim 2003, 259). The power and/or influence of symbolic events may be more subtle than “objective” or material resources. However, the impact of such events can be tremendous. They may touch upon feelings, emotions, values, and morals. In other words, they go beyond human conditions that go past thought and rationality. Symbolic events must necessarily go hand in hand with mediatization. Otherwise, even if powerful imagery is used, there might not be an audience to receive the information and consequently be influenced by it. Consequently, Sell and Prakash (2004, 169) argue that “over time some NGOs have come to internalize an organizational lesson that shock tactics deliver media coverage”.

Another salient characteristic of symbolic politics is that actors in transnational advocacy networks often frame their actions as ‘neutral’. Carpenter (2005, 314) explains that: “in order to maintain [...] access [to areas under belligerent control], most humanitarian organizations rely upon a discourse of neutrality”. Such tactics can be useful for transnational advocacy networks to relate with opposite sides, such as insurgents and military forces.

The framing of women’s rights as ‘human rights’ by transnational advocacy networks is one of the most salient examples of symbolic politics (Bunch 1990). Joachim (2003) explains that such a tactic proved to be successful as the frame of human rights had already been vastly accepted worldwide:

The linkage of women’s rights and human rights was a powerful frame for mobilizing an international constituency. It resonated with people in different culture contexts: [...It] speaks to all people, cultures, and religions... and beyond these divisions there is a common understanding of what is fundamental for the dignity of people and the person (Joachim 2003, 259).

The symbolic politics used by the women’s movements has also been used by LGBTI groups, who have likewise framed LGBTI rights as ‘human rights’, as we will see in subsequent chapters.

2.3.3 Leverage Politics

While theorists of transnational advocacy networks argue that relations among members of a network are usually horizontal, they also emphasize that one of the tactics employed by such networks is to identify and make use of powerful actors in order to advance an issue. In so doing, they recognize that some actors hold positions of power, which allow them to have a certain degree of influence that is almost unattainable by less powerful actors. Hence, some researchers have explored political power as fundamental to the work of transnational advocacy networks, considering that it can be the deal breaker so that conflicts of interests are resolved within the network.

For instance, David A. Lake and Wendy Wong (2007) argue that the structure of transnational advocacy networks is not horizontal, as claimed by Sikkink and Keck (1998), because central nodes have the capacity to exercise pressure on the network and inherently on less powerful nodes within it. The authors theorize that nodes have different standings within

the network. For instance, considering that network participation is voluntary, if a node is essential, it can force other nodes to do as it pleases. Otherwise, it might threaten to leave the network. Additionally, if the network provides certain benefits to the other (less essential) nodes, it makes sense that they continue being part of it, even if pushed around by the influential node. However, they would only do so as long as the benefits are greater than the costs. So, the only limit to a node's accumulation of power is based upon one of the main characteristics of the network: its opt-in and opt-out feature. Thus, Lake and Wong explain that powerful nodes have in their best interests to strengthen the network, making it more valuable, so that members have fewer incentives to leave it (Lake and Wong 2007). So, identifying and making use of powerful actors can enable transnational advocacy networks to advance their interests in a smoother fashion.

Lake and Wong's assumptions on the nature of the relation among actors/nodes are based on a rational-choice approach and a cost-benefit analysis that is more prevalent in political science approaches than in the English School of International Studies. This is why it may overlook the possible effects of a variety of situations. For example, Lake and Wong do not seem to grant that while a dense node can have expertise on a certain issue, it might not have it on all issues. Would such circumstance weaken its positioning within the network? And, accepting that there is a leading node, can less powerful nodes reverse/alter their standing by working together, or by looking for support outside the network? Considering relative instead of absolute gains may help one think about these queries, as well as enhance our understanding of the capacity of transnational advocacy networks to push for transitional justice regarding LGBTI persons in Colombia.

The literature on transnational advocacy networks deems various actors as part of the tactics of leverage politics: influential allies in the government, in political parties, in intergovernmental organizations, mass media, and experts, among others (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink cited in Carpenter 2005, 312). For Joachim (2003, 252), "influential allies can amplify and legitimize the frames of NGOs because they possess resources that these non-state actors themselves lack, such as money, institutional privileges, or prestige". These three material and ideational resources are key for the success of transnational advocacy networks' campaigns. The combination of ideational and material resources can be extremely valuable for transnational advocacy networks.

Experts and international actors are often powerful actors. Keck and Sikkink's boomerang model of influence implies pressure from international groups to human rights violators. "This pressure takes the form of persuasion and socialization, that is, 'reasoning with opponents, but also bringing pressure, arm-twisting, encouraging sanctions, and shaming'" (Keck and Sikkink cited in Hamberg 2013, 155). International pressure increases the moral and material costs of human rights violations (Hamberg 2013, 155). Thus, positive and negative reinforcement mechanisms are used by international actors. For instance, Hamberg posits that "promises or concessions [...] as long as they increase the chances for an insurgency to achieve its goals, can significantly improve the group's expected utility without imposing many costs" (2013, 154). The duality of positive and negative reinforcements, which has also been named the 'carrot and stick' approach, is relevant for my case study since international actors in transnational advocacy networks have used both to influence the Colombian state, the FARC, and other agents involved in the process of transitional justice in Colombia.

The importance of mass media for transnational advocacy networks has been emphasized by authors such as Carpenter (2005). Indeed, the author makes it a point to indicate that "the most important political ally for the humanitarian relief community in general, and civilian protection advocates in particular, is the global media" (Carpenter 2005, 315). This is because so much of the success of humanitarian actors depends on public opinion. Indeed, "news coverage will drive donations to agencies as well as, possibly, a resolution to crises" (Carpenter 2005, 316). The mediatisation of human rights issues is also relevant for my case study. In fact, as we will see later, major Colombian human rights NGOs, and NGOs dedicated on LGBTI issues, such as Caribe Afirmativo and Colombia Diversa, have public relations departments that can actively frame issues, problems, and contribute to set the agenda for a wider audience.

While experts and other well-positioned actors participate in legitimizing a frame, there is also a need for a wider constituency, which serves three functions. It

- (1) mak[es] it more difficult for opponents to discredit it as representing only the interests of certain groups,
- (2) enable[es] NGOs to exert pressure at different levels with different strategies and tactics, hence, increasing their 'repertoire of contention' (Tarrow 1994, 19), and
- (3) [has...] members with more radical perspectives strengthening the bargaining power of ones with more moderate views (Joachim 2003, 252).

Active and numerous constituencies legitimize such agendas and frames by increasing the number of available options to exercise influence, being involved in more ‘out there’ advocacy efforts that may influence targeted actors to choose mainstream frames rather than more radical ones. This also contributes in general to increasing the number of people who materially and symbolically visibly consent to the mainstream agenda.

Finally, policy entrepreneurs are additional powerful actors identified in the literature on transnational advocacy networks. King (cited in Sell and Prakash 2004, 147) describes them as actors who “influence outcomes by coupling the ‘problem’, the ‘politics,’ and the ‘policy’ streams when the ‘policy window’ opens up”. “They repackage issues by giving them new ‘policy images,’ and move issues from one policy domain or subsystem to another, as well as from one institutional setting to a more hospitable one” (Baumgartner and Jones cited in Sell and Prakash 2004, 147). Further, “they are individuals or organizations who care enough about an issue to absorb the initial costs of mobilizing, bring with them a wealth of organizing experiences, are well-connected, and have vision and charisma” (Joachim 2003, 252). Policy entrepreneurs also know how to exploit political opportunities and are apt at adapting when their legitimacy is challenged by either changing frames, altering networking and advocacy strategies (Sell and Prakash 2004, 147; Joachim 2003, 268).

The prominent role of policy entrepreneurs has not gone unchallenged. In fact, there are two main critiques regarding their involvement in campaigns conducted by transnational advocacy networks: international co-opting of campaign tactics and strategies, and campaign instrumentalization. Moog Rodrigues (2005, 147) refers to the first issue explaining that “a risk of an excessive reliance on international strategies is the possibility of its constraining the emergence of endogenous and often innovative channels for activism”. Sell and Prakesh (2004, 168) likewise argue that “individuals guiding NGOs, just as individuals managing firms, often pursue their individual instrumental agendas under the cover of organizational objectives”. Overall, for a campaign to speak to the targeted audience and be legitimate in the eyes of a constituency, it requires that individual (agency) interests take a backseat to a common agenda, or that at minimum they be transparent. But it must also provide appropriate space for members of the constituency to discuss their issues, propose their own frames, tactics and targets, without being alienated by more powerful actors. In our case, it is thus

important to identify what windows of opportunity (be them national or international events, as well as influential individuals) were available so that actors in transnational advocacy networks could have an influence on the Colombian process of transitional justice.

Another relevant issue to take into consideration is the kind of relationship maintained between actors in transnational advocacy networks and belligerent groups. As Carpenter (2005, 314) states, “a key aspect of network actors’ political opportunity structure is the extent to which [groups] can maintain access to belligerents, and through them to the civilian populations they wish to serve”. In the case of Colombia, conflicting parties include both the state and the guerrillas, particularly the FARC, which agreed to invite LGBTI victim groups to express their voices during the 2012-2016 peace negotiations. In a similar vein, the relationships between actors in transnational advocacy networks and representatives of political parties can offer opportunities for such networks to influence political agendas. These relationships can change over time, with some governments being more open to certain issues than others. In this case study, during the period considered, these relationships evolved with the transition from former President Álvaro Uribe to President Juan Manuel Santos in 2010.

2.3.4 Accountability Politics

The literature on transnational advocacy networks indicates that keeping relevant actors accountable to their international commitments, and moral musts is one of the main tactics used by actors involved in transnational advocacy networks pushing for human rights. For constructivist approaches of International Relations, intergovernmental organizations play a role in the diffusion of information and evaluation of states compliance to international norms. Organizations, such as the UN Human Rights Council, can publicly condemn a country for its human rights record (Lebovic and Voeten 2006, 884). This application of ‘naming and shaming’ can compel a state to change its behaviour and improve its human rights record. Regarding this case study, at its 32nd session, in June 2016, the UN Human Rights Council assigned an Independent Expert to document human rights violations against individuals based on their sexual orientation and/or gender identity through Resolution 32/2. In fact, the representative of Colombia, a member of the Human Rights Council, co-sponsored the resolution that created such position (alongside the Latin American States of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico and Uruguay). The Colombian government thus

provided clear and public signals of its intention to be held accountable to universal human rights accountability mechanisms.

Accountability politics does not involve only the UN Human Rights Council at a global level. There are instances, such as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which perform similar functions at a regional level. At the same time, there are non-governmental organizations, as well as individual activists, faith-based organizations, among other sorts of social and grassroots associations that accomplish similar tasks in their respective area of interest. Such organizations may also use their international status to exert leverage, as seen in the previous section. Additionally, accountability politics may involve national instances led by either governmental or non-governmental institutions, such as the National Center for Historical Memory, the LGBTI Center in Bogotá, and the various NGOs working on human rights issues, particularly LGBTI issues, such as Colombia Diversa and Caribe Afirmativo. These groups are vital in accountability politics because they can compile information in the field, produce information, frame it, and evaluate the advancement of rights or implementation of certain policies.

2.4 Hypotheses and Summary tables

The main hypothesis that is derived from the conceptual and theoretical frameworks is the following: Actions by national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights, working in partnership with and within transnational advocacy networks, explain the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016). They did so through various actions, categorized within four politics of influence and which can be found in the levels of effectiveness/ levels of social reality.

The subsidiary hypotheses, which can also serve as congruence test for this crucial-case study of transnational advocacy networks, are:

- (1) Not all politics of influence sought to produce legal changes;
- (2) Out of these, information politics was the most highly utilized tactic -in fact, it appeared in all levels of effectiveness;

- (3) To advance human rights, positive reinforcement mechanisms were deemed as more likely to exist than negative reinforcement ones; hence this was also the case for expanding LGBTI rights;
- (4) Relations between actors in the network are described as horizontal, which effectively facilitated the sharing of information and agreement on goals;
- (5) The aforementioned actors did experience change in their identities and interests as a result of their interactions and belonging to such a configuration; and,
- (6) Most political parties did not include LGBTI people tacitly within their ranks, which conditioned the expansion of LGBTI rights to using strategic litigation mostly, instead of legislative ways.
- (7) In the period under study, the aforementioned actors' strength, density, and capability to exercise pressure augmented (internal factors of effectiveness of transnational advocacy networks).
- (8) External factors that favour transnational advocacy network success were present in the analysed period. These are constructing the topic as a matter of equality, seeking to avoid violence towards innocent people, and establishing a clear cause and effect linkage.

I developed these preliminary and incomplete main hypotheses as tentative answers to the research question on how LGBTI rights expanded in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice in Colombia (2006-2016). The subsidiary hypotheses serve as congruence tests of sorts vis-à-vis this crucial case study of transnational advocacy networks. This said, the main hypotheses in this case and in “case study methods, the identification of causal mechanisms through process tracing [...are...] stronger methodological basis for causal inferences than the estimation of covariation through congruence tests” (Bennett and George 1997, 4).

It should be noted that in this project, congruent with theory-guided cases studies, I give precedence to certain aspects of social reality - the tactics and scopes of influence of national actors, rather than prioritizing other elements. Thus, while for this research question, examining the subsidiary hypotheses throughout the upcoming chapters is vital to follow the theoretical and conceptual guidance of transnational advocacy networks, one must not forget that theory is not expected to provide a total account of all aspects of social reality for this (or any) case study.

The following tables (Tables 2, 3, and 4) summarize the main aspects of my research design. Table 2 presents an overview of the actions undertaken by the transnational advocacy network pushing for the advancement of LGBTI rights in Colombia in the context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice. These are arranged as part of information, symbolic, leverage or accountability politics within Chapter III (establishing the issue), Chapter IV (influencing discourse and agenda), and Chapter V (motivating behaviour, policies and procedures).

Table 2. Levels of influence (chapters) / Tactics of influence (politics)

	Issue (Ch. III)	Discourse & Agenda (Ch. IV)	Behaviours, Politics & Procedures (Ch. V)
Information Politics	Establishing national expertise (3.1.1)	Victims of the conflict (4.1.1)	Publishing information on LGBTI people to promote their visibility and acceptance (5.1.1)
	Developing communication strategies (3.1.2)	Vulnerable to violence in armed conflict (4.1.2)	Campaign for peace referendum and other human rights issues (5.1.2)
		LGBTI rights as human rights (4.1.3)	
		Peace discourses (4.1.4)	
Symbolic Politics	Parade in Santandercito (3.2.1)	Parades and public space (4.2.1)	Increasing social status and visibility in public spaces (5.2.1)
		Community activities (4.2.2)	Attending the Havana peace talks (5.2.2)
		Reshaping LGBTI human rights image (Respectability politics) (4.2.3)	
		Pacifism, non violence, non confrontation (4.2.4)	
Leverage Politics	Connecting relevant actors (3.3.1)	International discourses (4.3.1)	Increasing support from community (5.3.1)
	Recognition and support for LGBTI candidate (3.3.2)	Networking with human rights groups and sympathetic decision makers (4.3.2)	Discourse production through workshops on human rights and peace topics & international networking (5.3.2)
Accountability Politics			Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia (5.4.1)

Meanwhile, Table 3 shows the theoretical levels related to case-specific expectations of observable implications for Colombian society:

Table 3. Theoretical levels / Case-specific expectations of observable implications for Colombian society

Theoretical level	Case-specific expectations of observable implications for Colombian society
<p><u>Context in multiple social reality levels:</u> Eventual: LGBTI rights expansion internationally and Colombian peace process. Actual: Internal armed conflict Real: 1991 Constitution</p>	
<p><u>Independent variables</u> Actions of national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights</p>	Colombian society changes the nature and discourses of debates on sexual orientation and gender identity in the various levels of influence/social reality
<p><u>Part 1 (n1 =>)</u> Issue emergence</p>	Issues in mass media and State documents (changes in the eventual level of social reality)
<p><u>Part 2 (n2=>)</u> Influencing discourses and the national HR agendas</p>	Discursive changes in mass media and State documents -human rights agendas (changes in the actual level of social reality)
<p><u>Part 3 (n3=>)</u> Influencing discourses and the national HR agendas</p>	Differentiated mention, policies and procedures for LGBTI people in State docs and decrease of reported violence against LGBTI people in State documents and mass media (changes in the real level of social reality)
<p><u>Outcome</u></p>	Debates on sexual orientation and gender identity have made LGBTI people be included in the various levels of influence/social reality: 'the eventual', 'the actual', and 'the real'

Adapted from Owen (2014)

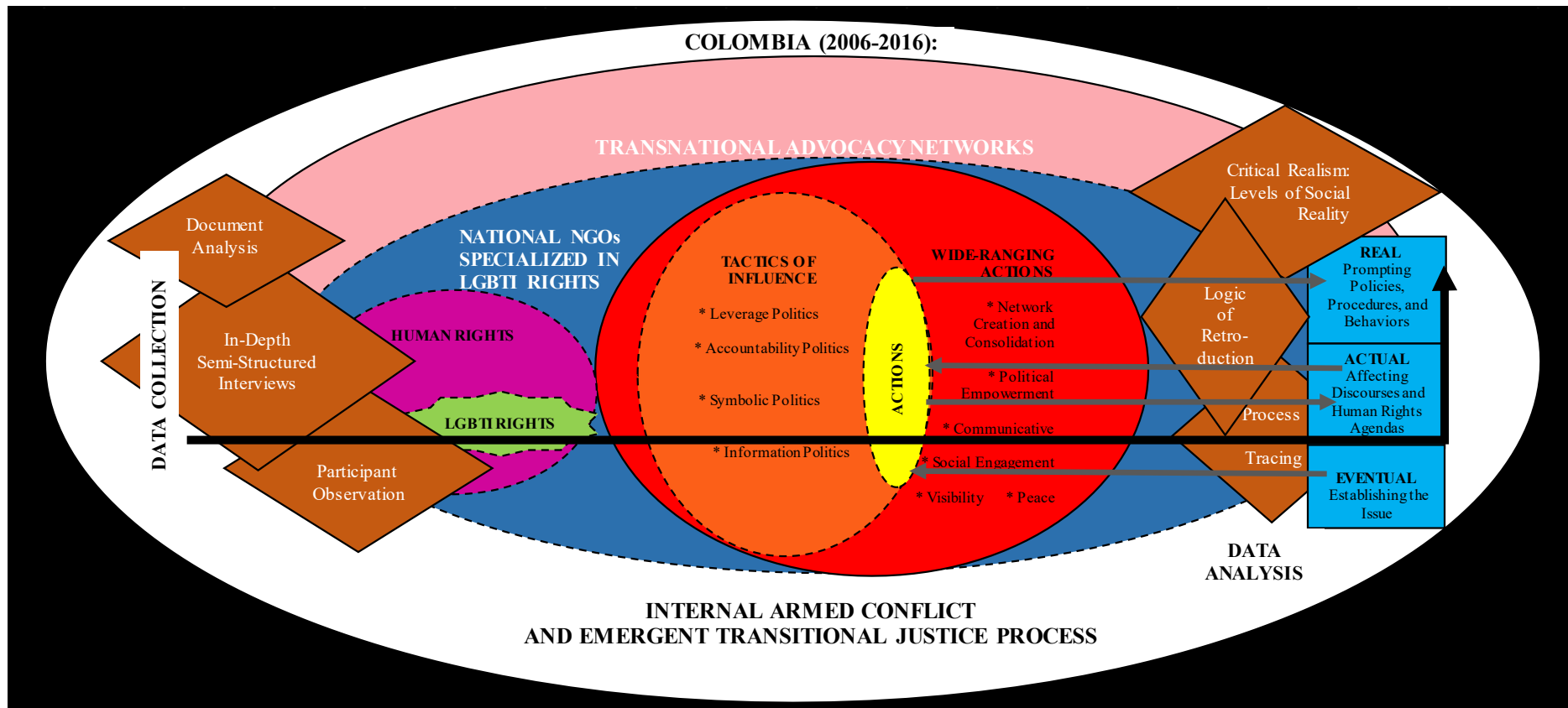
As for Table 4, it summarizes the dependent, independent, and intervening variables, along with evidence and social reality levels, which can be observed as implications for Colombian society:

Table 4. Dependent, independent, and intervening variables along with evidence and social reality levels, observable as implications for Colombian society

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable *	Evidence Independent Variable	Intervening Variables **	Level of social reality***	Evidence of Outcome in Dependent Variable
Recognition of LGBTI rights in Colombian society	Information politics Symbolic politics Accountability politics Leverage politics	X	Establishing the issue	eventual	Issues in mass media & State docs
			Influencing discourses and national HR agendas	actual	Discursive changes in mass media and State docs (human rights agendas)
			Prompting policies, procedures and behaviours	real	Differentiated mention, policies and procedures for LGBTI people in State docs and decrease of reported violence against LGBTI people in State docs & mass media
* Tactics of influence, as per Transnational Advocacy Networks					
** Levels of effectiveness, as per Transnational Advocacy Networks					
*** From critical realism					

Finally, Figure 1 presents a visual representation of this dissertation’s research design.

Figure 1. Research design



Conclusions

Transnational advocacy networks do not limit their influence to affecting policymaking, but also help shift the nature and terms of the debate on the issue at hand. Transnational advocacy networks can frame an issue and establish the agenda, influence discourse, affect institutional procedures, induce policy changes, and prompt behavioural changes by states and other actors. In all this, framing is fundamental. Framing is a process that considers political opportunity structures and mobilizing structures. It relies on a space for negotiation, where some actors have objective and ideational capabilities that allow them to act as ‘gatekeepers’, guiding the flow, collection, and production of information.

Actors in transnational advocacy networks consider and create structures of political opportunities for political action, make use of mobilizing structures, and act according to the consequent heteronomy resulting from selecting the best tactics to attain their goals. These include the use of information, symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics. In all these framing is central. Framing to advance the recognition of human rights violations, such as those committed against LGBTI individuals in Colombia, requires linking the issue at hand within the larger, previously accepted, discourses on human rights, transitional justice and innocence, victimhood, and the unacceptability of human pain. In such a way, the tactics of LGBTI rights groups are supported by a common framework on human rights, which increases the appeal for their campaigns and goals. Transnational advocacy networks also use symbolic events, which do not occur in isolation but are part of a wider system/ environment/ structure that has been previously framed and which conditions how problems and issues are understood.

Actors in transnational advocacy networks are also skilled at identifying powerful actors who may advance their goals. Overall, ideational and material resources may have different uses for actors in transnational advocacy networks, since while framing is central for all tactics of influence, so are material resources. Both are needed to frame an issue and establish the agenda, influence discourse, affect institutional procedures, induce policy changes, and prompt behavioural changes of relevant actors. Similarly, both are required to conduct information politics or any other tactics of influence. Mass media are particularly important in symbolic as well as leverage politics, for instance. Thus, in this case study, it is necessary to consider ideational and material resources to understand national activists advancing

LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice in Colombia (2006-2016) through transnational advocacy networks, keeping in mind Argüello Pazmiño's (2019, 498) suggestion: "A method is but theory in action". In this crucial case study, the tactics of the middle level theory of transnational advocacy networks are analyzed through process tracing. This is congruent with the logic of retrodution as we know the ending and the start, but we are yet to find out the processes by which the studied phenomena took place.

Chapter 3

Issue Emergence

The reactions to the socio-political conflict have affected political cultures, democracy, and the trends of social mobilization for social justice and rights. In 1958, in an arrangement that endured until 1974, the two traditional political parties, Liberal and Conservador, agreed to share political power and alternate in the Presidency, leading to the exclusion of other political options. As result of this, alternative social movements faced repression and annihilation, which became a long- term pattern in Colombian political culture (Moncayo 2001). However, at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the development of civil society mobilizations made them a more recognized actor in the political sphere. After the demobilization of some guerrilla groups in the late 1980s, the following decade began with a popular campaign for a new national constitution led by a students' initiative. The 1991 Constitution was organized around the negotiation of a new social pact based on the State as a guarantor of rights, the opening of political spaces for new social expressions of citizenship, the lowering of barriers for political participation, regional autonomy, and administrative independence (Cárdenas, Junguito and Pachón 2008: 240). Also, ideas of multiculturalism and diversity were incorporated in the new definition of nationality. Among several legal changes, the 1991 Constitution developed a protective measure called Tutela that started to be used by individuals to claim a whole variety of rights related to the free development of personality, nondiscrimination, and equity. Academics and activists have opined that it was because of this new Constitution that matters of gender and sexual diversity experienced the kind of progressive trends seen in contemporary Colombia (Le maitre 2009; Bonilla 2006)

– Serrano Amaya (2011, 14).

The mere act of existing as someone who defies social standards on gender and/or sexuality is an act of resistance to heterosexual normalization. The National Centre of Historical Memory recognizes it: “The continuum of resistance by people who deviate from heteronormativity [...] begins at the moment when gender and sexuality orders are defied” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 366). These instances of resistance, coupled with incipient groups of visibly queer people, or in any case showing deviations from ‘the norm’, are central for the birth of LGBTI social conglomerates, and the advancement of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice. This chapter recounts how LGBT rights emerged as issues within the Colombian human rights agenda and became more prominent during the period under study.

Some LGBTI persons developed tactics to feel safe in public, including blending in crowds, or passing as straight. These tactics did not seek to advance LGBTI rights in a context of

armed conflict in Colombia in themselves but facilitated political mobilization. Indeed, every day, resistance and resilience were often key for LGBTI activists to join groups and push for the recognition of LGBTI human rights. For instance, a transgender man recalls becoming buff as early as possible so that his toughness/ masculinity would serve as a deterrent for aggression in the poor neighborhoods in which he inhabited (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 366). Meanwhile, a group of transgender women while asking for rides on the street, would try to appear as feminine as possible, and the woman with the most effeminate voice would speak to the driver (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 367). As these examples illustrate, some LGBTI people have performed gender in order to increase their security and achieve their goals. Indeed, upholding strict gender standards of masculinity and femininity was vital in order to survive in a context of internal armed conflict. This was so, since as mentioned previously, the Colombian internal armed conflict exacerbated and valued binary gender differences, strengthening patriarchal thinking, and discriminating against those outside the norm.

The inclusion of LGBTI populations in the Colombian process of transitional justice (from 2006 to 2016) resulted from the advocacy of an established group of LGBTI actors and human rights defenders. Within the context of over five decades of internal armed conflict, national, regional, and local human rights organizations established links among themselves in order to share best practices and cooperate on a variety of projects and programs, creating an informal network of likeminded actors – some of which are specialized in LGBTI rights and others work on broader issues. Further, independent activists and bureaucrats who were sympathetic to this agenda pushed for the rights of LGBTI populations in the context of the transitional justice process.

As mentioned earlier, the Colombian internal armed conflict has been a central theme shaping the political, social, and economic development of the country for about half a century. Hence, the advancement of human rights during such times has been enmeshed within this framework. Local activists have therefore devised specific strategies to advance human rights under these conditions. In the case of LGBTI activists and groups, their sexual orientation, identity and or expressions exacerbated social constraints during the armed conflict; this is why they also developed untraditional tactics of civil disobedience. For a Ministry of the Interior Official and LGBTI human rights activist,

[The LGBTI movement] has organized thousands of activities due to a variety of reasons but [...] there has not been any activity of protest framed in the armed conflict. There have been *abrazatones* (gatherings of huggers) and *besatones* (gatherers of kissers) as responses to many issues, such as when the Sergio Urrego case took place, or when a same sex couple, which showed affection, was kicked out of a public space. [The LGBTI movement] mobilizes for these issues, but there has been no mobilization dedicated to the armed conflict (Interview with G1, September 2016).

As mentioned above, some activities have been recognized as advancing LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict. Nonetheless, LGTI groups have developed initiatives that also dealt with the internal armed conflict and peace process, as will be shown throughout this thesis.

So, this chapter intends to elucidate the emergence of LGBTI issues in the Colombian and international context. In terms of concepts, issue emergence is defined as “the construction and acceptance of specific problems as international issues” (Price 2003, cited in Carpenter 2007, 101). For Carpenter (2007, 100) “permissive conditions for issue emergence include the attributes of issues themselves (Keck and Sikkink 1998), the presence of political entrepreneurs (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998), and a favourable norm pool into which a new issue may be aligned (Price 1998)”. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that these three conditions are not exclusive to the emergence of an issue in transnational advocacy networks, since these factors are also present in other social configurations (Carpenter 2007, 100). This said, these three characteristics provide useful guidelines to understand the emergence of LGBTI issues in the present context.

The present chapter is structured as follows. After a brief characterization of the international human rights milieu to establish the global environment in which actors in transnational advocacy networks acted, it examines the use of information, symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics to advance LGBTI rights during the armed conflict and the transitional justice process in Colombia.

3.1 Information politics

I begin looking at the use of information politics to facilitate the emergence of LGBTI issues. Such emergence occurred in a context, where these issues were receiving little attention. According to Carpenter, “for the first 50 years of human rights norm development, groups

such as gays and lesbians, disabled persons and those suffering caste-based discrimination attracted very little attention from the human rights network (Bob; Lord and Mertus cited in Carpenter 2007, 100). Therefore, LGBTI people's inclusion in the Colombian transitional justice process was a ground-breaking international human rights achievement. It was the first time that a transitional justice process placed particular emphasis on human rights violations against LGBTI persons due to perceived or real sexual orientation and/or gender identity. This achievement occurred against the backdrop of a number of international and national occurrences that placed the human rights advances of LGBTI populations within the realm of the international human rights agendas, which is a favourable and highly institutionalized global norm pool.

On the one hand, since the mid-1970s, openly LGBTI human rights activists have appeared on formal and informal international stages. Similarly, sexual orientation, gender identity and other topics related to human sexuality have become part of the global human rights agenda, particularly near the turn of the XXI century. A case in point is that an

International Lesbian Caucus formed at the 1975 UN Conference on Women in Mexico City [...]. Marking the institutionalization of such ties, advocates established the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) in 1978. [...By 2008,] it [wa]s a 'community-based federation' of more than 670 NGOs in more than 110 countries, coordinating transnational advocacy and supporting national groups (Bob 2012, 39–40).

In 2006, the INGOs "International Service for Human Rights (ISHR) and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), [selected a...] group of like-minded 'international human rights experts'" (Bob 2012, 55) to draft the Yogyakarta Principles: "a coherent and comprehensive identification of the obligation of States to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of all persons regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity" (O'Flaherty and Fisher 2008, 207). While not legally binding, "[o]ne development worthy of mention is the frequent adoption of the Principles' definitions of 'sexual orientation' and 'gender identity' found in the Preamble by a number of authorities and States" (Ettelbrick and Trabucco 2010, 12).

In the intergovernmental arena, the UN Human Rights Committee established sexual orientation as a protected category from discrimination under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) near the turn of the millennium, and further strengthened this view from 1994 to 2007. In fact, in *Toonen v. Australia* (1994), *Young v. Australia* (2003), and *X v. Colombia* (2007), experts deemed that states had violated "the prohibition

against discrimination under article 26 compris[ing] also discrimination based on sexual orientation” (CCPR/C/89/D/1361/2005 2007). This series of events provided an international legal framework so that LGBTI rights became more mainstream on the global stage.

Similarly, in 2011, under agenda item 8: Follow-up and implementation of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, the United Nations Human Rights Council passed South African resolution A/HRC/RES/17/19, entitled ‘Human Rights Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity’, requesting the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to

document discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity, in all regions of the world, and how international human rights law can be used to end [them] (UNHRC 2011).

Navanethem Pillay, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, presented such a report on 16 December 2011 and the second one was released on 4 May 2015.

Then, on 28 June 2016, the Latin American states of Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Uruguay sponsored resolution A/HRC/32/L.2/Rev.1 at the UN Human Rights Council, designating Professor Vitit Muntarbhorn (Yogyakarta Principles Co Chair) as first UN Independent Expert on the Protection against Violence and Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (UNIESOGI). This UN Special Procedure was given a broad mandate to: assess the implementation of international human rights instruments, raise awareness of the violence and discrimination faced by LGBTI populations, engage

relevant stakeholders, [UN] agencies, programmes, funds, regional and national human rights mechanisms, civil society organizations and academic institutions [...] adress[ing] the multiple, intersecting and aggravated forms of violence and discrimination (Allied Rainbow Communities (ARC International) and International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA) 2016, 3).

The thematic mandate was global in nature and became operational in November 2016. The UN Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Independent Expert presented his inaugural report, A/HRC/35/36, to the 72nd session of the General Assembly in June 2017.

These developments show that in the last 45 years LGBTI human rights have entered the global human rights agenda, and some topics related to sexuality have gained worldwide and national recognition, for instance through the work of activists and experts on the Yogyakarta

principles. Besides, LGBTI human rights have become part of international human rights discourses and procedures, as seen in the decision of the UN Human Rights Committee. And, they have encouraged public policy and state behavioural adjustment, as noticed in the UN Human Rights Council country votes on establishing the UNIESOGI.

Nevertheless, advances have not been without difficulties. In December 2016, various African and Arab countries, sponsored by Botswana, attempted to eliminate the UNIESOGI claiming cultural and religious provisions. A staff member from ILGA recalls:

We are glad for the designation of the first UNIESOGI. As ILGA, we have been working hard so that initiatives to get rid of the independent expert do not advance. We have done this through working in networks with multiple actors: governments and NGOs in the field, specially (personal communication with L1, September 2016).

The initiative to stop the UNIESOGI was unsuccessful. Hence, by the end of 2017, Professor Victor Madrigal-Borloz was designated as the new United Nations Independent Expert on Protection against Violence and Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity “for a three-year period starting on 1 January 2018” (OHCHR 2019).¹⁵ His first report was distributed in the thirty-eight session of the United Nations Human Rights Council, on June 2018. In it, the expert explains that Professor Muntabhorn,

had identified six underpinnings: the decriminalization of consensual same-sex relations and of gender identity and expression; effective anti-discrimination measures; the legal recognition of gender identity; destigmatization linked with depathologization; sociocultural inclusion; and education with empathy (Madrigal-Borloz 2018, 5).

The first UNIESOGI focused his “Embrace diversity and energize humanity” report on the first two underpinnings. Thus, decriminalizing consensual same-sex relations and gender identity and expression, as well as enacting effective anti-discrimination measures worldwide were the initial objectives of this Special Procedure, which would allow for the next underpinnings to be taken into consideration. These guidelines are important as they provide an estimate of the prescribed progression of goals to support LGBTI peoples worldwide. In the next chapters, we will discuss in a more in-depth fashion the ways in which these global priorities are put into practice in the local Colombian context.

¹⁵ OHCHR. “Victor Madrigal-Borloz,” 2019.

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/SexualOrientationGender/Pages/VictorMadrigalBorloz.aspx>.

On the other hand, considering the national stage, in Colombia in the 1940s and 1950s, the informal association *Los Felipitos* was established, an elite social group of gay and bisexual men. Later on, in the 1960s and 1970s, the author Pedro Restrepo published *Homosexualismo en el arte* (Homosexuality in the arts) in 1969 as part of the book *Homosexualismo en el arte actual* (Homosexuality in modern art) which characterized homosexual men as snobbish, superficial and alienated from the social and cultural realities of the country (Restrepo Peláez 1969). León Zuleta and Manuel Velandia were two visible national leaders advocating for LGBTI rights in Colombia, creating the *Estudio por la Liberación de los Gays* (Study for Gay Liberation) (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 26). In 1980, the publication *Ventana Gay* (Gay Window) came up. Homosexuality was eventually decriminalized in 1980 as part of Decree 100. And, on 28 June 1982, the first gay pride parade in the country took place. In 1987, Henry Ardila “organized the *Liga colombiana de la Lucha contra el sida*” (Colombian League for the fight against AIDS) (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 26).

In 1991, a new constitution was adopted, which characterized the republic as a state of social rights in the same year. The lawyer Germán Humberto Rincón Perfetti, who would be the Liberal Party Candidate to the Chamber in 2001, published a bulletin called *INFO GyL*. This publication would give birth to an organization that participated in submitting law projects to the Congress, supported by Piedad Córdoba of the Liberal Party. At the same time, Fernando Rincón was candidate to the Chamber of representatives in Bogotá (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 27). In 1995, the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia* (National University of Colombia) started a *Grupo de Apoyo y Estudios de la Diversidad de la Sexualidad* (Support Group and Studies on Sexual Diversity), which was mostly academic. On the other hand, in 1996, the first organization dealing with lesbian and bisexual women came up. It was called *Triángulo Negro* (Black Triangle) (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 28).

In 2001 Diana Navarro, a transgender woman and representative of sexual workers, gained visibility and participated in the inclusion of LGBTI populations in Project 7310. This Bogotá Project was developed by the Secretary of Social Integration (*Secretaría de Integración Social*), specifically under the Sub-Direction of Adulthood. “The general objective of the project was tending to people who were engaged in sexual work through processes of promotion, formation and capacity building oriented towards restituting rights, personal development, links to basic social networks, and generating income”(Secretaría de

Integración Social, Subdirección de Adulthood de Bogotá 2007). Navarro was also the candidate of the *Polo Democrático* Party to the *Mártires Junta Administradora Local* (Local Administrative Jurisdiction) (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 30).

The year 2002 saw the launching of *Red de personas viviendo y conviviendo con VIH-RECOLVIH* (Network of people living with HIV). In 2003, the business association, *Asociación Derecho a la Identidad* (Right to Identity Association) began its activities, working along *Liga Colombiana de Lucha Contra el SIDA-Proyecto LAMDA* to develop public policy so that business owners that served the LGBTI communities would be protected from harassment and discrimination (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 31–32). In 2003, Bogotá Neoqueer Rockers appeared in the local scene (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 32); while, *Colombia Diversa* was funded in March 2004 (Sánchez Barrera 2017, 124). Then, according to a well-known LGBTI activist, *Polo de Rosa* was created in 2005 as part of *Polo Democrático Alternativo* Party (Interview with I1, September 2016). In 2006, the *Colectivo Sentimos Diverso* (Collective We Feel Differently) was born, focusing on LGBTI youth. Meanwhile, in 2007 the association *Grupo de Padres de Población LGBTI* (Group of Parents of LGBTI Peoples) appeared (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 34).

The body of national legal work upholding the rights of LGBTI people grew slowly but steadily beginning in 1980, when a new Penal Code was promulgated (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 72). Then a major milestone took place in the country with the promulgation of the 1991 Constitution, “which established freedom of expression, multiculturalism and pluralism, which have been appropriated by these groups as tools to demand changes in their conditions of historical vulnerability, especially through the protection mechanism (*acción de tutela*). This mechanism has allowed citizens to gain juridical advances” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 75).

The Constitutional Court has been key in this area as it has promulgated many sentences that guarantee equal rights in key issues for LGBTI peoples. In fact, a Senior member of the *Conservador* Party, retold that:

one would believe that LGBTI people advanced their rights not so much through street mobilization, but through the Court as people decided to come out, to say I am like that and that is what it is. So, from our perspective we understood that there are people who are into it, and we must accept and respect it (Interview with P1, September 2016).

For instance, the 11 December 2008 *Sentencia* T-1241 considers the right to a pension for the surviving partner. The 8 November 2012 *Sentencia* T-918 guarantees access to health services and sexual modification in state identification documents for trans populations. The 7 February 2007 C-075 *Sentencia* is on patrimonial rights for LGBTI peoples. The 10 March 2015 T-099 *Sentencia* allows trans women to enter military service. And, the 2011 C-577 *Sentencia* recognizes marriage (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 76).

“The efforts of social movements, within the framework afforded by the 1991 Constitution have resulted in a differential focus towards LGBTI peoples in Bogotá, 2007; Medellín, 2011; Cauca Valley, 2011; Nariño, 2015 and Santa Marta, 2015” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 76). Due to the 2011 1448 Law Victims Law and on Land Restitution, which contemplates a differential focus regarding populations based on their age, gender, sexual orientation or situation of disability, “LGBTI victims have been dignified and some differential measurements have been implemented in terms of assistance, attention, integral reparation and humanitarian aid to victims of the internal armed conflict.” It is relevant to mention that these considerations were the result of LGBTI social sectors that had been denouncing and compiling information regarding human rights violations committed against non-heterosexual populations within a framework of internal armed conflict (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 77).

While Moog Rodrigues (2005, 17) argues that “court actions have remained [...] an occasional rather than a systematic channel for activism” for actors in transnational advocacy networks, in Colombia LGBTI groups have used the courts in various instances in order to advance their rights, as noticed in this brief review of the state of LGBTI issues in the country. For Joachim (2003, 257), legal procedures have also a symbolic meaning: “through the prosecution of the perpetrator, society [can communicate...] that violence [is] unacceptable and ma[k]e the offender personally responsible”. Thus, in this cases study, the law has been central so that the highlighted areas in this research, actions by national actors to change the terms and nature of the debate, gain legal grounding.

Hence, in the case of LGBTI participation in the peace process in Colombia, favourable international and national advancements were key for LGBTI issues to emerge and be framed within the national human rights agenda. Further, the previously mentioned local political

entrepreneurs were instrumental to ensure that LGBTI issues gained legitimacy and visibility in the Colombian context. At last, it is worth mentioning that local human rights activists demonstrated a personal relationship to these issues, as some of them identified as LGBTI themselves, effectively transforming their ‘individual’/ private concerns in common/ political demands. For example, the birth of a leading LGBTI NGO, Caribe Afirmativo, was related to a punctual event, as mentioned by a Senior member of the organization:

In 2006 in Cartagena, there was a professor at the University of Cartagena who had a radio show as he was a social communicator. His name was Rolando Pérez. He was an openly gay man who used his “*Amaneceres Comfenalco*” (Comfenalco Sunrises) radio show to speak about these issues. So, in 2006, Rolando started getting threats regarding stopping his radio show. Rolando did not pay attention to the threats and during Christmas time in 2006 someone drugged him with scopolamine. He was murdered later on, in January 2007 [...] We cannot say with certainty that Rolando was killed due to him being a gay man, but Rolando was assassinated with a hammer in his house and his visibility, due to being gay exacerbated his life conditions. Besides, the sort of death that took place is extremely violent, which makes us think of homophobia [...] Rolando had a Cuban brother, who was President Fidel Castro’s chief of security, an important man, [...] so the Ministry of Foreign Affairs got in touch with the Cartagena Police Department to investigate the death [...] Caribe Afirmativo comes up as an organization that was created to not let that Rolando’s death be dealt with impunity. Caribe Afirmativo was born there but as time went by, we realized that Rolando’s case was not the only one, there were many people who were victims of violence due to their sexual orientation or gender identity during the internal armed conflict (Interview with N1, November 2016).

While LGBTI issues were framed within human rights discourses, national LGBTI NGOs in Colombia underscored their specificity tacitly, informally and formally through multiple publications. These agents managed to position themselves as national and even international actors who counted with the necessary expertise to develop an in-depth understanding of such issues in their localities. In other words, the establishment of LGBTI expert agents and their professionalization went hand in hand with the growing legitimation of LGBTI issues within a human rights framework. For instance, the report showed in figured 2 is a joint publication by USAID and Caribe Afirmativo, entitled: *Dis-Arming Sexualities: LGBTI Peoples and Application of the Victims Law in the Colombian Caribbean (Des-Armar Sexualidades: Personas LGBTI y aplicación de la Ley de Víctimas en el Caribe colombiano)*. This report provides a description of the territorial contexts, prejudices, perceptions, and “affectations that the internal armed conflict and socio-political violence have generated in LGBTI people in the region” (Caribe Afirmativo and USAID 2015, 24)

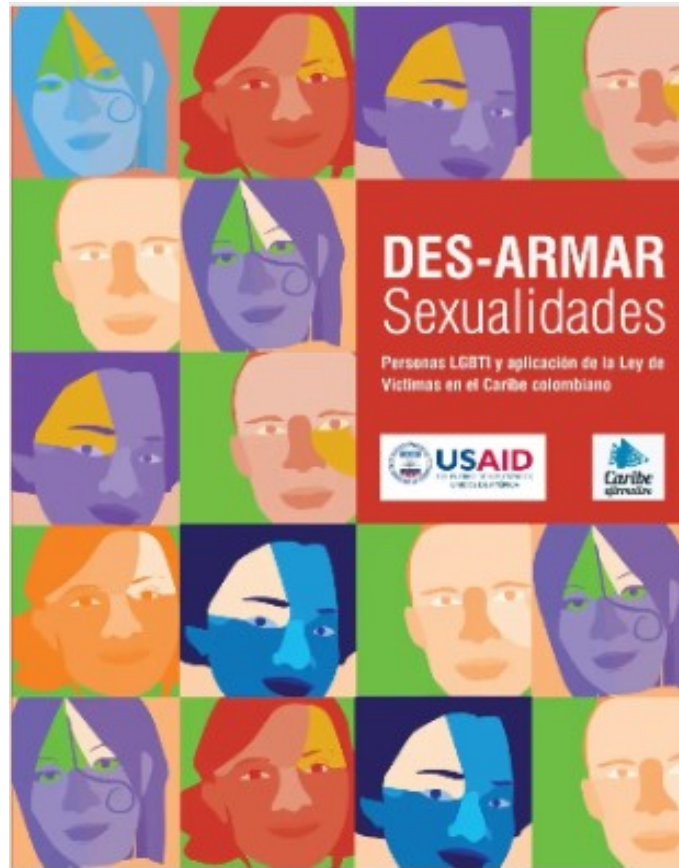


Figure 2. USAID and Caribe Afirmativo. *Des-Armar Sexualidades: Personas LGBTI y aplicación de la Ley de Víctimas en el Caribe colombiano, 2015.*

In so doing, these activists used information politics: they gained visibility, positioned themselves as national leaders and became internationally recognized as specialists. According to interviewees, without such a process, the demands of LGBTI people would likely not have been considered in the 2006-2016 transitional process. By contrast, LGBTI populations were not provided with any specific treatment in the peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*, as explained by an officer at the Colombian Ministry of the Interior and LGBTI activist:

Iván Márquez recognized us as victims in his initial address. When he talked about us during the beginning of the peace talks, he referred to us as victims of the internal armed conflict. In the previous process, regarding demobilizing paramilitary groups that were linked to *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*, there was no differential mainstreaming. It is the first time in the world where a gender focus is taken into account, which also is thought of in order to contemplate perspectives of people who neither construct our gender identity according to heterosexual norms, nor have an exclusively heterosexual sexual orientation (Interview with M1, September 2016).

Additionally, the direct connection of LGBTI activists to a wider network facilitated the emergence of LGBTI issues within the Colombian process of transitional justice. That is national, regional and local human rights organizations directly championed LGBTI issues. This contributed to solidifying the framing of these issues within human rights discourses. Hence, one notices that the density of the transnational advocacy network is altered during the period under study: its capability to disseminate information has increased as actors created bonds and strengthened them. This section thus partially endorses the seventh subsidiary hypothesis. Indeed, while capacity to disseminate information is one of the conditions that has an effect on the internal factors of the network, strength and density, the other three conditions have yet to be considered: reputation of network, frequency and quality of communications.

3.1.1 Establishing national expertise

During Andrés Pastrana's time as President of Colombia, between 1998 and 2002, Peace Planet (*Planeta Paz*) was established, a conglomeration of social movements that presented proposals to the conflict parties during earlier peace negotiations between the government and the FARC (Interviews with O2, September 2016 and N1, November 2016). The organization was made up of vulnerable and historically underrepresented populations who were previously unorganized, had no way to have their demands listened to by state institutions, and could not have a noteworthy influence in public policymaking regarding the topics that affected them. For an activist and member of the Colombia Diversa legal team, in fact, the acronym LGBT in Colombia was used for the first time by the *Planeta Paz* conglomerate:

So, Planeta Paz linked various sectors and one of these was the LGBTI¹⁶ one. As far as I know, I have read it on theses and academic articles, in Colombia the term LGBT was used for the first time towards the end of the last century precisely due to this movement (Interview with O1, September 2016).

Per their institutional website, “the *Planeta Paz* Project has juridical representation by Rights to Peace Corporation (*Corporación Derechos para la Paz*), and was born in 2000 with the purpose to promote active participation by popular social sectors leaders in the dialogue

¹⁶ According to interviews with other independent activists, the I (for Intersex) would be added later on (Interview with I1, September 2016).

process between the Colombian government and the FARC guerrillas” (Planeta Paz 2012)¹⁷. The project was funded by the Latin American Institute of Alternative Legal Services (*Instituto Latinoamericano de Servicios Legales Alternativos*) with the support of the National University of Colombia. It contemplated two axes: Territorial Peace/ Conflict Roundtables and Public Policies for a Sustainable Peace.

Planeta Paz organized its actions in stages: creating roundtables to develop agendas to negotiate social and armed conflict with 12 major popular social sectors: “AfroColombians, environmentalists, farmers, rural community members, journalists, cultural groups, LGBTI populations, indigenous, youth, women, syndicalist, [and] allies” (Planeta Paz 2012). Then, in a second stage, it intended to consolidate regional processes in seven regions: The Amazon (*Amazonía*); the Caribbean (*Caribe*); the Coffee Region (*Cafetera*); Center (*Centro*); Northeast (*Nororiente*); Pacific (*Pacífico*); and Bogotá, and 21 nodes. The third stage consisted in pushing for inter sectorial work to define a social agenda with public policies that would affect proposals for decisions to end the conflict (Planeta Paz 2012)¹⁸.

After the unsuccessful peace process under former President Pastrana, there was an upsurge of local nongovernmental LGBT rights organisations, devoted to strategic litigation, and some dedicated to human rights pedagogy, according to Interview with O3 (September 2016). These developments diminished the centrality of *Planeta Paz*, given that more organizations that possessed specific expertise in their own regions appeared and became consolidated. Thus, during that time two key processes happened: 1) the creation of a more organized national LGBTI movement, linked to the 1998-2002 peace process between the Colombian government and FARC, and 2) the diversification of organizations working on LGBTI issues, which contributed to legitimizing the demands of LGBTI people, as well as to providing visibility to them. For Caribe Afirmativo Senior member,

In Colombia, the LGBTI movement is a result of the peace process because there we started sharing with one another as main actors. Many of us met each other in Planeta Paz; for instance, I participated in it. We met about four times between 1998 and 2002. At last, the peace process did not do well [... but with the] Planeta Paz process, we witnessed the beginning of visible LGBT populations in Colombia. Colombia Diversa is born, Caribe Afirmativo appears, Santamaría Fundación as well. In other words, Planeta Paz opened the doors for other LGBTI organizations in the country (Interview with N1, November 2016).

¹⁷ Website of Planeta Paz: <http://www.planetapaz.org/quienes-somos-planeta-paz2012/historia>, accessed on 09/22/2019.

¹⁸ Ibid.

One of the social sectors that gained visibility and managed to organize itself in a more coherent way was the women's movement. Women's groups achieved a national presence, managed to set a common agenda, had access to state institutions and had a strong presence close to local and national authorities. So, when the transitional justice process began in 2006, the women's movement rapidly became involved, and the same happened with the 2012-2016 peace negotiations between the Colombian state and the FARC guerrillas. As an independent activist in Cali tells:

Achieving that LGBTI people be part of the peace process was a very political affair as working alongside movements such as the women's one has allowed the LGBTI movement to participate in important spaces. Women's groups have developed significant work regarding influencing entities, authorities and in this case, the peace process. Also, on the side of the FARC, there was an internal process which was led by women guerrilla members and that sought to include women and LGBTI populations (Interview with I2, November 2016).

Activists within the women's movement were aware that no general agreement would be signed until the parties would agree on all parts of the agreement. Therefore, they tried to include a gender focus in the preliminary and final agreements. They relentlessly worked towards that end and succeeded in pushing for the creation of a sub Commission on gender during the peace negotiations in Havana to include a gender perspective in all the agreed provisions. From then on, women's groups also pushed for the inclusion of LGBTI people, as part of a gender perspective. In this context, the national nongovernmental organizations specialized in LGBTI issues *Colombia Diversa* and *Caribe Afirmativo* were able to take part in the Havana negotiations and advance LGBTI rights. As Mauricio Albarracín, Executive director of Colombia Diversa recognized in his speech before the Sub commission on Gender of the Negotiating Table between the Colombian government and FARC: "The women's movement have opened up this space within the peace negotiations with their social mobilizations so that a gender focus can be talked about in this process" (Albarracín 2015, 1). It can certainly be argued that this latest development contributed to achieving one of Colombia Diversa's goals, as explained in 2016 by the founder of the organization, Marcela Sánchez Buitrago, to: "position the Colombian LGBTI movement as a political actor" (Sánchez Barrera 2017, 125). More on this area will be discussed in the upcoming section on leverage politics.

The two organizations presented a list of observations to the preliminary agreements. *Colombia Diversa* had recommended including sexual and gender diversity in education programs. Likewise, the NGO demanded that sexual and reproductive rights be explicitly included in the agreements, as well as “promoting the inclusion of historically discriminated populations, such as the LGBTI in the labour force” (Colombia Diversa 2015). Additionally, the group provided suggestions on “4 technical contributions to the signed agreements and to the ones that are being prepared [... These are on] the new Colombian field, political participation, the rights of victims and implementing the agreements” (Albarracín 2015, 2). Meanwhile, *Caribe Afirmativo*, represented by Wilson Castañeda, introduced various proposals. These included recognizing that LGBTI populations were peace actors, “contemplating that the concept of security does not imply stopping the conflict but also creating conditions so that all people can live free of violence”, ending discrimination and exclusion based on gender and sexuality, among others (Sentiido 2015).¹⁹ These priorities are congruent with the recommendations set forth by the United Nations Independent Expert on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity.

In so doing, national LGBTI NGOs gained national visibility and recognition. These feats were supported by their well-known work in publishing reports on violence committed against LGBTI victims by state and non-state forces, as acknowledged by an officer at the National Center for Historical Memory: “[Caribe Afirmativo, Colombia Diversa and Santamaría Fundación] are the three biggest organizations at the national level” (Interview with G2, November 2016). *Colombia Diversa* had also presented proposals through the state-sponsored website of the negotiation table, as mentioned by a lawyer at the organization:

we introduced a proposal through the www.mesadeconversaciones.com.co website. Any citizen could send proposals there. So, we sent ours, though they did not have to respond to individual proposals. At last, there was a specific mention of the LGBT population in the final peace agreement as well as constant work in the Sub Commission on Gender to not only include the needs of women but also those of the LGBT population (Interview with O1, September 2016).

3.1.2 LGBTI groups’ communication strategy

Various interviewees deemed that some groups who were against the advancement of LGBTI rights intentionally spread misinformation on the subject of gender during the 2012-2016

¹⁹ Website of Sentiido: <https://sentiido.com/sobre-sentiido/historia/>, accessed on 09/22/2019.

peace negotiations. They believed that actors who were part of this strategy were well organized and had become more vocal on many platforms, including social media. In the face of this challenge, Colombia Diversa had a team of social communicators who managed the organization's social networks and dealt with homophobic and/or transphobic comments. For instance, a Colombia Diversa staff member recounts that the Senate Member Viviane Morales

has been the visible face of many Christians. She is a Christian who travelled to Cuba with her husband Carlos Alfonso Lucio, who is also a Christian. They had a meeting with FARC representatives and then came up with a communiqué explaining that the gender perspective referred only to women, women, women. In other words, LGBTI people did not exist. Many social sectors in fact responded to this by saying: 'great, now we are definitely voting yes'. After that President Santos started having meetings with Catholic churches and Christian organizations. So, LGBTI people started wondering, why is it that we have been asking for an appointment with the President for a long time, but it has not been scheduled? (Interview with O2, November 2016).

Colombia Diversa had to counter Internet campaigns that misinterpreted some of the advances made by the NGO regarding cases such as same-sex marriage and adoption by same-sex couples. The organization therefore saw the need to strengthen its internal communication strategy, as mentioned by members of its legal team (Interviews with O1, September 2016 and O2, November 2016).

Various activists also claimed that they were aware that the high courts of Colombia were not likely to be convinced by the pressure of fundamentalists or interest-based groups. However, they also believed that public opinion and society's support was important as it might sway the judges' decisions. For instance, a lawyer from Colombia Diversa explained that:

this year, we have had to deal with debates on the existence of a so called 'gender ideology' due to the discussions on equal marriage and egalitarian adoption. We have had to face these debates in the media too, since while the highest courts of the country may not be swayed easily by opinion makers, the general public may. Besides there were some hostile comments, which we have always tried to inform pedagogically, regarding what the organization does (Interview with O1, September 2016).

Thus, as a staff member of *Colombia Diversa* commented, the organization realized that its communicational strategy needed to be mainstreamed throughout all the work it did (Interview with O3, September 2016). Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 continue to deal with the seventh subsidiary hypothesis, since the internal factors of the examined actors in the transnational advocacy network to advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed

conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia, strength and density, and the resulting capability to exercise pressure, increased over the period under study. Indeed, conditions for the network to exert influence, the internal factors: reputation of network, frequency of communications and quality of such communications, are present. Thus, adding these conditions to the increased capacity to disseminate information, mentioned in 3.1, supports the seventh subsidiary hypothesis. Further, in accordance with the second subsidiary hypothesis, information politics are key for national actors in the transnational advocacy network to frame the issue of LGBTI rights and put it on the agenda in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016).

3.2 Symbolic politics

For a Senior member of Caribe Afirmativo, the first time LGBTI groups participated in a peace forum as part of the Planeta Paz initiative between 1998 and 2002, “the government and civil society watched incredulous as more than 100 people made their way to Santandercito from all over the country” (Interview with N1, November 2016). Their discernible participation made apparent that LGBTI populations had been affected in mass during the internal armed conflict due to their particular conditions (sexual orientation and/or gender identity). This was acknowledged in the 2011 Victims and Land Restitution Law, which created the National Center for Historical Memory and the Victims Unit.²⁰

During the 2004-2008 period, Luis Eduardo Garzón from the *Polo Democrático* Party was the mayor of Bogotá. According to an LGBTI activist and officer at the Ministry of the Interior, in his administration, the LGBTI pride parade took place as well as the *Ciclo de Cine Rosa* (Pink Film Festival) (Interview with M1, September 2016). Later on, the organization *Alianza para el Reconocimiento de la Ciudadanía Plena de Personas LGBTI y otros con Identidades No Normativas Sexuales y de Género* (Alliance for the Recognition of the Full Citizenship of LGBTI Peoples and of those with No Normative Gender and Sexual Identities) was constituted (Maduro Santamaría 2009, 20). Caribe Afirmativo, Colombia Diversa and Santamaría Foundation participated in the pride parades organized in the region where they worked the most; that is, Caribe Afirmativo in the Caribbean Region (Barranquilla and Cartagena), Colombia Diversa in Bogotá and Santamaría Foundation in Cali. The LGBTI pride parades usually take place on the same day nationally. Thus, they have managed to

²⁰ (República de Colombia 2011)

become visible and disruptive demonstrations of regional and local activity, having a major impact in local and national media.

The importance of symbolic politics in the emergence of the issue of LGBTI victims in the internal armed conflict and nascent peace process in Colombia is related to its main quality: reaching a wider audience than where such events take place. Further, they touch upon feelings, values, morals, and emotions that go beyond thought and rationality, creating loyalty and willingness for political action. This can be understood through the Santandercito event, as the demonstration/parade served to not only make LGBTI people visible for the general Colombian population, but also served to show LGBTI activists and attendants to the parade the strength of their numbers. Thus, these tactics of influence may have done much to make Colombians (heterosexual as well as LGBTI) conscious of the systemic human rights violations against LGBTI people during the internal armed conflict. So, the evidence provided in this section reveals that, as the first subsidiary hypothesis of this research states, not all politics of influence seek to foster legal changes as their most immediate/ pressing goal. They also attempt to change the nature of the debate.

3.3 Leverage Politics

Leverage politics implies partnering with strategic actors so that what one wishes to accomplish gains traction. There are many ways in which traction can be gained: for instance, an organization can choose to focus its lobbying efforts on convincing powerful bureaucrats (nationally) so that they support the organization's goals. Likewise, the organization may choose to focus on gaining bargaining power through increasing the number of people involved in the issues, regardless of whether the actors themselves are powerful: In other words, the power of numbers is identified as relevant. Leverage politics may also involve garnering international support. For example, an Official of Cooperation at the European Union Delegation to Colombia mentioned that "he was a focal point in themes regarding gender in the delegation [... and] was interested in sharing that information [with the researcher]" (E-mail correspondence with E1, November 2016). Likewise, multiple interviewees commented that Sweden supported the inclusion of LGBTI people in the 2012-2016 peace negotiations.

All interviewees stated that during the period under study there was no national formal network of LGBTI organizations. However, communication was fluid among national, regional and local NGOs that worked on LGBTI issues. Each organization, considering its resources, had developed a certain expertise. For instance, according to a member of Colombia Diversa, this organization “has historically dealt with strategic litigation, pushing for political and civil rights, as well as social and economic rights” for LGBTI peoples (Interview with O3, September 2016). According to a lawyer from Colombia Diversa, “at first, the focus was placed upon individual rights, then couples, patrimonial rights, divorce, anything that can be equated to a heterosexual marriage, etc. And we have fought these battles through the judicial branch as well as through strategic litigation” (Interview with O1, September 2016). Meanwhile, local, or regional organizations were initially focused on supporting local LGBTI people, providing guidance, and compiling information about the community where they were located. This was the case, for instance, of Caribe Afirmativo (Interview with N1, November 2016)

Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo and Santamaría Foundation were major NGOs that cooperated with each other on projects and programs and received the support of other local organizations. For instance, Colombia Diversa worked with local NGOs on campaigns on peace pedagogy in the cities of Bucaramanga and Pereira. The three organizations also received a grant from the European Union, which facilitated the publication of joint country-wide reports on violations against LGBTI populations in 2015, 2016 and 2017. According to interviews with members of these organizations, “This joint project is very important since Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo and Santamaría Fundación had some degree of expertise regarding compiling and producing human rights reports, but we used to do them separately” (Interview with O4, September 2016). Figure 3.1 shows how the three organizations devised a product in partnership (as noticed in the logos in the lower right of the cover of publication). It includes four chapters, describing homicides and impunity, police violence and criminalization, threats from armed group, and “violence towards LGBT people in the context of the internal armed conflict” (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016, 6).



Figure 3. Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, Santamaría Fundación. *Cuerpos Excluidos, Rostros de Impunidad. Informe de Violencia hacia Personas LGBT en Colombia, 2016.*

3.3.1 Connecting local, national, and international actors

The organizations identified their respective expertise. Caribe Afirmativo became known for compiling information regarding LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict nationwide, but with a special emphasis in the Caribbean region. Colombia Diversa developed extensive experience in strategic litigation and all legal aspects regarding defending LGBTI rights in Colombia. Santamaría Foundation was the national leading organization regarding transgender rights. Earlier, each of these organizations had developed and published reports individually. Then, from 2015 they joined hands and prepared the common report: Excluded Bodies, Faces of Impunity. Report on Violence Towards LGBT People in Colombia (*Cuerpos Excluidos, Rostros de Impunidad. Informe de Violencia Hacia Personas LGBT en Colombia 2015*), which is shown on this page. It includes chapters on homicides, police violence and criminalization, armed groups increasing threats, and violence to LGBTI people

in the context of the internal armed conflict (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016).

Besides, institutions that were working on the topic of LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict received international cooperation as specific project financing for this issue was not provided by the Colombian state. This information was gathered according to multiple accounts from interviews with members of Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, Santamaría Fundación, as well as from human rights activists unrelated to these NGOs (Interviews with O3 in September 2016; O2 and O5, November 2016). For instance, the National Center for Historical Memory received a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and has also worked with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in order to develop material on the historical memory of victims of the Colombian internal armed conflict. This practice of international cooperation has been highly beneficial in this specific case, of advancing LGBTI rights -those of LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict in Colombia, because international funding has helped fill the gaps that are left by national priorities and/or capabilities. As a researcher at the institution commented,

The National Center for Historical memory has certainly contributed with some resources, starting with my salary, even though I do not work only on the report. It also paid for the work of other people who have participated in the process, my travel tickets, and that kind of resources. But there is another area, for instance printing and publishing the report, the research team, all the resources for workshops, etc. that would not have been possible without international cooperation (Interview with G2, November 2016).

For members of the three aforementioned NGOs working on LGBTI rights, these arrangements were based on mutual respect and expertise-based linkage (Interviews with O3, September 2016 and O5, November 2016). Additionally, the working environment within these organizations was conducive to horizontal relations among members of these organizations, as explained by a Caribe Afirmativo communicator:

Staff members in the organization met once a week, typically on Mondays in order to discuss important internal information from last week as well as to define the upcoming weekly priorities, and to divide the roles, especially when there are projects. There are various roles and positions, but we are a team. For instance, I was organizing the launching of the report, while a political scientist colleague oversaw bringing LGBTI leaders from Valledupar, a Caribbean municipality. So, each one of us has activities that make our labor visible and that allow us to show through social networks and mass media what is going on regarding LGBTI rights [...] The way in which the organization works is quite horizontal. In terms of not having too many levels but rather being more egalitarian. Of course, in terms of the

administration there are well defined roles, but in terms of operative programs and developing activities, everyone is involved in one way or another (Interview with O9, November 2016).

The major aforementioned LGBTI NGOs were part of an institutional agreement signed with the European Union on a specific program: the publication of the 2015 report on violations of the human rights of LGBTI people in Colombia. Also, the project contemplated releasing national reports in 2016 and 2017 with the expertise and collaboration of all three major organizations. Importantly, the organizations neither had a single common agenda, nor were based in the same location, but rather managed to complement one another for the realization of the human rights reports. This is, according to an activist and *Caribe Afirmativo* lawyer, one of the main reasons why the work among them ran smoothly:

The alliance that is born due to this report, within the framework of a European Union project for the Human Rights reports of last year and this year, [...] was very professional in terms of understanding the work of, recognizing each organization and the impact they have achieved in their respective agendas. Because if you reflect on it, we do not share agendas, and are in diverse territories [...] We worked as colleagues, which is what we have always been. The research team was made up of 5 people [...] who met every 15 days via skype. That is how the report came about [...] We also had 3 one-week-long in-person reunions in Bogotá, where everyone shared their experiences, where no one stayed silent if one did not like something. We worked under an agreement of consensus for everything, starting for example with the title of the report, the cover image, we discussed it all as a team... (Interview with O6, November 2016).

Similarly, the NGOs working to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia had bilateral agreements with international partners on a multiplicity of issues and of diverse nature. For instance, to mention just some of one of the organization's partners, "Colombia Diversa had agreements with the European Union, the German Cooperation Agency (GIZ), USAID, the Victory Institute and other cooperation agencies from various states" (Interview with O1, September 2016).

The evidence provided in this section deals with the fourth subsidiary hypothesis by portraying as horizontal the relations among actors in the transnational advocacy network to advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia. Thus, in terms of leverage politics, interviews from relevant actors showed that relations among national, local and international members of the mentioned network seeking to place the issue of LGBTI rights in the national human rights agenda were professional, organized, and clear. Hence, this subsidiary hypothesis, which was doubtful (as

per the literature in the theoretical framework) about the absence of power relations, is refuted by the data collected.

3.3.2 Gaining international, regional, and national recognition through establishing their expertise and supporting the election of LGBTI politicians throughout the country

The official position of LGBTI organizations in Colombia was that they wished to remain outside political affiliations. Nonetheless, as an activist from one of the organizations reported, some politicians were members of the LGBTI community, had sympathies towards advancing the rights of LGBTI people in Colombia and were ‘friends of the house’ (Interview with O4, September 2016). Thus, nationally, LGBTI people achieved major political participation beginning in 2006 and established the issue as an important one within the Colombian political spectrum. Due to the 2011 electoral reform, some political parties were going to be extinct as they did not reach the minimum (3%) number of seats in recent elections. So, according to LGBTI activists and state representatives, the *Polo Democrático Independiente* political party joined other political movements to create the *Polo Democrático Alternativo* party. According to an activist and officer of a state institution, this new movement supported LGBTI people’s political participation through *Polo de Rosa* (Pink Pole), the National Organization for LGBTI sectors (Interview with G1, September 2016).

In fact, article 82, Chapter XII of the party’s statute explains: “the *Polo* will guarantee the LGBTI sectors’ effective participation in the party, [...recognizing] a National LGBTI Organization of the *Polo Democrático Alternativo*” (Polo Democrático Alternativo 2012, 30). Under the same Chapter, article 84 of its approved statutes further mandates *Polo de Rosa*

to organize according to territorial nodes, in the Departments where there are conditions to be created. For its constitution, territorial assemblies will be had along with the respective Polo Democrático Alternativo party Territorial Coordinator [...] Its political coordination will be in charge of the National Coordinator Node, which will be made up of 1 delegate of each territorial Node and the people of the LGBTI sectors that are part of the Polo Democrático Alternativo National direction. The *Polo de Rosa* will meet at the National Congress every 2 years [...] It will have a Technical Secretary made up by 5 members, 2 of which will be selected by the National executive Committee from the LGBTI quota and three which will be elected by the Polo de Rosa in National Congresses (Polo Democrático Alternativo 2012, 30).

According to a transgender independent activist from Bogotá, Sebastián Romero, the first openly gay member to win a seat in the Bogotá municipal council representing the Chapinero

neighbourhood in October 2007, was part of Polo de Rosa (Interview with I3, September 2016). Then, on December 28, 2007, Luis Eduardo Garzón, Mayor of Bogotá and member of the *Polo Democrático Independiente* (later *Polo Democrático Alternativo*) signed the 603 decree, providing guidelines to establish the norms of a public policy to fully guarantee the human rights of LGBTI people in the city of Bogotá. National LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs pushed for this law and some council members supported it. For an activist and officer at the Ministry of the Interior, “openly LGBTI state representatives were hired to serve as links with other organizations, and to position the District Secretariat as a leading [institution] on these issues” (Interview with G1, September 2016).

Thus, the data examined in this section supports the seventh subsidiary hypothesis, which contends that strength in numbers is an elementary aspect of leverage politics. Further, it provides evidence that the internal factors (increases in strength, density and capability to exercise pressure) were central for national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights to advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia. It does so in accordance with the conceptual framework based on the transnational advocacy network middle-range theory.

Conclusions

This chapter started by considering the initial stages of an amorphous LGBTI transnational advocacy network, which gained global recognition in the 1970s. Later, I called attention to relevant aspects in Colombia that facilitated the inclusion of LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict within the national human rights agenda and the emerging peace process, such as the decriminalization of homosexuality in 1980, the adoption of the 1991 Constitution, among others. Congruent with a constructivist approach to knowledge, where the construction of social reality in the national sphere is influenced by external as well as internal factors, I began this chapter by pointing out several significant international events, which have had repercussions for LGBTI rights in Colombia. Hence, I delineated the relevant LGBTI-related international debates that influenced the 2006-2016 human rights agenda in the country.

The chapter then examined the national construction of LGBTI movements, groups, and projects since the 1940s. The juxtaposition of nascent favourable international and national

initiatives to push for LGBT rights with the Colombian internal armed conflict was a salient feature of the development of the Colombian LGBTI movement. In this context, the participation of LGBTI people in spaces of transitional justice and the recognition of LGBTI victims have been a slow but steady process.

Local and international actors in transnational advocacy networks used three major politics of influence (information, symbolic, and leverage) so that LGBTI issues could emerge as relevant in the Colombian context in the 2006-2016 process of transitional justice.

Accountability politics apparently did not contribute much to issue emergence, which may be due to the fact that in this phase of the process of influence, LGBTI movements, and specifically LGBTI NGOs, were just emerging as groups which attempted to gain political power to exercise leverage in order to advance their goals. In other words, they might neither have had the leverage to demand accountability from other actors (who supported them), nor were they able to further develop their own accountability to LGBTI populations, given that they were just gaining some space in the Colombian and international human rights political spheres.

Information politics involved attempts by LGBTI non-governmental organizations to establish their expertise by setting up and strengthening communication departments, establishing fluid relations with local NGOs working on similar thematic areas, and compiling relevant information. These developments allowed national LGBTI NGOs to publish annual, monthly and emergent reports, supported by international non-governmental organizations (via leverage politics). Hence, they managed to further legitimize their expertise internationally and nationally.

The use of information politics was also intricately linked to the study and practice of strategic litigation, involving being aware of, creating and identifying the appropriate structures of political opportunities and best timing for informational pieces to come out. So, the first scope of influence of the alluded LGBTI transnational advocacy network campaign to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia during the latest transitional justice process, issue emergence, relied heavily on information politics: 1) to disseminate dependable, impactful, and timely information, and 2) to establish national and international expertise.

Having sizeable communication departments helped LGBTI NGOs advance information online in a mixed use of information politics and symbolic politics, considering the difficulty of organizing mass gatherings in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict, as well as the prevailing taboos surrounding LGBTI issues in the country at the time of their emergence. Further, the use of unambiguous tactics of symbolic politics during this state of influence was not as prevalent. In fact, at this stage, the gathering in the small town of Santandercito during former President Andres Pastrana's peace process, as well as local and regional campaigns to shed light upon LGBTI rights in major cities and municipalities (Bogotá, the Caribbean region, Nariño, among others), were the most relevant occurrences in which LGBTI people gained visibility. At this stage, the mere recognition and visibility of LGBTI subjects in Colombian society after many years of internal armed conflict can be considered as a significant development. The 1991 Constitution paved the way for this.

While one may assign a higher level of influence to direct, legal, or procedural changes because they are to affect palpable realities, the role of symbolic politics should not be overlooked. As can be noticed in this case study, actors in the LGBT transnational advocacy network were instrumental, through symbolic politics, in making themselves visible. This did not have an external objective only in terms of achieving an initial sort of social recognition. It demonstrated to one another (activists) that 'the LGBT issue' had emerged as multiple associations, collectives, NGOs, individual human rights supporters, etc. had displayed their service to LGBT visibility and causes.

During this stage leverage politics involved the identification of national bureaucrats, local organizations, major national organizations and international actors in order to press the Colombian state to pay attention to LGBTI issues nationally and within the context of the ongoing internal armed conflict and emerging peace process between the government and FARC. As mentioned, LGBTI NGOs had just begun to establish themselves as national partners to international organizations and interlocutors of LGBTI demands with state institutions. So, at this stage (issue emergence), their leverage was limited.

International cooperation had a role in the emergence of LGBTI victims as an issue within the Colombian human rights agenda. Small grants and/ or capacity building that could be used strategically by national organizations proved to be helpful since these funds aided

filling the Colombian state funding gap for these sorts of issues. Additionally, it is worth noting the personal conviction of actors involved in the network to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia to prompt them to look for sources of funding internationally. It can be argued that this chapter gave a glimpse at links between personal interest in LGBTI rights advancement, work on an area that is closely related, or that encompasses it (for instance human rights), and increased likelihood to volunteer time and resources to the cause; as well as, in some cases, those of the organizations where actors are employed, and that are sympathetic to the issues.

A second phase within leverage politics involved running programs to provide capacity-building for LGBTI people wishing to get involved in politics, so that they could exert a role as political representatives in local decision-making bodies. Only when these conditions were achieved, could actors in transnational advocacy networks work much more actively to have LGBTI people elected in regional and/or national positions and consequently display some sort of accountability politics (as will be discussed in the next chapters). It is important to point out that no matter whether a strong transnational advocacy network of LGBTI actors who pushed for the advancement of LGBTI rights in Colombia during the latest process of transitional justice existed at the time, it is significant that LGBTI peoples identified ‘achieving political power’ as a direct way to place LGBTI issues within existing human rights discourses and the nascent transitional justice processes. As a result, LGBTI NGOs strengthened their technical expertise in order to provide capacity-building for LGBTI individuals with political aspirations and their allies.

This chapter has shown that the transnational advocacy network to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice is heterogenous. What is more, a source of its strength has to do with the diversity of its members in various areas: in terms of professions -lawyers, social communicators, state officials, etc. geographical area of work; issue(s) of specialization; kind of actor -local, regional, national, international. Further, some of the actors in the network are involved in specific goals and events at various levels, which is a feature that can be highlighted as an efficient way to make use of their distinctive capabilities instead of homogenizing their talents/ areas of expertise.

Finally, regarding the subsidiary hypotheses, findings from this research indicate that: (i) not all politics of influence sought to produce legal changes; (ii) information politics were central for the studied actors to set the issue onto the human rights agenda: global awareness of LGBTI rights facilitated progress on this front at the national level; (iv) relations between actors in the network were horizontal; and (vii) the two internal factors, strength and density, helped the transnational advocacy network advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice in Colombia during the 2006-2016 period.

Chapter 4

Shaping Discourses and Agendas

Advocacy is often a struggle when it comes to evidence, claims, information, and assessment. It is politically sensitive and shaped by relations and interactions, and the different realities of advocacy outcomes and achievements do not lend themselves to short-term measurement or predefined outcome indicators. Evaluation is a co-constructed process shaped by interactions and negotiations in which evidence and outcomes are often contested. [...] these interactions contribute to evaluation quality and accuracy. Interactions through dialogue, co-creation, negotiation, listening and engaging made it possible to adjust the preconceived notions of outcomes and measurement with which we started the evaluation. This was highly valuable, given the need to consider advocates' own understandings of their work and their expert knowledge about their achievements. These interactions also made it possible to consider the diverse levels of evidence necessary to conduct a plausible contribution analysis, providing for a better understanding of the processes and challenges of advocacy. The challenging nature of proving advocacy effectiveness made continued negotiations over the findings unavoidable, demonstrating the highly political nature of evaluation and the multiplicities embedded in the meanings of findings

– Arensman and van Wessel (2018, 65–66).

As has been described previously, discourses on sexual orientation and gender identity were initially absent from human rights institutions worldwide. This is unsurprising as in 1948, even ‘women’ as a category was only named twice throughout the main international human rights document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In fact, Sikkink contends that Hansan Mehta, an Indian activist, diplomat and writer, managed to persuade attendants of the San Francisco meeting to include ‘all human beings’ in lieu of ‘all men’²¹, as can be seen in Article 1: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood” (UN General Assembly 1948).²² Thus, considering that women were not particularly discursively visible within human rights discourses, issues pertaining to LGBTI diversity were not even entertained.

This would change by 1982, as the United Nations Human Rights Committee considered the first case dealing with issues on sexual orientation: *Hertzberg et al. v. Finland*. The Finnish

²¹ (Sikkink 2018, bk. Evidence for Hope Making Human Rights Work in the 21st Century | SOAS University of London. www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5PPDGIOfMM. Accessed on 09/23/2019)

²² UN General Assembly, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 217 (III) A (Paris, 1948), <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (accessed September 10, 2017).

NGO Organization for Sexual Equality (SETA) brought a claim against the state since it claimed that the Finnish Broadcasting Company (FBC) did not respect the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights regarding freedom of expression by prohibiting broadcasting programs that made any reference to homosexuality. While the Committee deemed the communication admissible, it failed in favor of state laws citing paragraph 9 of Chapter 20 of the Finnish Penal Code, which explains that:

[i]f someone publicly engages in an act violating “sexual morality”, thereby giving offense, he shall be sentenced for publicly violating sexual morality to imprisonment for at most six months to a fine. Anyone who publicly encourages “indecent behavior” between persons of the same sex shall be sentenced for encouragement to indecent behavior between members of the same sex as decreed in subsection 1 (UN Human Rights Committee 1982).²³

The Committee further added a cultural relativist dimension to the issue mentioning that “[p]ublic morals differ widely. There is no universally applicable common standard. Consequently, in this respect, a certain margin of discretion must be accorded to the responsible national authorities” (UN Human Rights Committee 1982). However, in the Human Rights Committee decision’s appendix, Torkel Opsahl, member of the Committee, was backed by members Rajsoomer Lallah and Walter Surma Tarnopolsky, in stating that everyone must in principle have the right to share information and ideas – positive or negative – about homosexuality and discuss any problem relating to it freely, through any media of his choice and on his own responsibility” (UN Human Rights Committee 1982). This dissenting opinion considered that public morals were

relative and changing. State-imposed restrictions on freedom of expression must allow for this fact and should not be applied so as to perpetuate prejudice or promote intolerance. It is of special importance to protect freedom of expression as regards minority views, including those that offend, shock, or disturb the majority... It must also be shown that the application of the restriction is ‘necessary’ (UN Human Rights Committee 1982).

Then, eight years later, on May 17, 1990, a radical change took place. The World Health Organization (WHO) resolved to eliminate homosexuality from its list of mental illnesses. Thus, following Scandinavian countries’ prior steps to better protect the rights of their LGBTI citizens (such as the 1972 Swedish authorization for its citizens to be able to change their genders and the 1989 Danish law to allow same-sex registered partnerships), this United

²³ UN Human Rights Committee. “Hertzberg v. Finland”, Comm. 61/1979, U.N. Doc. A/37/40, at 161 (HRC 1982). http://www.worldcourts.com/hrc/eng/decisions/1982.04.02_Hertzberg_v_Finland.htm. (accessed September 10, 2017).

Nations specialized agency acknowledged that homosexuality could no longer be classified as an illness. Margaret Chan, WHO Director-General, mentioned that:

The World Health Organization removed homosexuality from the International Classification of Diseases [...] this was an important step forward. Yet over two decades later, stigma and discrimination against homosexuality still exists, and can result in restricted access to health services and missed targets for health programmes (World Health Organization. Regional Office for Europe 2011).²⁴

In this case, the epistemic community of experts at WHO acted as an agent shaping and changing discourses on homosexuality to define it as unrelated to a health disorder. By removing homosexuality from the list of mental diseases, WHO changed its discourse on sexual orientation by constructing homosexuality as a common occurrence in human sexuality, rather than a disease. Hence, it legitimized homosexuality in the international arena and opened the door for framing LGBTI rights as human rights.

As this short and incomplete history of discursive international advances regarding the rights of LGBTI people reveals, there is a progression in terms of the kinds of rights afforded to LGBTI peoples as well as the visibility these populations have gained. Further history is provided in p. 112, section 5.3.1 ‘Finding support in the discourses of intergovernmental organizations and in the wider/ global discourse’. Hence, for this case study, one acknowledges that the inclusion of LGBTI peoples in the peace process and transitional justice in Colombia did not occur by chance. It is the result of activists’ lengthy and uphill battle to defy heteronormativity. As Encarnacion (2013, 697) states,

[i]t was domestic opportunities rather than international influence that made CHA’s human rights strategy so effective. In particular, the prosecution and eventual conviction of eight generals on human rights charges allowed gay activists to portray acts of discrimination and violence against gays as part of a larger narrative of human rights abuses by the old regime and to connect themselves to the influential human rights movements born with the democratic transition.

In this chapter, I analyse changes in discursive practices regarding LGBTI people in the context of armed conflict in Colombia. First, I look at information politics to shape discourses and the agenda. Then, I examine how LGBTI groups have used symbolic, accountability and leverage politics to influence these two areas. I pay particular attention to the development of

²⁴ World Health Organization. Regional Office for Europe. “Stop Discrimination against Homosexual Men and Women.” World Health Organization. Regional Office for Europe, 2011. <http://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/health-determinants/gender/news/news/2011/05/stop-discrimination-against-homosexual-men-and-women> (accessed August 5, 2019).

specific tactics and strategies for the adoption and adaptation of international norms. As mentioned earlier, this case study is emblematic since advancing LGBTI rights protections in Colombia has taken place in an environment of internal armed conflict and transitional justice.

4.1. Information Politics to Shape Discourses and the Human Rights Agenda

According to the report of the National Center for Historical Memory, *Aniquilar la Diferencia*, there are four main discursive ‘justifications’ that operate so that people with diverse sexual orientations and /or gender identities be discriminated against and human rights violations be committed against them: 1) framing LGBTI peoples as immoral and going against good manners, 2) considering that “non hegemonic sexual orientations and gender identities are contagious diseases” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 115), 3) painting these populations as HIV/AIDS carriers who deserve the violence inflicted upon them, and 4) believing that LGBTI peoples are sinful or are possessed by the devil (sic) (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015). Explaining these discourses of cultural violence is helpful to understand the context in which LGBTI groups sought to change the nature of the debate and develop pedagogic practices for LGBTI people to be seen under a different light, free from prejudices and harmful stereotypes, and included within the human rights agenda.

Discursive changes are imperative to eliminate the culturally violent ‘justifications’ of aggressions against LGBTI people in order to avoid a repetition of such violence. As the *Aniquilar la diferencia* report explains: “if these discourses, which feed into the violent actions [...] are not transformed [...] how is it possible to guarantee that victimizing events against non-heterosexual populations do not happen again? (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 120). Thus, changing the nature of the discourses on sexual orientation, gender identity and expression is a goal that is also addressed by actors in the transnational advocacy network for the advancement of LGTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice. This step is key so that with a new ‘image’, LGBTI groups may be considered within human rights discourses and the Colombian human rights agenda, which supports the first subsidiary hypothesis: not all politics of influence sought to affect legal changes as their immediate or more direct objective.

4.1.1 LGBTI people framed as victims in the context of the internal armed conflict

Representatives of LGBTI NGOs framed the experiences of LGBTI people within the broader experiences of victimization, persecution and displacement which were also shared by a significant percentage of the Colombian population during the internal armed conflict. This was a strategic way to call attention to the commonality of victimization as well as the presumption of innocence that these populations wished to be applied to them – a common standard when administering justice. Thus, the work of actors in transnational advocacy networks involved compiling information, analysing it and publishing it strategically so that it would have the desired effect of legitimizing LGBTI issues and raising Colombians' awareness about the concerns and struggles of LGBTI people.

Local activists, LGBTI people themselves, state institutions and LGBTI NGOs such as Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, Santamaría Foundation, among other national members of the amorphous transnational advocacy network pushing for LGBTI rights were instrumental in compiling information about the multiple cases of abuse experienced by LGBTI people. For instance, the state institution *Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas – UARIV* (Unit for the Attention and Integral Reparation for Victims), which depends on the Home Ministry, published the report *Caracterización a víctimas con orientaciones sexuales e identidades de género no hegemónicas en el marco del conflicto armado* (characterizing non hegemonic sexual orientation and gender identity victims in the framework of the armed conflict). The report mentions that there were 993 people registered in the *Registro Único de Víctimas* (Central Register of Victims) from 2012 until October 2014. Antioquia, Bolívar, and Nariño were the departments with the highest number of LGBTI victims. It also explains that Bogotá was the city with the highest number of displaced LGBTI people (Unidad de Víctimas 2014, 6). The framing of LGBTI affected people as innocent people is congruent with the main accepted theoretical approaches about the capacity of transnational advocacy networks to establish the issue and reshape the discourses on sexual orientation and gender identity (see conceptual framework in chapter II). Further, it supports part of the eight subsidiary hypothesis of this research, as a frame of 'seeking to avoid violence towards innocent people' is one of the external factors that makes it more likely that the work of a transnational advocacy network will be successful.

LGBTI groups also had to face a problem of inadequate compilation of data about LGBTI victims by state institutions, which prevented the conduct of a more exhaustive and telling analysis. For instance, the Unit for the Attention and Integral Reparation for Victims considered ‘LGBTI’ to be a characteristic within gender that excluded the person from identifying themselves as a man or a woman’ Thus, a victim was deemed to be either man, woman or LGBTI. This conceptualization enables the Colombian state to keep track of LGBTI victims; however, it does not differentiate among lesbians, gays, bisexual women and men, transgender women and men, and intersex men and women. Further, it excludes LGBTI people from the category of gender. Hence, lesbians, for instance, are not considered as “women” victims of the armed conflict but rather as a separate category (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 45).

While the data about LGBTI victims is incomplete and these victims have been under-registered, available data revealed that by September 2015, 767 gay men, 361 transsexual men, and 451 transsexual women represented the highest numbers of victims among the 2514 cases of LGBTI victims (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 51). Undoubtedly, this is a small number in comparison to the likely real numbers of such victims during the five decade long armed conflict in Colombia. The researchers of the report *Aniquilar la Diferencia* indeed mentioned that “out of the 63 victims that were individually interviewed, only 17 had made a declaration to state institutions and had become part of the Central Register of Victims” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 51). These figures make the likely number of LGBTI victims at least thrice the official number recorded by the Victims Unit.

As mentioned previously, actors of the transnational advocacy network pushing for LGBTI rights became specialized in a certain kind of work. Thus, while state institutions were unable to compile direct and reliable information about LGBTI victims, civil society actors have sought to fill that void. According to the National Center for Historical Memory’s report *Aniquilar la Diferencia*, “social organizations serving LGBTI people have had a fundamental role in the registry of the violent acts to which these populations have been subjected” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 59). This has been the particular case of Colombia Diversa and Caribe Afirmativo, which have kept their own registry of LGBTI victims and denounced the violence suffered by LGBTI people in their reports, year after

year, starting in 2010. For instance, the number of LGBTI victims recorded by Caribe Afirmativo “in the Caribbean region during the following seven years (2007-2013) show a total of 100 violent deaths of LGBTI people” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 63), but the number must be much higher. The problem of registration is further compounded by the fact that LGBTI people, especially transgender women and gay men, have seldom not recognized the frequent episodes of sexual assault and rape as instances of victimization. This process of naturalizing violence has been so prevalent in society that it has not only affected the local communities in which LGBTI people live, but has affected the self-perception of LGBTI people, impeding them from recognizing their position of vulnerability (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 262).

Experiences of discrimination start early on for many people who deviate from heteronormative behaviour. Children are victims especially. The interviews conducted by the researchers of *Aniquilar la Diferencia* show that about 30 percent of LGBTI victims experienced violence during their childhood and adolescence, and about 40 percent while they were between 18 and 26 years old (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 173). LGBTI groups’ dissemination of this kind of information about violence towards children and adolescents served to create empathy towards LGBTI people and compassion towards children, revealing that LGBTI children and teenagers had been especially vulnerable during the armed conflict. This tactic is congruent with the eighth subsidiary hypothesis too, since ‘establishing a clear cause and effect linkage between the issue at hand and human rights violations’ is another external factor that increases the rate of success of transnational advocacy networks.

The Sergio Urrego case became well-known throughout the country as it involved the suicide of a gay teenager due to constant bullying in his educational institution. *Colombia Diversa* provided support for the family of the deceased student, including litigating on their behalf. According to a lawyer from the organization,

an emblematic case that has had individual effects as well as mediatic repercussions is the one about Sergio Urrego. He was a 14-year-old teenager who suffered discrimination and abuse by school administrators because he had a relationship with another male classmate. The case came here [to Colombia Diversa] when he was still alive in July and then in August 2014, he took his life. So, we took the case and litigated it as a penal process as well as a constitutional one (Interview with O6, November 2016).

4.1.2 Framing LGBTI populations as subjected to conditions that have made them vulnerable within the context of internal armed conflict

In the report *Aniquilar la diferencia*, researchers emphasize that settings of internal armed conflict exacerbate unattended social issues. In their words, “the armed conflict has taken advantage of unresolved social problems for its goals, among them, discrimination due to sexual orientation or gender identity” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 66). While LGBTI populations were already discriminated against before the armed conflict, during it they became victims of virulent and heinous acts of direct violence. Nonetheless, the cultural and structural factors that gave discursive justification to these acts remained the same: heterosexism, patriarchy, religious beliefs, etc. This is why LGBTI groups pushed for the historical clarification of what happened to LGBTI persons during the armed conflict and what were the causes of it. In particular, these groups have raised awareness about the need for “society to recognize that the recent internal armed conflict is simply another moment in their long history of violent events” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 27).

LGBTI people exist in all social strata. Nonetheless, those who come from a working class or poor background are more vulnerable to human rights violations, especially in the context of internal armed conflict. Transgender victims are especially vulnerable since they are often discriminated against by their closest family members. Further, many transgender women do not finish high school because of bullying, physical and emotional abuse, and in some cases, even rape in educational institutions. Thus, transgender victims are often unable to attain an educational level that would enable them to find a formal job. Many of them work in beauty salons since this tends to be a small niche where they can obtain formal employment. Many other transgender women cannot find any other source of income other than prostitution, which further places them in vulnerable circumstances. A telling song by Mr. More & Fly So High, which is part of the 2011 *Putas o Peluqueras* (Whores or Hairdressers) documentary by Mónica Moya/Yagé Producciones reflects on these issues and is an example of symbolic and information politics to advance the discourse on LGBTI vulnerability; in this case, with the testimony of transgender women, which is why I am providing a translation of it:

I am a stranger in this body. I miss it out there because one cannot be honest in these streets.
There are so many who hate me and treat me like a nobody. There are so few who respect me,
so few who love me

A stranger in this body, I miss it out there because one cannot be honest in these streets. If
they only understood that it is not because I want to. It was my fate, being a whore or a
hairdresser.

It is a hard decision, where macho men abound, where they judge how you are, they criticize your outfit. Real fights, do not insist on being different, accept their nature among all these people. They violate their rights, guarantees and obligations. It is not unheard of that they must pay duties, 'vaccines', no doubt, life without censure. And they carry all the weight of rejection with torture. Their company is the night, where they offer their services. Next day in the beauty salon to work, do their hair and get women adornments.

I know it is not easy for people to understand that they are happy with themselves despite any stigma. Even when outside is weird, and their fate is to be whores or hairdressers. A fight every day is the summary of my story. My effort to be me and my family's rejection. I still remember the beatings and jailing. And the dirt of these streets is my last refuge. In this corner, in this exile, in this room without reasons, taken care of by my own and a box of condoms. Filled with deception I remind myself to be happy, to own my free body and believe in myself.

Because the world lies and it is the truth that every day their morals, their fears and their police attack me. I only wonder if all that hypocrisy, if the man who loved me once would perhaps return. He would tell me he loves me and that I am his sky and muse, he would tell me that he is willing to be here without fears or excuses since he loves me and there is no discussion about it. Regardless that I am a 'Black, faggot and whore' (Moya 2011).²⁵

What is more, a transgender woman who explains her views in the *Dis-Arming Sexualities: LGBTI Peoples and Application of the Victims Law in the Colombian Caribbean report*, mentions that:

within the same population there is discrimination, too much, especially towards trans girls, why do I say so? Because here in Cartagena trans girls cannot step on the San Diego Plaza because the faggots start talking, 'hey check out the tranny, look at her heels, look at her dress, she does not look like a woman'. I believe that we have to work on that with this population. Besides, because in these processes there are always the same faggots and the same trannys, and the same faggots always fight with each other to be in the pride parade vehicles. In this sense there is no unity as a population, each one looks for their interests (Caribe Afirmativo and USAID 2015, 65–66).

As a result of these structural conditions, transgender women tend to be involved with informal economy activities, as well as to get coerced by guerrilla or paramilitary forces to function as collaborators of sorts. In this context, police forces often arrested them on the grounds of alleged collaboration with armed actors and put them in jail, where they have suffered from violence. Once they managed to get out of prison, they no longer had a social network, had no employment, no contact with family members, no education, and so they constantly became homeless. This pattern of human rights violations would sometimes involve having to move from their native communities to other cities or towns in order to

²⁵ (Mónica Moya, *Putas or Peluqueras 2011*). Performed by Mr More & Fly so High/ Mandragora Hip Hop (2011; Bogotá), song from homonymous documentary. Translation, thesis author.

avoid persecution. However, there, they would also often be subjected to similar conditions “in a vicious cycle or spiral that becomes impossible to leave behind” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 97).

Actors in the transnational advocacy network pushing for LGBTI rights used narratives such as this one to raise people’s awareness about the multiple abuses suffered by LGBTI people, such as transgender women. Such a framing reveals the structural barriers faced by these people and seeks to create parallels between an ideal condition of victimhood/innocence and refraining from committing violence against LGBTI people. Constructing the topic as a matter of equality, as avoiding violence towards the innocent, and showing a clear link between the issue and human rights violations are three key external factors that increase transnational advocacy networks’ rate of success. Hence, as mentioned previously, this section provides data that supports the eighth subsidiary hypothesis. The use of such framing by the transnational advocacy network pushing for LGBTI rights in Colombia therefore enabled LGBTI people, such as transgender women, to be taken into account in the transitional justice agenda (Gobernación de Bolívar and Caribe Afirmativo 2016).

Compiling information on human rights violations against LGBTI people, making such information public and denouncing abuses by state security forces, paramilitary groups and guerrillas also provided incentives for FARC to support the campaign for the recognition of LGBTI rights, since the data showed that state security forces and paramilitary groups committed the greater number of human rights violations against LGBTI people. Some of the accounts of ‘social cleansing’ involved the participation of state forces. For instance, there are accounts by Kenny, a lesbian woman from the Bajo Cauca Antioqueñan Municipality who implicated the *Seccional de Investigación Criminal de la Policía* (Police Criminal Investigation Department) in these kind of operations (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 198). Two out of three acts of physical violence against LGBTI people were carried out by paramilitary forces (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 177). By publicly denouncing the paramilitaries as the main perpetrators of violence against LGBTI people as part of information politics, actors in the transnational advocacy network for LGBTI rights likely received FARC’s support for the recognition of LGBTI victims during the 2012-2016 peace negotiations. As former FARC Commander Victoria Sandino notes,

the official apology by the guerrilla -something along the lines of opening the door for homosexual and trans people brought problems in a context of war- it has been that: an apology. ‘In fact, that resistance to accept it has had to do with cultural and patriarchal conditions due to that mindset of the people who are part of the guerrilla’ (Gómez Nadal 2016).²⁶

This timid support was essential for LGBTI victims to be explicitly recognized in the 2016 peace agreement between the government and FARC. Further, in very few instances did LGBTI activists resist violence by using violent means. One such instance occurred where transgender women who offered sexual work in the streets resisted abuse by police forces “with sticks, machetes, gas, electric shocks, whatever was available” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 378). However, the violence used by LGBTI activists against violent threats was significantly lower than the violence perpetrated by state security forces and irregular armed forces since they have never had the same weaponry. This section thus continues to provide backing for the second subsidiary hypothesis as information politics has proven to be central for national actors in transnational advocacy networks pushing for LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia. What is more, the data in this section appears to support the third subsidiary hypothesis regarding positive reinforcements as ways to advance human rights issues and gain concessions.

4.1.3 LGBTI rights as Human Rights

In 1980, before the World Health Organization reversed the policy that characterized homosexuality as a disease, the Colombian legal framework established that homosexuality was no longer illegal through decree 100. Representatives of Colombian LGBTI NGOs placed the human rights of LGBTI people within the wider global human rights norms. In this way, and by using this framework, LGBTI groups contributed to Colombians’ change of perception about LGBTI people (which had been generally seen as sexually promiscuous, or “immoral”, “indecent” or “sick” and thus, in a way or another, “deserving” the violent acts committed against them). A transgender activist shares her thoughts on this area and questions:

²⁶ Gómez Nadal, Paco. “Las FARC se aplican para entender el universo LGBTI.” *Colombia Plural* (blog), September 23, 2016. <https://colombiaplural.com/las-farc-se-aplican-entender-universo-lgbti/> (accessed November 8, 2019).

How are we diverse? In which areas specifically? If we want to be like the others, hey I understand the idea of fighting for equal rights, but what I do not understand is why I ought to standardize in order to live my rights? [...] I have not changed my name in my identity document because the Colombian government, regardless of what my ID says, must guarantee my rights as a woman. I do not need to be assimilated (Interview with O3, September 2016).

Likewise, according to the report *Aniquilar la Diferencia*,

during the last decades, various norms that went against the fundamental rights of LGBTI people have been changed in the country and many civil rights that were denied for centuries have just been recognized. This was achieved due to the continuous work of social movements that, since the seventies in Colombia, have fought for equal rights and the transformation of ideologies and practices of exclusion and marginalization that gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender peoples have lived” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 75).

The work of the transnational advocacy network that has pushed for the recognition of LGBTI rights during the internal armed conflict is part of these efforts. One of its main successes has been the recognition of LGBTI victims in the transitional justice process. In order to achieve this, LGBT NGOs have played a significant role in framing LGBTI rights as human rights, which made them be respected and protected by the Colombian state.

The influence of religious organizations in Colombia is important, since while Colombia is a secular nation, many Christian institutions (especially Catholic church representatives) have taken part in public debates about the armed conflict. Many of them have opposed the recognition of the rights of LGBTI people (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 77). Therefore, LGBTI organizations have worked diligently to counter the narratives of these institutions, especially against same sex marriage and adoption rights in the last years.

According to a lawyer at Colombia Diversa,

our team of social communicators respond to attacks by public opinion makers and detractors that are around in all social networks. Lately, they have become stronger in every mass media because I believe that at the very beginning of this struggle for human rights they did not know, or they had not realized how important we would end up being for these changes. At the beginning, the battle was somewhat silent, then we started winning cases. But detractors are more organized than before and have loud voices; thus, we also have sought to strengthen our internal communication strategy (Interview with O2, November 2016).

For instance, the Colombian Episcopal Conference sent letters to every senator in the country arguing that the true family (heterosexual) would be in danger if the senate was to allow so-

called “fake families” (non-heterosexual) to gain the same kind of recognition. Additionally, “it considered as a ‘lack of respect for the human species’ that same-sex couples used in vitro fertilization to overcome their limitations” (El Tiempo 2010).²⁷ In order to respond to this, members of the transnational advocacy network that has pushed for the recognition of LGBTI rights have developed various projects and programs; some of them are discussed in the upcoming sections and chapters. An LGBTI activist and lawyer from Colombia Diversa explains,

as we are always quite a visible organization, everyone waits for us to respond to any issue that may come up regarding LGBTI rights. This is why we had to strengthen the communication strategy, precisely due to the current peace process. In fact, after the October 2016 plebiscite we saw the need to become even more active because we believe that our strategy cannot stay in the legal realm as the agreement opens many possibilities for public policy making. So, we want to ensure that the goals of civil organizations and social movements are there (Interview with O2, November 2016).

As this section shows, the three external factors that strengthen the work of transnational advocacy networks are present, which is congruent with the eighth subsidiary hypothesis. Additionally, as the paragraph above explains, internal factors, including the strength of the network, its density and its capability to exercise pressure, increased in the period under study. Finally, this section deals with the fifth subsidiary hypothesis, regarding actors in transnational advocacy networks having their identities and interests altered by participating in the exchange of information and activities of these social configurations. The following section examines this subsidiary hypothesis in greater depth.

4.1.4 Alignment of LGBTI groups to peace discourses

As mentioned earlier, in order to counter discourses against LGBTI people, LGBTI NGOs placed emphasis on converging the idea of LGBTI people as victims of the internal armed conflict. A posterior tactic implied depicting them also as agents who sought an end to the internal armed conflict through peaceful means. By doing this, they inserted themselves within the national human rights agenda, promoting discourses of victimhood, vulnerability and injustice. Subsequently, the response to this framing has influenced predominant discourses in the country by legitimizing LGBTI people as relevant actors within the

²⁷ El Tiempo. 2010. “*Los argumentos de la Iglesia en contra del matrimonio gay - Archivo Digital de Noticias de Colombia y el Mundo desde 1.990 - eltiempo.com,*” <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-4095661> (accessed October 10, 2017).

framework of transitional justice in Colombia. According to a staff member at Colombia Diversa,

currently, we are leading the peace is diversity (*paz es diversidad*) campaign in close association with smaller organizations in Bucaramanga and Pereira. We are trying to do different activities without having Colombia Diversa as the only visible organization, since it is a peace campaign on peace pedagogy. And peace does not belong to any organization. So, we have worked with other NGOs and their leadership has been recognized. They are organizations and networks that exist in the territory already and we have had a harmonious collaboration altogether (Interview with O3, September 2016).

Likewise, on August 23, 2016, multiple LGBTI organizations agreed to support the peace agreement. Thus, they developed the LGBTI votes yes (*LGBTI Vota Sí*) for the peace agreement campaign in a highly symbolic date: when Colombians commemorate the national day against violence and discrimination due to sexual orientation or gender identity. This day was established in memory of Leon Zuleta, a Colombian LGBTI activist assassinated on August 23, 1993. So, the campaign included promotional material (such as the flag shown in Figure 4 below) in order to promote an “inclusive” yes vote.



Figure 4. egoCity Diversity Network, *LGBTI Vota Sí*, 2016.

Further, the campaign stated that:

as an exclusive civil society space that will not only include LGBTI peoples but also multiple social actors who trust that Peace is an opportunity to build roads for everyone’s inclusion [...] ‘LGBTI votes for’ is a reference regarding the affirmative support of LGBTI people to

the upcoming plebiscite. This initiative is a call for peace pedagogy about the agreements signed in Havana (egoCity 2016)²⁸.

As this section shows, LGBTI NGOs adapted their communication strategies and their programming to reflect the interests of the LGBTI population in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice process (2006-2016) in Colombia. Hence, this section provides more backing for the fifth subsidiary hypothesis, as it acknowledges that actors in the transnational advocacy network had their identities and interests changed while they were part of it. Promoting discourses on peace, linked to equality for all Colombians, including LGBTI people, proved to be an activity which sought to transform not only legal aspects, but also the way in which LGBTI people were perceived in the country. Thus, data in this area provides support to the first subsidiary hypothesis as well, given that ‘aligning LGBTI rights to peace discourses’ did not seek as a most immediate and direct goal to only change legal aspects of social existence.

Further, information politics has been key for national actors to advance the rights of LGBTI people in Colombia through transnational advocacy networks. This corroborates the second subsidiary hypothesis. Additionally, activists reported on violence towards innocents, established a clear cause and effect linkage between the internal armed conflict and human rights violations against LGBTI people (external factors), and thus framed advancing LGBTI rights as a matter of equality.

4.2 Symbolic Politics to Shape Discourses and the Agenda

As mentioned in the previous chapter, symbolic politics has as a main objective to gain attention, incite political action, and/or develop loyalties. Influencing discourses on sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, as well as the roles of LGBTI people during the internal armed conflict and emerging peace process through symbolic politics is possible and is what this section intends to show. Further, the linkage between affecting discourses and being included in national and local human rights agendas is close. Thus, this section considers both scopes/ stages of influence.

²⁸ egoCity. 2016. “Nos unimos por la paz, LGBTI vota SÍ.” egoCity LGBTIQ Diversity Network. August 23, 2016. <https://egocitymgz.com/nos-unimos-la-paz-lgbti-vota/> (accessed October 25, 2016).

4.2.1 Organizing parades/ pageants to increase visibility and make use of public space

LGBTI groups used public spaces to organize parades and other initiatives to increase their visibility. For instance, the report *Aniquilar la diferencia* mentions the Diverse Roundtable of the Commune 8 (*Mesa Diversa de la Comuna 8*) in Medellín, “an initiative established in 2007 in order to raise awareness of issues pertaining to sexual orientation and gender identity” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 148). As mentioned earlier, such a public initiative was relatively uncommon at the time because of the risks that LGBTI people could run by making themselves visible. Nevertheless, as time passed by and the conditions gradually became more favorable, more initiatives like this began taking place. Thereby the visibility of LGBTI people increased, as well as the general Colombian society’s familiarity with issues around sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and the victimization of LGBTI people during the internal armed conflict.

For instance, stories of family acceptance first, and then social and community familiarity with LGBTI issues is commented in the *¡A mí me sacaron volada de allá!* (They got me out of there swiftly) book, published by the General Secretary of Bogotá and the National University of Colombia. Hence, Sharon, a transgender woman mentioned that:

the very first day I was going to dress as a woman to participate in the pageant I called her and said ‘mommy, I am like this, I am gay and I am going to be dressed as a woman because I do performances in the Primavera (Spring neighborhood) and they pay me well’, and she said, ‘aw, well that’s great!’ (Prada Prada et al. 2012, 93).

Then, an initiative by the District Secretary of Planning and Economic Development through the Direction on Sexual Diversity sought to include some transgender women as models for the Bogotá Fashion Week 2010 in order to model clothing made by young designers from the Andean Area University Foundation (*Fundación Universitaria del Área Andina*). Prada Prada hence explains that:

The support for the casting process (attended by 35 transgender women) was overseen by the Direction on Sexual Diversity, an entity that ensured that models would participate on equal conditions and that they would be recognized according to their gender identity. The Secretary of Economic Development, on their part, provided technical, human and financial resources so that the show would have the same conditions as other brands (Prada Prada et al. 2012, 273).

According to *¡A mí me sacaron volada de allá!* there were successive events in the following years, 2011 and 2012, which created a familiarity with transgender women within the fashion

realm. In fact, as Tatiana Piñeros, Bogotá Secretary of Social Inclusion contends: “this is a proof of inclusion, a real message that transgender women can be anywhere, like in fashion, an area that was never traditionally opened for their participation” (Prada Prada et al. 2012, 273). Thus, by 2012, the year when peace negotiations started taking place between the Colombian government and FARC, transgender women had already become much more visible in social spaces, especially considering the publicity for fashion shows and the prestige of the Bogotá Fashion Week.

This section highlights the importance of working with allies (including the private sector) in order to advance human rights, especially when considering the third subsidiary hypothesis, which explains that positive reinforcement mechanisms are likely to be effective in getting other actors’ collaboration. This is the case of the businesses promoting Bogota Fashion Week, which gained publicity, visibility and (possibly) economic gains by including transgender women in the event.

4.2.2 Organizing and being part of community-oriented activities

Some LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict left Colombia and have had little to no participation in the peace process, while other LGBTI victims remained in Colombia (although they were often displaced) and played a role in highlighting LGBTI issues in the peace process. In particular, some LGBTI people collaborated with their communities in visible spaces thereby contributing to change community members’ perception about LGBTI people in general and victims in particular. Helping clean up a neighbourhood park, caring for the homeless population, supporting local schools and organizing local processes of participation and decision-making are some of the initiatives undertaken by LGBTI people in order to get involved in their communities and shift discourses about LGBTI people in various spaces. These initiatives have helped change the image held by community members about LGBTI people, and to consider the latter as valuable community members who are connected to their communities and supportive. For instance, the report *Aniquilar la Diferencia* indicates that a gay man,

Simon, used to provide refuge for LGBT people who had had to leave their communities from many areas in the Bolívar department, due to armed forces threatening them [... There are also] meeting places, spaces where gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people may strengthen their bonds and accompany one another in the territories. This is the case of a soccer group that a lesbian woman had organized in a neighborhood in the north part of

Medellín. The group was created to promote women's soccer (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 357).

As a result of better community relations, the visibility of LGBTI people has increased. Their symbolic use and appropriation of public spaces such as parks, libraries, universities, dining services, etc, have furthered normalized their existence in their communities. An important development in this area had to do with LGBTI people feeling more capable of deviating from the rigid gender patterns of behaviour, exacerbated due to the internal armed conflict, during community service events or programs. Thus, discourses on sexual orientation, gender identity, being LGBTI, among others, began losing their taboo status, and moving towards greater respect for the human rights of LGBTI people. In fact, a staff member of Caribe Afirmativo informs that:

through various activities, for example, the 'Peace Houses', there are projects called the 'LGBTI school' and the 'Capacity Building School for trans men and women' (*Escuela de Formación para Mujeres y Hombres Trans*) that seek to provide capacity building to not only LGBTI people but also to straight students, youth, and adults about the issue of rights as well as political themes. We are very political and thus, if the LGBTI topic sometimes seems to be superficial, we do not criticize that, but we do seek to transform the issue to make it more about rights, about the constitution, and about being recognizant of our presence (Interview with O5, November 2016).

As this section demonstrates, LGBTI people have sought to be active members of the community in a variety of spaces, which has helped them influence prevalent discourses on sexual orientation and gender identity. Besides, as this section contends, Colombian society and the LGBTI movement seem to have experienced a progression from social recognition of their existence to acknowledgement of their vulnerability within a context of internal armed conflict. Further, it is relevant to point out their participation in discourse creation regarding human rights, peace proposals and political empowerment. Leverage politics are noticeable, the more LGBTI people got involved in community activities, the more LGBTI issues gained legitimacy in local areas and the country as a whole.

4.2.3 Reshaping the image of LGBTI human rights defenders (respectability politics)

As more LGBTI people began appearing in public settings, LGBTI NGOs changed the way in which LGBTI populations who participated in political settings were perceived. In particular, they emphasized the diversity of LGBTI groups. For instance, they tried to show that, contrary to the widespread perception of LGBTI people as promiscuous, abnormal, or

deviant, many LGBT persons exhibited the same behaviours as heterosexual people, for instance having long-term relationships. In particular, some LGBTI human rights defenders, representatives in local decision-making bodies or who held important positions in general distanced themselves from the narratives of LGBTI people as “deviant”, thereby contributing to alter the perception of many Colombians that LGBTI persons were fundamentally different. Montealegre Castrillón stresses the role of human rights activists in pushing for the recognition of LGBTI rights:

The role of human rights defenders of LGBTI people has been fundamental in the process of making the political agenda of the social movement more visible, since [...] it places aspects that are historically assigned to the private sphere in the public one, aspects such as sexuality, love, reproductive choices, constituting families, equal marriage, among others. And it is precisely these stakes which set up a clearing away of established paradigms (Montealegre Castrillón 2016, 15).

Some LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict also tried to represent themselves in a way that makes them little different from heterosexual victims in order to achieve recognition. For instance, some of them used “strategies to hide, deny their sexual orientation, avoid talking about the issue, masculinize or feminize themselves [...] to pass as straight and avoid exclusion and violence” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 91). In a similar fashion, “the CHA emphasized showing gays and lesbians without any overt signs of difference” (Encarnación 2013, 696). As an example, a transgender victim of the internal armed conflict in Colombia recalls that

I used to do my classmates hair, I would dye it, put make up on, sold candy to make a living and I knew everyone’s life in high school [...] I had two trans friends with whom I used to walk on the street absent-mindedly, until one was killed. Today, it is one year since her death. They sent me a pamphlet and I had to leave... when I arrived to Bogotá I did not know what to do, so I decided to cut off my hair because it was easier to pass as a dude than as a transvestite [...] For a faggot, my life, life in Bogotá is very rough (Montealegre Castrillón 2016, 13).

One of the three things that makes LGBTI people more likely to be subject of violence is to be public about their sexual orientation (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 142). Consequently, few representatives of LGBTI groups (regardless of whether they are national or local leaders, rural or come from urban areas) appeared publicly with their significant others, or in any case, did not showcase their relationships, in contrast to cisgender and/ or heterosexual public figures who tend to appear with their families. They do so in order to be considered more favourably, as “[b]eing perceived as family-engaged is assumed to benefit

politicians, augmenting moral capital they can trade for votes and power. Moral capital benefits of family engagement are particularly salient for male politicians, whose relationship to family generally invokes responsibility and strength” (Adams 2011, 223).

Even so, an exception to this is the couple made up of former Senator Claudia López and former Representative to the House of Bogotá Angélica Lozano. Currently, Lozano is the Second Vice President of the Senate and López became the mayor of Bogotá on 1 January 2020. In Figure 5, López congratulated Lozano via Twitter for winning the Senate election, describing her as: “woman, LGBT, feminist, lawyer, activist of all things she believes in, best Representative for 4 consecutive years, second highest number of votes to the Senate by the Green party and the love of my life!”. Likewise, another well-known power couple is composed of the former Ministry of Education, Gina Parody, and the former Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Cecilia Álvarez, during the Santos administration. These two famous couples may well be a welcome sign that LGBTI acceptance is growing in the political realms in the country, starting with the visibility and political success of lesbian women.



Figure 5. Claudia López, Twitter post, July 20, 2018, 9:43 pm ²⁹

²⁹ Claudia López, Twitter post, July 20, 2018, 9:43 pm, <https://twitter.com/ClaudiaLopez>.

LGBTI groups also used so-called “respectability politics” to portray themselves as part of the population in general. In particular, representatives of LGBTI NGOs made efforts to be seen as part of the common group of people who fought for human rights. As a result of these efforts which might often have been unconscious, the general population started perceiving them as similar (in their ways of speaking, dressing and behaving) to heterosexual human rights activists. This was especially true for the first leaders and speakers for the LGBTI people who performed heteronormativity in a way that brought them closer to the ‘accepted’ gender norms. In this way, Colombian LGBTI NGO representatives conveyed an image of respectability and ‘normalcy’, which was deemed to be necessary for two closely related reasons: 1) in order to protect themselves from violence, and 2) as a way to advance their goals without calling too much unwanted (and dangerous) attention. As the *Cuerpos Excluidos, Rostros de Impunidad* report mentions,

the visibility of people in a framework of conflict, due to their expression or gender identity, or due to the leadership activities they exercise within their communities, is a reason why illegal armed groups identify them as targets of their battle and put forward actions against their integrity, their belongings and their families (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016, 132).

Indeed, the performativity of certain attributes such as masculinity in a cisgender man, femininity in a cisgender woman (a way of speaking and dressing, a tone of voice, among other characteristics) may enable people to have greater access to the public sphere, owing to predominant social norms. LGBTI NGO representatives, aware of this, polished their presentation and attempted to adapt their behaviour to the formal and informal languages/ requests of national and international institutions/ donors. Buchely, L. & Salas, N. indicate, for instance, that there are organizations whose lawyers

are always recruited from the elite universities in the country (all in Bogotá) and a number of their members are respected public opinion makers [...Other organizations] reveal (...) a social order that privileges men [...and] reinforces the narratives of the ‘lack of support of the local authorities’ (2019, 67–68).

This strategy was especially relevant for those members of the transnational advocacy network who pushed for LGBTI rights in Colombia, who had the least access to decision-makers. Yet, this needs to be problematized, in particular regarding the demands of transgender individuals, for instance, who have often experienced resistance to and delay in their priorities (see Buchely and Salas Herrera 2019). As can be noticed, this section deals with the horizontal character of relations among actors, contending that it may not be so.

Thus, the fourth subsidiary hypothesis could be true, though the data analyzed in this section is insufficient to make such a claim.

LGBTI NGOs devoted significant resources to their communication departments. This enabled them to monitor the portrayal of LGBTI people in the media, as well as to denounce discriminatory stereotypes. By monitoring national media and rectifying erroneous information, LGBTI NGOs have been able to avoid the representation of LGBTI people in ways that would stigmatize them and have promoted instead ‘more acceptable’ representations. In so doing, LGBTI NGOs have contributed to changing the nature of the debates in society regarding LGBTI issues in a context of internal armed conflict/ transitional justice.

An enlightening perspective has to do with a *Caribe Afirmativo* staff member who mentions that:

social networks are vital. In fact, it is our first communication channel, we have explained to people that we cannot understand the LGBTI issue as an isolated one since it should be on everyone’s mind. We are not talking about amoral people but about people like you and me, who simply have a different sexual orientation or gender identity. So, above all, we are human beings. We do not use the LGBTI community appellative, we are LGBTI people. [The reason for this is that, for instance] some time ago there was a case of some trans women involved in a robbery. Thus, the police captured three people of the LGBTI community. It sounds as if we were one group, but we are people and we are diverse. Even LGBTI is already a huge conglomerate [...] We have life projects, and we demand that LGBTI rights be respected as the 1991 Constitution proclaims. So, our ways to get to people are through social media and mass media, informing them that Caribe Afirmativo not only talks about rights but also builds them through various activities (Interview with O5, November 2016).

4.2.4 Pacifism, Non-violence, No confrontation

Representatives of LGBTI NGOs placed emphasis on strategies such as displaying white flags to support peace (before and during the peace process). Additionally, they organized vigils to pay respect to and create social conscience for the LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict. An instance where a nonconfrontational symbolic tactic was used is explained in the *Aniquilar la Diferencia* report, as Andrés, a gay man in Medellín and his friends from the Commune 8 wished to meet in a public place but had been threatened by paramilitary forces. So,

we decided to act and organize an artistic carnival in *La Sierra*. We all showed up with costumes, with *chirimías*³⁰, with sound, with artists, trying to talk about the issue without confronting the armed actor because that would have meant the death of one of us or a probable displacement. So, these are some of our strategies even though the artistic theme is not our forte since we work on a more political front. We have made use of this tool, in other words, arts in order to get to some sectors in Commune 8 (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 414).

As the above narrative mentions, being creative through the use of artistic tools was a way by which LGBTI people were able to make themselves more visible, contributing to changing the discourses on LGBTI people in the country while navigating the difficulty of not upsetting armed actors too much. Also, this section takes into consideration the fifth subsidiary hypothesis of this research since Andrés's testimony explains that members of Commune 8 had to change their ways of doing advocacy by adapting their tactics to the conditions on the ground. Hence, it can be argued that being involved in promoting LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia through transnational advocacy networks did affect actors' identities and interests.

Another set of initiatives had to do with mixing information politics and symbolic ones by organizing spaces throughout the country where people could reflect upon peace discourses and how they may apply to the LGBTI people. For an activist at Caribe Afirmativo,

There are many initiatives such as *Paz a la Calle* (Peace on the street), which is more of a student movement. Caribe Afirmativo has decided to support it, as well as other LGBTI organizations. In fact, before the plebiscite, Caribe Afirmativo organized in various municipalities of the Colombian Caribbean multiple visits to smaller LGBTI groups in order to talk about the plebiscite and the gender perspective. We had those activities to gain visibility [...] For the day against homophobia and considering the issue of peace, we had a campaign called *Súmate a la paz sin homofobia y transfobia* (Contribute to peace without homophobia and transphobia) [...] Something very cute was when we went to the *El Carmen de Bolívar* Department, we went to a park asking attendants how they would contribute to peace without homophobia and transphobia. So that was an exercise where the community in general was involved as people had to question how they would support and value diversity (Interview with O5, November 2016).

These sorts of initiatives took place in the Municipal Districts of “Soledad, Atlántico; Montería, in Córdoba; Riohacha, in La Guajira; and el Carmen de Bolívar, in los Montes de

³⁰ *Chirimía* is a musical instrument that resembles an oboe.

María” (Caribe Afirmativo 2016)³¹. As Figure 6 shows, LGBTI and peace discourses were intertwined for LGBTI populations and the heterosexual and cisgender population in Colombia in order to link these two issues. Indeed, the dove, which is traditionally associated with peace, is portrayed with a rainbow-colored wing, which is commonly meant to symbolize diversity and represent LGBTI people.



Figure 6. Caribe Afirmativo, Paz Sin homofobia & transfobia, 2016 ³²

Another important initiative involved LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict creating a flag made from smaller pieces of fabric (see figure 7 below). This program was put together by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the National Center for Historical Memory and Caribe Afirmativo, as part of the 2016 project entitled ‘Building processes of social mobilization and political incidence of LGBTI victims’ organizations’ (*Construcción de procesos de movilización social e incidencia política de las organizaciones de víctimas LGBTI*). The people who created the flag were LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict from Cartagena, Riohacha, Popayán, Florencia, Montería and Pasto (Caribe Afirmativo 2017a). In it, they put messages about peace, trees, ways of making themselves visible, and ideas about the future of peace and diversity.

³¹ Caribe Afirmativo. “Súmate a la ‘Paz sin homofobia & transfobia.’” Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, May 13, 2016. <https://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/sumate-la-paz-sin-homofobia/> (accessed May 16, 2018).

³² Figure 6. Caribe Afirmativo, *Paz Sin homofobia & transfobia*, 2016, electronic medium, 525x358, Barranquilla, URL: <https://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/sumate-la-paz-sin-homofobia/>



Figure 7. Caribe Afirmativo, Gran Bandera de Retazos, 2017 ³³

Another creative example of visibility, peace and memory has to do with an initiative by Santamaría Fundación, which was called *Estrellas Fucsia* (Fuchsia Stars). The program was inspired by the *Estrellas Negras* (Black Stars) campaign, which was put together by the Bogotá Secretary of Transit and Transportation and the Fund for Vial Prevention. The initiative consisted of painting a black star on the streets in the places where a death had occurred due to a traffic accident. In the case of the adapted Fuchsia Stars, “fuchsia was chosen as a color that represents identity, sexuality and expression of trans women [... The campaign] is about painting fuchsia stars in the places where our friends have been assassinated since 2005, which is the year the organization was legally funded” (Valentina 2016).³⁴ The campaign started on February 2009, as the activists had planned on painting 21 stars throughout Cali, one star per assassinated transgender person who was a victim of transphobia. Their objective is dual as the stars denounce and make evident the crimes that trans women have suffered in Cali while they also demand inclusion, respect, justice and gender equity for trans women (Valentina 2016).³⁵

4.3 Leverage Politics to Shape Discourses and the Agenda

As the struggle for human rights is not an isolated battle but rather an interconnected endeavour that has been aided/ exacerbated by globalization, LGBTI activists in Colombia made use of local, national and international information and networks of human rights and

³³ Figure 7. Caribe Afirmativo. “Bandera de Retazos y ‘Somos Diversidad’ Dos grandes estrategias impulsadas por Caribe Afirmativo.” Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2017, electronic medium, 516x398, Barranquilla, URL <https://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/bandera-retazos-somos-diversidad-dos-grandes-estrategias-impulsadas-caribe-afirmativo/> (accessed February 2, 2018).

³⁴ Valentina. “Santamaría Fundación.” Santamaría Fundación, June 10, 2016. <http://santamariafundacion.blogspot.com/2016/06/valentina.html> (accessed January 17, 2019).

³⁵ Ibid.

LGBTI activists. In these ways, LGBTI people in Colombia were able to take advantage of instances and mechanisms that went beyond the national level which, due to the internal armed conflict, was a complex environment to advance human rights. Hence, this section takes into consideration the leverage politics that were used so that LGBTI people could affect discourses and the agenda in order to advance LGBTI rights, while an internal armed conflict was taking place, and then ultimately, be able to take part in the emerging peace process between the Colombian government and FARC.

4.3.1 Finding support in the discourses of intergovernmental organizations and in wider/ global discourse

Representatives of Colombian LGBTI NGOs made sure that they supported their discourses on the basis of those of other countries in Latin America or those of international human rights institutions. In so doing, they legitimized their goals and enhanced their opportunities to obtain funding from international partners. As an example of this, the Bolívar Government published the Public Policy on Sexual and Gender Diversity in 2016 with the technical support of Caribe Afirmativo. The document mentions that:

in 2009, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights recommended the Colombian State create public policy in human rights that would be characterized by the positive disposition of its institutions to recognize and guarantee rights [...] This declaration urges [...] not to discriminate and to guarantee the equality of all citizens (Gobernación de Bolívar and Caribe Afirmativo 2016, 9).

Likewise, the 2016 *Cuerpos Excluidos, Rostros de Impunidad* joint report by *Caribe Afirmativo, Colombia Diversa* and *Santamaría Fundación* explains that:

Ten years ago, no international human rights organization had taken the time to document human rights violations against LGBT people. In the last years, various UN and Inter American System of Human Rights organs have advanced in documenting and analysing these violations as a problem that is especially worrisome in terms of its causes and consequences, and in State responsibilities (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016, 24).

Indeed, the report mentions that United Nations bodies/ organs have addressed violence against LGBT people. The High Commissioner of Human Rights established in her 16 December 2011 report that:

States must protect people who are especially exposed to violence, among them people who suffer violence as a consequence of their sexual orientation or gender identity [...] This kind of violence may be physical (assassinations, beatings, kidnappings, sexual aggressions) or

psychological (threats, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, including forced psychiatric internment). Later on, the [4 May] 2015 report explained that these aggressions constitute a sort of gender violence, triggered by the desire to punish people whose aspect or demeanour seem to defy gender stereotypes (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016, 24).

The Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, Juan E. Méndez, appointed in resolution 1985/33, mentioned in his 5 January 2016 report that: “Gender is combined with other factors such as sexual orientation [...] which can make people more vulnerable to torture and other cruel treatments, particularly when gender stereotypes make the suffering of women, girls and LGBT people to be downplayed” (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016, 24–25).

In terms of the Inter American System of Human Rights, the Inter American Court of Human Rights recognized, through the Relator on the Rights of LGBTI people, that violence towards these populations is a type of violence due to prejudice (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016, 25). Further, the Inter-American Commission published the 2015 report *Violence against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex persons in the Americas*. Most recently, its 2018 report does not only focus on addressing direct violence (negative peace), but also delves into conditions for addressing structural and cultural violence (positive peace). Thus, it contains:

guidelines for building a more just and inclusive society, with respect for sexual orientation, gender identity – real or perceived – and body diversity, based on the recognition of specific rights that effectively embody the recognition of comprehensive protection and the guarantee of the right to a life in which LGBTI persons have the possibility of carrying out their life plans with full autonomy and respect for their will (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 2018, 9–10)

Hence, the data from this section provides support for the second subsidiary hypothesis, as national activists pushing for the advancement of LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia made use of international discourses and increasing global familiarity with LGBTI issues in order to strengthen the legitimacy of their claims.

Representatives from LGBTI NGOs established connections with representatives from other human rights groups in the country. In this way, they were able to gain allies so that they

could advance their causes. This was especially true regarding their proximity to women and feminist movements. As an activist at *Colombia Diversa* conveys,

it was women's organizations in the country pressing to have a stable presence in the negotiating table in Havana. That is how the sub-commission on gender was born, as a pressure by social movements, but especially the women's movement. This commission was tasked with providing a gender perspective to the published agreements. Truly, they did not change much but they did have a more inclusive language, noting the presence, needs, worries and interests of women (interview with O2, September 2016).

Likewise, an activist from an LGBTI organization mentions that: "in Colombia, there are many women's organizations that obviously include transgender and lesbian women in their research, but they are not focused specifically on [these populations.] Besides, there are organizations that specialize in HIV prevention too" (interview with O4, September 2016).

A researcher at the National Center for Historical Memory further calls attention to the importance of multiple human rights groups, explaining that:

There is a concern about the issue of differential treatment [...] The possibility to mobilize resources and processes also has to do with the muscle of the social movement. I mean, there are more opportunities and funding for indigenous processes because the indigenous movement in this country cannot be dismissed; in other words, they have resources and an important muscle. The same can be said about the women's movement [...] So, I believe there is a relation between obtaining resources and their political force, and there is the LGBTI movement that, all in all, is quite recent in the country in comparison to the ones I just mentioned (interview with G2, November 2016).

Representatives from LGBTI NGOs established alliances with like-minded individuals and human rights organizations, with whom they developed strategies, and met on a regular basis. For example, a staff member at *Caribe Afirmativo* mentioned that then "Senator Claudia López from the Green Party and Senator Iván Cepeda from the *Polo Democrático* party came to the organization last week" (interview with O5, November 2016).

Regarding political parties, a Senior member of an LGBTI NGO explains that:

Before the *Polo Democrático* party, in the 90s the Liberal party led by Senator Piedad Córdoba was the first major political party that began proposing agendas for LGBTI people before the Congress. And when Córdoba was the party Director, she created an office for LGBTI people. So, in terms of chronology, the Liberal party was the first one to bring the topic to political attention, but the first party that had LGBT people participating in it was the *Polo Democrático* party (interview with N1, November 2016).

Delving into a bit of historical context regarding the participation of LGBTI people on political parties and the possibility to count on them as allies to advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging peace process, a Senior member of Caribe Afirmativo recalled that:

The Polo Democrático party, which is a left leaning party in Colombia, is the first party in Latin America that includes within its statutes to have an elected official who is LGBTI. In other words, the statutes of the party are explicit about the direction being made by a leader of the women's movement, a leader of the LGBTI movement, a union leader, etc. Hence, it is the first party that includes LGBTI people within its structure. That was a novelty, which as a result mobilized people in the party throughout the country in order to gain adherents. So, one of the groups that began to have an impact in participating in politics were LGBTI people (Interview with N1, November 2016).

For a Senior member of the *Polo Alternativo Democrático* Party, “we have now adopted a much more juridical aspect. We used to consider statutes as bourgeois instruments, in which we have no business whatsoever [...] But, we realized we had to be in those spaces, not to create instructions for people, but rather to push them to resistance and mobilization” (interview with P3, September 2016). Hence, the party had not initially started as focused on juridical aspects to advance their goals. Nonetheless, as time passed, the party engaged in a deep restructuring to include diverse populations, and to designate authority positions for them.

As mentioned in Chapter III, after the attempts by former President Pastrana to negotiate a peace accord with the FARC guerrillas, a group of LGBTI human rights defenders established the platform *Planeta Paz*. As this initiative was unsuccessful, the groups continued their work and gained specialized knowledge on how to better deal with the relevant national, regional and local political and decision-making instances. Their continuously evolving know-how helped them to enhance their actions and make them more targeted and specific in order to have greater chances of achieving recognition for LGBTI people in the context of armed conflict. For instance, when referring to strategic litigation, a lawyer from Colombia Diversa explains that:

it includes a convergence of all factors. Thus, there is the judicial or legal action on the one hand, but we must add other factors that could sway a decision. So, on the one hand there is the social movement or mobilization, which makes visible something that is being done. At the same time, the use of mass media makes cases more visible. Visible cases imply a pressure on those who make judicial decisions and that has to be linked to activists' movements. So, the possibility to mobilize universities, international organizations, and national organizations so that they go to the judges to demand the same we ask for makes it so

that cases gain relevance. Those are cases which judges will take the time to consider and make important decisions because they become emblematic (Interview with O7, November 2016).

Similarly, a central method used by transnational advocacy networks as leverage politics is to acquire and release high quality information. LGBTI NGOs in Colombia used this method. In particular, they demonstrate that human rights defenders who specialized in LGBTI rights had been targeted by armed actors in the context of the internal armed conflict. The report *Aniquilar la Diferencia*, for instance mentions the murder of León Zuleta in Medellín in 1993, and the more recent assassinations of Rolando Pérez in Cartagena, Wanda Fox in Bogotá, and Alvaro Miguel Rivera in Cali, who were all LGBTI activists (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 144). Through exposing the systemic threat to which LGBTI human rights defenders had been subjected during the armed conflict, LGBTI groups, within the transnational advocacy network, were able to influence the human rights agenda to shed light upon the victimization of LGBTI people. Such processes of visibilization enabled LGBTI groups to have their demands included in the peace process. As the *Cuerpos Excluidos, Rostros de Impunidad* report contends,

our main objective is documenting the main violations of human rights against LGBT people. These violations will be analysed as types of violence by prejudice and of gender-based violence, so that they are not be seen as isolated cases, but rather as crimes whose causes are widely shared social judgements and to which the State has particular obligations regarding prevention, research, sanction and guarantee of non-repetition (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016, 7)

An interesting initiative regarding not only reaching out to sympathetic supporters but actually being involved in helping LGBTI people get to positions of power has been put in place by Caribe Afirmativo. For example, in 2012 in association with the Victory Institute, they

started capacity building schools to prepare LGBTI people to be involved in politics. [Senator] Angélica Lozano was part of one of the schools, for instance. So has Julian [Bedoya], who is now the Mayor of Toro in the Cauca Valley. Also, two trans women who are now Council members in Chapala Alto Lima. Carolina [Giraldo], a Council member of Pereira took part in this school as well, and other people who have not won elections but currently have high positions in the political life of the country (interview with N1, November 2016).

Conclusions

As discussed, shaping discourses on sexual orientation, gender identity and LGBTI people in general goes hand in hand with shaping national and international human rights agendas. The actors in the transnational advocacy network that seek to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice used information, symbolic and leverage politics to affect either discourses or agendas in order to frame LGBTI people as victims of the internal armed conflict owing to their position of vulnerability. In the period under study, they were able to promote a discourse of vulnerability and victimhood, thereby setting the stage for advancing in other areas, such as designing policies and procedures to deal with shortcomings, and attempting to foster behavioural changes, as we will see in the next chapters.

Transforming the image of LGBTI defenders while using peace and nonviolence discourses was key in order to promote positive discourses on sexual orientation and gender identity. This was particularly useful since LGBTI human rights defenders in a context of internal armed conflict and nascent transitional justice processes saw the need to gain supporters through peaceful means and coalition-building. Another tactic to influence agendas and legitimize discourses was to try to fit within the social and gendered expectations of behaviours.

The importance of framing to influence discourse cannot be overemphasized. Here is where one of the most salient features of transnational advocacy networks, and constructivist approaches to knowledge gain relevance: in the capacity for language to create, shape realities and make use of information politics. This is, in fact, the main transnational advocacy networks' tactic of influence, since the strategic use of information, framing of such information and dissemination of it shape the informal and legal discourses around an issue, in this case, LGBTI human rights within the context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice in Colombia.

Showing that there are LGBTI children and teenagers who have been particularly vulnerable to violence during the internal armed conflict helped change the discourse about sexual orientation and gender identity in Colombia. The reason is that, culturally, all children and teenagers tend to be afforded qualities such as innocence and vulnerability. Further, once a well-documented case such as that of Sergio Urrea became widely known in the country,

LGBTI groups managed to reframe competing arguments regarding LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice. They have reshaped the image of LGBTI people to portray them as human rights defenders. They have also strengthened the discourse framing LGBTI populations as subjected to conditions of vulnerability. At last, compulsory heterosexuality has been emphasized as a way to demonstrate LGBTI's structural oppression.

The victimization of LGBTI people was a somewhat known fact within Colombian society due to the heteronormative social schemes, patriarchal, homophobic, and transphobic, as well as classist structures. By utilizing different initiatives to 'redeem' themselves as human and regular members of their communities, LGBTI victims were able to gain visibility and be considered no longer as deserving the violence to which they have been subjected during the armed conflict but as valuable community members. In so doing, they succeeded in obtaining the support of some of their communities and generated discursive changes about LGBTI people.

Before the emergence of LGBTI rights within the Colombian human rights agenda in the framework of transitional justice processes, LGBTI people had yet to be recognized as victims of the internal armed conflict who were targeted due to their actual or perceived sexual orientation and/or gender identity. The efforts of the transitional advocacy network to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia, in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice, contributed to having the demands of LGBTI people regarding building a more inclusive society included in the FARC – Colombian government peace agreement. It is hopeful for the advancement of human rights worldwide that the dissenting voices in the 1982 *Hertzberg et al. v. Finland* case before the UN Human Rights Committee, were right about public morals as relative and changing, as the present study demonstrates.

National LGBTI NGOs were instrumental in conveying the humane and individual stories behind the numbers of disappeared, killed, and displaced LGBTI people. In particular, they selected a few of the multiple cases of violence against LGBTI people in order to put a face to the statistics that often seemed meaningless without a background narrative on the difficulties and injustices that were suffered by LGBTI people in the context of the internal armed conflict. Choosing to showcase some of the most salient stories, the most impactful

ones and the most complete narratives was a deliberate strategy used by LGBTI NGOs in order to elicit appropriate responses from their audience, including outrage, sympathy, and empathy.

The quasi-natural alliance at global and national levels between women and LGBTI groups seems to have started as a result of shared interests and goals. It would be interesting to consider whether intersectionality was one of the relevant factors, as feminist movements and lesbian movements rose globally in parallel (though not absent of conflict). This would be a helpful endeavour as the discourse on the birth of the LGBTI movement tends to recognize transgender women's activism as a main starter; nonetheless, cisgender women movements have had a leading role too.

Regarding subsidiary hypotheses, this chapter has provided some evidence in favor of the fifth one, which appears to hold in the present case: actors in transnational advocacy networks get their identities and interests altered in the processes of information sharing. In terms of the fourth one, there is no data indicating lack of horizontality of relations among actors. This chapter also offers evidence of certain forms of politics that do not seek to exert influence only in the legal arena. Information politics was a central tool for actors in the network to influence discourses and the agenda. As per the third subsidiary hypothesis, there appears to be some evidence that positive reinforcement mechanisms were effective so that FARC members backed the inclusion of LGBTI issues in the peace agreement and private companies including transgender women in the Bogotá Fashion Week.

Likewise, this chapter shows that national actors in the network made use of global developments in order to advance their positions, as expected according to the second subsidiary hypothesis. Leverage politics is prominent throughout this chapter as it often was used by national actors who have sought to influence discourses and agendas to advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia. Similarly, this chapter provides evidence in favor of the seventh and eighth subsidiary hypotheses, dealing with internal and external factors to the transnational advocacy network. As time went by, the strength, density and capability to exercise pressure (internal factors) of the network increased, as useful frames regarding equality, innocence, violence, and cause-effect linkage (external factors) gained traction.

Chapter 5

Prompting Policies, Procedures, and Behaviours

Under what conditions can TAN be effective? We developed a definition of what we meant by effectiveness. That definition talked about five levels, in the fifth level we get behavioral change by states or other targeted actors like transnational corporations. But we realized that that is what we all want eventually but we cannot measure effectiveness only when we get behavioral change because activists are doing a lot of things. They are literally creating issues. They are making us aware of new issues. Something like LGBTI rights would be a good example. It was not on the agenda, activists put it on the agenda and just getting that issue in the agenda in itself is a measure of effectiveness. But ultimately, that is great, we want to get credit for the effectiveness of getting an issue in the agenda but if we start not getting behavioral change, ultimately you want to say what is wrong with that!

– Kathryn Sikkink at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs (2019).

This chapter aims to examine the tactics used by national actors in the transnational advocacy network to influence the behaviour of the general Colombian population and representatives of state and private institutions as well as, to a lesser extent, to prompt policies and procedures. This is a significant stage of influence for LGBTI rights defenders because while influencing discourses, agendas and setting the issue to provide a standing ground for LGBTI people and the LGBTI movement, these steps aim to change concrete ways in which LGBTI people experience their lives within the Colombian state. Hence, as mentioned in the previous chapter, LGBTI people have engaged in multiple efforts to affect how they are perceived; as a consequence of this, some actors with whom they interact have modified their behaviour, and some institutions have implemented policies and procedures to address LGBTI inclusion in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia.

One needs to examine the behaviour of LGBTI people themselves when discussing influencing the behaviour of the many actors in Colombian society in order for them to respect LGBTI rights, since the former incarnate the oppressive and controlling environment they inhabit. So, for instance, as mentioned previously, many LGBTI people devised strategies to pass as straight. At the same time, in small Colombian towns, some LGBTI people have avoided acknowledging one another, greeting each other, or displaying any signal that could make people consider that they were creating communities in public spaces.

The reasoning behind this self-policing was related to fear for their safety because many LGBTI people felt that, should they come out in public, they could be threatened. Some LGBTI people were therefore only able to develop support systems and networks through more private channels, such as phone calls and online communication when available.

Understanding how LGBTI people navigated their existence in the context of internal armed conflict is important to grasp how many community members who were not LGBTI behaved towards them. This background enables us to examine the tactics used by LGBTI people, and other actors, in the transnational advocacy network for the advancement of LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice process, against patriarchal, homophobic, transphobic, classist and misogynistic attitudes in multiple spaces in Colombia, including rural and urban ones, government institutions and private working environments. The tactics used not only sought to counter violent, discriminatory behaviours but also to foster tolerance and respect for LGBTI rights. Additionally, these actors aimed at generating behavioural changes in LGBTI people themselves, making them understand that they did not deserve violence or discrimination. For instance, *Aniquilar la diferencia* tells the story of a transgender woman, Marisol, who was accepted in her small town. She considers that counting on her parents' support made all the difference, as it signalled to others that she was accepted and valued. Hence, while at first the school authorities had difficulties with her, as time went by, Marisol felt that she had the privilege to wear earrings (which was prohibited for men) because she became recognized as a woman" (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 88). The shift so that LGBTI populations would see themselves as full citizens, deserving of human rights, and participants of Colombian society had begun before 2006, notably with the promulgation of the 1991 Constitution. Nevertheless, as of 2016 much remained to be done, since some LGBTI people had naturalized the human rights violations that they were subjected to as 'expected' punishments for deviating from heteronormative lives.

In this context, three processes are identified as part of resistance and resilience: actions of survival, mechanisms of facing the violent acts, and strategies for collective and individual transformation (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 368). Considering the constructivist approach to knowledge that is central in this case study, one must be reminded that the individual changes in behaviour by LGBTI people should have had effects on the

context and on the behaviour of other actors. This is especially relevant when considering a change of heart by decision-makers or other relevant actors. The efforts of actors in the transnational advocacy network for the advancement of LGBTI rights in Colombia during the internal armed conflict and nascent transitional justice (2006-2016) to push for behavioural changes in both LGBTI people and society at large were all the more important.

This chapter is divided in three sections covering information, symbolic and leverage politics. These sections are further subdivided to examine actions used by national actors in the transnational advocacy network to advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia. In particular, this chapter explores how national actors have sought to influence the behaviour of relevant actors to advance LGBTI rights, affect policies and procedures.

5.1 Information Politics

The main tool in the toolbox of actors in transnational advocacy networks is managing information. Thus, for national actors to influence behaviours of relevant actors in order to advance LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia using transnational advocacy networks, information politics was also prevalent. This assertion supports the second subsidiary hypothesis, on the importance of information politics, as expected. LGBTI NGOs compiled information and published specialized reports promoting their visibility and acceptance. Additionally, LGBTI NGOs provided workshops on LGBTI rights and developed peace initiatives.

5.1.1 Publishing information on LGBTI people to promote their visibility and acceptance

In the period under study, as LGBTI NGOs had become much more prevalent throughout the country, whether of national-range or local influence, they published a variety of documents, targeting diverse audiences, sometimes with the support of international NGOs. For instance, some documents were annual reports which provided more technical information on multiple kinds of violent acts committed against LGBTI people. Meanwhile, some documents were designed for government officials as part of sensitivity training campaigns on serving LGBTI people, especially victims of the internal armed conflict. Likewise, some documents focused

on the political participation of LGBTI people and had representatives of political parties as their main audience. The multiple publications promoted a discourse of inclusion, human rights, and an appeal to value LGBTI people in Colombian society, as a way to go against discourses promoting discrimination, in a context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia.

LGBTI NGOs emphasized the empirical and symbolic ways in which LGBTI people were excluded from appropriate processes of recognition and identification of victims of the armed conflict. The reports of major LGBTI NGOs in Colombia, *Colombia Diversa*, *Caribe Afirmativo* and *Santamaría Fundación*, mention frequently that less than 5% of reported cases of violence against LGBTI people were prosecuted. For instance, some views from a Senior member of the *Conservador* Party exemplify this lack of acknowledgement:

the guerrilla did not conceive of LGBTI people as a group with society; for them, they were shit, but violence was not common because they never came out of the closet. It is now that they have come out, [...] but now I do not see that it is that way (Interview with P1, September 2016)

Additionally, they emphasize the lack of adequate national, regional, and local registries of victims in a multiplicity of ways. For instance, there have been inadequate interviewing processes, where LGBTI victims were placed within the same group. As previously mentioned, this public practice/policy, contributed to make invisible the specificity of the violent acts committed against gay men, lesbians, bisexual men and women, as well as transgender people (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2016).

LGBTI NGOs also tried to influence the behaviour of military and police forces by denouncing discriminatory practices by state security forces, such as stereotyping LGBTI people. This was especially true when referring to transgender individuals, who were often associated with drug trafficking, prostitution, and collaboration with the guerrillas, and consequently were sometimes prosecuted and became victims of forced displacement. For instance, according to the report *Aniquilar la diferencia*, “The state, through inculcation, created forced displacements. What operated was a series of negative imaginaries about trans people, that associated them with insurgent groups, even affirming that their identity names were alias within armed forces” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 354). In this context, LGBTI NGOs developed multiple initiatives to strengthen LGBTI populations’

knowledge of human rights, state institutions, and peace initiatives (discussed in this chapter subsection on leverage politics).

In the context of the internal armed conflict, public punishments for people who were deemed to go against gender norms took place in various communities in Colombia. *Aniquilar la diferencia* tells us about a case that became emblematic, where gay men were humiliated and made to box one another to demonstrate their manhood. This case took place in the *San Onofre de Montes de María* Municipality, an area that was controlled by the paramilitary. Other cases include transgender women made to cut their hair off (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 288–90). These kinds of events took place with the complicity of the local communities, or at least without significant opposition from their inhabitants. Thus, as mentioned previously, organizations identified as important presenting LGBTI people in a positive way, combatting stereotypical discourses about them in their various publications.

Most of the publications did not rely on state funding. In fact, in many cases, costs for compiling and distributing information in whichever format, were born by the organizations themselves. Yet, international, and transnational allies provided valuable resources to developing research, which has, for instance, highlighted LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict, such as the *Aniquilar la Diferencia* report by the National Center for Historical Memory, shown in figure 8 below.

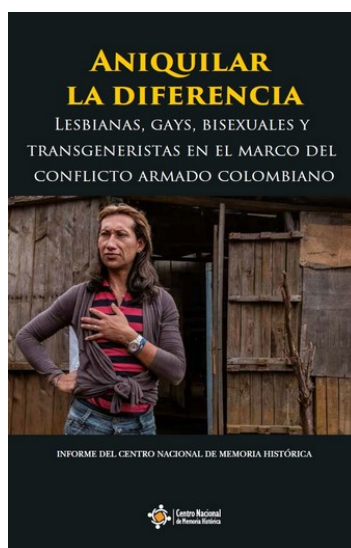


Figure 8. National Center for Historical Memory, *Aniquilar la Diferencia*, 2015³⁶

³⁶ Figure 8. National Center for Historical Memory, *Aniquilar la diferencia. lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y transgeneristas en el marco del conflicto aramdo colombiano*, 2015, electronic medium, 137x210, Bogotá, URL <https://repository.oim.org.co/handle/20.500.11788/379> (accessed July 30, 2018).

This 2015 report published by the National Center for Historical Memory counted on the national support of the Unit for the Attention and Integral Reparation for Victims and the international support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The publication “acknowledges an institutional debt regarding advancing in the construction of historical memory for a historically marginalized sector of victims. We refer to those victims of the internal armed conflict that recognize themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or who deviate from the heterosexual norm in other ways” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 474).

Another example of international backing for the promotion of LGBTI rights in the studied period, in this case not addressing exclusively internal armed conflict or the transitional justice process in Colombia, is the *Diversificando las miradas con lentes transgresores* (Diversifying views with transgressive lenses) booklet, shown in figure 9 below:



Figure 9. Fondo para Ayudas de Emergencia y Fortalecimiento Organizacional en Protección y Autoprotección (FFP), Diakonia and the World Lutheran Federation. *Diversificando las miradas con lentes transgresores*, 2016³⁷

³⁷ Figure 9. Fondo para Ayudas de Emergencia y Fortalecimiento Organizacional en Protección y Autoprotección (FFP), Diakonia and World Lutheran federation. *Diversificando las miradas con lentes transgresores*. Contribuciones a la garantía, protección y reconocimiento de los derechos de las personas lesbianas, gays, bisexuales, transgeneristas e intersexuales, 2016, electronic medium, 572x589, Bogotá, URL <https://humanidadvigente.net/cartilla-diversificando-las-miradas-con-lentes-transgresores/> (accessed February 18, 2019).

The Fund for Emergency Aid and Organizational Capacity Building for Protection and Self-protection (*Fondo para Ayudas de Emergencia y Fortalecimiento Organizacional en Protección y Autoprotección*) is a working group composed of diverse organizations. The Christian Mennonite Association for Justice, Peace and Nonviolent Action -*Asociación Cristiana Menonita de Justicia, Paz y Acción Noviolenta (Justapaz)*, the Latin American Institute for Society and Alternative Rights -*Instituto Latinoamericano para una Sociedad y Derecho Alternativos (ILSA)*, the Europe United States Coordination through the Valid Humanity Corporation, and the Psicocial Support Corporation and Mental Health Attention for Victims of Political Violence - *Corporación Acompañamiento Psicocial y Atención en Salud Mental para Víctimas de Violencia Política (AVRE)* are part of this initiative (Montealegre Castrillón 2016).

A unique feature about this booklet is that it included support from three faith-based organizations: *Justapaz*; the World Lutheran Federation; and Diakonia, a Swedish based faith organization whose vision:

includes all people irrespective of religion, gender, ethnicity, colour, sexual orientation, language, ideological or political beliefs, national or social origin, property, age, birth or any other status. Diakonia's goal is to change unfair political, economic, social and cultural structures that generate poverty, oppression and violence. The starting point for these efforts is the Gospel, on which our policy is based, with Jesus as role model (Diakonia n.d.).³⁸

The association of national LGBTI NGOs with international partners, especially faith based organizations, provides evidence to claim that there is not only a transnational advocacy network of faith based organizations working to stop the advance of LGBTI rights. There are also initiatives (such as the one above) that seek to push for LGBTI rights though influencing behaviour of Colombian general society by emphasizing ‘a policy based on Jesus as a role model’. In its work with other organizations, Diakonia claims to:

not carry out projects of our own. Instead, we support local partner organizations. As these organizations are already present and well established, it makes the long-term development work more effective. Diakonia's strength is its partner organizations. They work tirelessly on the basis of their beliefs, taking action to ensure a dignified future for vulnerable people (Diakonia n.d.).³⁹

³⁸ Diakonia. “About Diakonia - Diakonia.” Diakonia. Accessed June 11, 2019. <https://www.diakonia.se/en/About-us/>.

³⁹ Ibid.

Hence, there is more evidence that disproves the fourth subsidiary hypothesis, which expresses skepticism of the horizontality of relationships among actors.

Another publication which counted on international participation was ‘Between fear and resistance’ (*Entre el miedo y la Resistencia*), which is shown in figure 10 below:

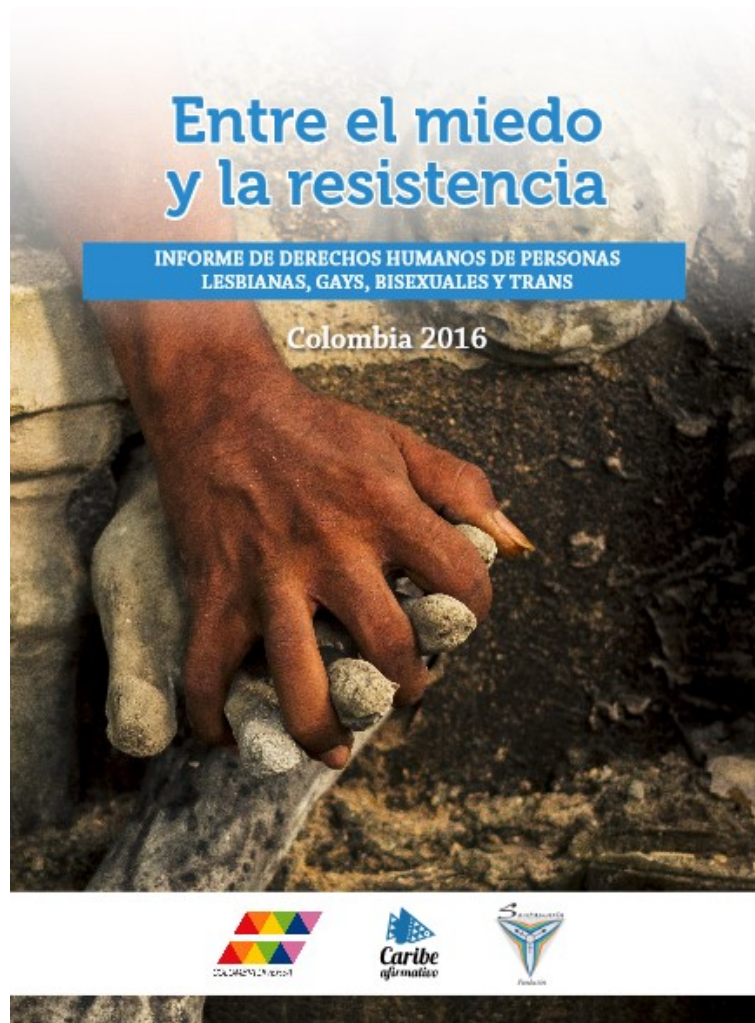


Figure 10. *Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo and Santamaría Fundación, Entre el miedo y la resistencia, 2017*⁴⁰

This 2016 LGBT human rights report by the national LGBT NGOs Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo and Santamaría Fundación was funded by the European Union Delegation in Colombia. Its main objective was to “document the main human rights violations against

⁴⁰ Figure 9. Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo and Santamaría Fundación, *Entre el miedo y la resistencia*, informe de derechos humanos de personas lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trans, 2017, electronic medium, 1026x1375, Bogotá, URL https://colombiadiversa.org/colombiadiversa2016/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Informe-completo-DDHH_Violencia.pdf (accessed December 29, 2018).

LGBT people” (Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, and Santamaría Fundación 2017, 10). As LGBTI rights became much more visible in Colombia, LGBTI populations began demanding a more accurate account of the prevalent inequalities in the country. The internal armed conflict continued being a significant worry for all LGBTI NGOs representatives, but they were also able to push for accountability from state officials in order to reflect the actual realities that LGBTI people faced in day to day happenings. Hence, making visible the access (or lack of) appropriate measures to ensure that LGBTI people have the same possibilities as heterosexuals became more prevalent all over the country.

5.1.2 LGBTI NGOs campaigned actively for the peace referendum and were involved in other networks pushing for human rights and peace campaigns

LGBTI NGOs have sought to influence the behaviour not only of state institutions but also of voters. This is why they campaigned for the ‘yes vote’ in the 2016 so-called “peace referendum”, given that the 2016 peace agreement between the government and FARC contemplated specific measures to acknowledge the victimization of LGBTI people during the internal armed conflict and mechanisms that provided protection and reparations for LGBTI victims. It was therefore important to support the peace agreement and counter the propaganda of some fundamentalist religious groups who opposed the accord for including provisions that legitimized LGBTI rights. The NGO Colombia Diversa, for instance, widely distributed leaflets to prompt people to vote for the agreement, as can be seen in the figure 11 below.



Figure 11. Leaflet disseminated by Colombia Diversa during the campaign for the 2016 peace referendum

LGBTI activists have put forward categories to facilitate people's understanding of the way in which LGBTI people have been affected by the armed conflict. In particular, they have established differences between 'impacts, damages, and affectations' (*impactos, daños y afectaciones*). The first term implies the reactions first experienced to a violent event. 'Damages' refers to the multiple effects of the violent event, while 'affectations' means the scars left many years after the occurrence of the violent event (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 292). Thus, LGBTI NGOs made great efforts to ensure that their periodic reports and other publications (see figure 12 below) would point out how the internal armed conflict exacerbated the negative socioeconomic conditions of LGBTI people and the circumstances of vulnerability affecting their human rights, especially in marginalized areas.



Figure 12. Santamaría Fundación. Health information for Transgender populations, 2009.

In the above publication, *Derechos en Salud para Mujeres Trans* (*Health Rights for Trans Women*), information is focused on health services and human rights pertaining to transgender women. The Santamaría Fundación booklet was funded by the United States

Agency for International Development (UNAIDS) and published by the Health Secretary of the *Valle del Cauca* department.

Pushing for human rights is the distinct goal of Colombia Diversa. Thus, the organization has been careful not to deviate from that vision. For instance, a member explained that

while more entertainment content would likely attract more followers to the organization website, it would be damaging to what is expected of the organization. Hence, Colombia Diversa has centered its work around human rights and has collaborated with international, national and local campaigns to promote them (Interview with O8, November 2016)

A Senior member of Caribe Afirmativo commented that the organization was part of five international networks. These are ILGA; ARCICAL (a longstanding South American network of gay men); an international network of organizations working with Afro descendant populations from Brazil, Peru, Colombia and the Caribbean; and Latin-American Network of LGBT Political Leadership (*Red Latino Americana de Liderazgos Políticos LGBT*), a network for openly LGBTI elected officials holding yearly meetings to share experiences and strengthen bonds. Finally, the organization is part of a network with El Salvador and Guatemala, that may include Peru, where participants exchange experiences on advancing LGBTI agendas in countries where internal armed conflicts have taken place (Interview with N1, November 2016).

A member of the organization further explained that they are also part of *Alianza Cartagena Propone*. This citizen's initiative includes youth, Afro descendent people, women, and people with disabilities. According to them,

We have understood that in this country the issue of advancing LGBTI rights may not gain support by itself. Besides, due to the peace process, the preliminary agreements, and the 'no' to the plebiscite, hate discourses grew exponentially. So, being too forward regarding LGBTI issues in this context propitiated that we worked together too (Interview with O6, November 2016).

Thus, collaborating with other actors, whether local, regional, national, trans or international, is both: a need and a strategy for NGOs advancing LGBTI rights in Colombia.

5.2 Symbolic Politics

National activists to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia in the context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) engaged a variety of activities to influence the

behaviour of relevant actors in Colombia. The set of activities in this section could also be considered information politics as they disseminated ideational resources, setting up discourses to fit in pre-established frames. Nevertheless, they are classified within symbolic politics as their predominant objective is to grab attention, touching upon feelings and emotions, going past thought and rationality, inciting loyalty, or political action. The set of activities is a media strategy to increase social status and visibility in public spaces through human rights endeavours, such as the National LGBTI Families Day.

The use of symbolic politics was important to influence behaviour and discourses, since many instances of violence against LGBTI people had a symbolic effect (in other words, they sought to have a broader effect on a particular audience) and served to reinforce traditional gender roles. For instance, a group of LGBTI activists of the LGBTI Roundtable of the Commune 8 of Medellín (*Comuna 8 Mesa LGBTI*) organized the first diversity carnival in the city of Medellín in 2010. They had received threats from neo-paramilitary groups such as the *Cacique Nutibara* Block (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 231). Hence, their desire to make their existence visible, as well as the issues affecting LGBTI people, manifested in the symbolic politics of putting together a pride parade which would provide a local platform for LGBTI NGO representatives and activists, as well LGBTI people in general, to influence the behaviour of the inhabitants of Medellín by normalizing the appropriation of public spaces by LGBTI people.

Regarding involvement in peace discourses and increasing visibility, a *Colombia Diversa* staff member, commented that after the Colombian people voted not to approve the first peace agreement between FARC and the government, the organization increased its participation in parades for the approval of the upcoming modified agreement. This member recounted that he and others mobilized actively to press for the approval:

We have not attended just one mobilization; we have rather been part of many of them. These activities are good because they provide visibility to multiple actors: the activists themselves, the organization, the community, etc. Besides, these actions contribute to creating a more inclusive society. Feeling people's support when we walked by, regardless of which party they were from, was very moving (interview with O7, November 2016).

Gaining visibility is a leitmotif that appears throughout NGO documents as well as interviews and is a key strategy to resist heteronormative standards as well as to construct new discourses around the use of public spaces, citizenship, human rights, victimhood, peace,

among others. There are three ways in which visibility does so: “i) when a person or groups make visible and express openly their sexual orientation and gender identity, ii) when a person or collective makes visible the violence to which they have been subjected, iii) when a person or group occupies spaces and holds jobs outside the framework of marginality” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 406).

The We are Diversity (*Somos Diversidad*) campaign, which took place in seven *Transmetro* stations, exemplifies two of these ways in a clear manner. *Caribe Afirmativo* developed this initiative on June 2017 to promote the rights of LGBTI people in Barranquilla and commemorate the LGBTI Day in the Colombian Atlantic region capital.



Figure 13. *Caribe Afirmativo, Somos Diversidad, 2017* ⁴¹

The figure 13 displays an Afro Colombian woman in scrubs, whose story reads: “My name is María, I just turned 30 and I am a lesbian. I work as a nurse and have many dreams to accomplish. I invite you to recognize my rights. #WeAreDiversity.” Hence, the poster shows

⁴¹ Caribe Afirmativo. “Bandera de Retazos y ‘Somos Diversidad’ Dos grandes estrategias impulsadas por Caribe Afirmativo.” Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2017. <https://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/bandera-retazos-somos-diversidad-dos-grandes-estrategias-impulsadas-caribe-afirmativo> (accessed March 2018).

a person who ‘openly discloses her sexual orientation, holding a job outside the framework of marginality’, directly resisting heteronormative standards. According to Drucker (2009, 829),

[p]atterns of subsistence, barter, and collective and communal mutual aid remain particularly important in various ways for LGBT people in underdeveloped countries. Those who are most excluded from formal employment and existing family structures, particularly transgender people, rely very much on their own self-created and self-sustaining community and family structures for protection against violence and persecution, and for economic survival.

Hence, this campaign served to provide representation for LGBT people as part of Colombian society, as immersed within and valuable in its communities. So, the “We are diversity” campaign was successful, insofar as it:

sensitized users of mass means of transportation through small stories by people with diverse sexual and gender orientations. This was the first time that mass transportation systems in the country participated in such an initiative. The posters were located in the *Pedro Ramayá*, *Joaquín Barrios Polo*, *La Ocho*, *La Arenosa*, *Parque Cultural del Caribe*, *La Catedral* and *Estercita Forero* stations. This initiative counted on the support of the LGBTI Barranquilla Roundtable [...] This campaign, besides making society conscious [of LGBTI issues] and reducing discrimination levels, provided *Transmetro* with the opportunity to demand for respect and be a guarantor of human rights, besides being a precedent in the history of the city (Caribe Afirmativo 2017a).⁴²

The inclusion of initiatives that provide visibility to LGBTI people and that are accompanied by expert designing can have great impact in empowering these groups. This the case of LGBTI victims of violence in the context of the internal armed conflict in Colombia, as *Aniquilar la diferencia* reveals: “when state institutions coordinate processes of participation and formation with a team that is sensitive and knowledgeable on these topics, that has a comprehensive approach to the specific affectations of lesbians, gays, bisexual and transgender men and women, in the framework of the internal armed conflict, it can contribute significantly to the processes of facing and empowerment of victims” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 399).

While the use of symbolic politics has been a useful way for LGBTI activists to influence the behaviour of others, respond to armed groups’ threats, and prompt them to be more respectful of LGBTI rights, they have also faced significant challenges in their efforts. For example, the Diverse Roundtable of the Commune 8 in Medellín painted a mural promoting diversity with

⁴² Caribe Afirmativo. “Bandera de Retazos y ‘Somos Diversidad’ Dos grandes estrategias impulsadas por Caribe Afirmativo.” Corporación Caribe Afirmativo, 2017. <https://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/bandera-retazos-somos-diversidad-dos-grandes-estrategias-impulsadas-caribe-afirmativo/> (accessed March 2018).

the support of the municipality. However, the day after finishing the mural, the municipality erased the symbols representing LGBTI people as well as the names of the organizations involved in painting it (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 280–81).

This group also responded to threatening pamphlets sent by a post demobilization group that operated in the area, by disseminating their own pamphlets. These informational pieces said: “We do not want bandits in this area and things of that nature” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 377). This tactic had the advantage of being highly visible. Thus, it provided members of the Commune 8 support from other LGBTI activists, as well as other community leaders. Nevertheless, campaigns that provided too much visibility brought with them the risk of further angering armed groups, who in response could threaten visible LGBTI leaders.

Another relevant campaign to influence behaviours (and policies and procedures to a lesser extent) is the LGBTI Families National Day (*Día Nacional de la familia LGBTI*). This campaign addressed the fact that some LGBTI people have experienced a break of their family bonds as a result of acts of violence during the internal armed conflict in Colombia. So, the demonstration of the existence of LGBTI families served to normalize LGBTI families.

Likewise, for many LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict, exercising their sexuality had become a much more violent endeavour (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 305). Hence, providing diverse examples of family relations and partnerships did not only seek to change the discourses and behaviours of Colombian society, but also the self-perception of and role models for LGBTI families themselves. Figure 14, for instance, shows four sets of families: the sets on the left side display same-sex partners with children and a pet, while the sets on the right side display a heterosexual couple with a child, and single dad with his daughter. It is important to point out though, that transgender visibility does not seem to appear in the pamphlet as all families appear to be composed of cisgender people.



Figure 14. *Colombia Diversa* Publication, "Living as a family is what makes a family", 2016.

This publication is congruent with the concept explaining that visibility is a strategy to resist heteronormative standards because of its emphasis on diversity in terms of the kinds of families that exist in Colombia. It is also significant to point out that the publication depicts both, the racial heterogeneity of Colombian society through one Afro Colombian family among the other three lighter skin ones (Mestizo and/or White), as well as the apparent racial homogeneity of all families, as they appear to be of the same race. Further, the single man and daughter contest heterosexist discourses on a nuclear family requiring two partners, and it adds an aspect of gender roles and performativity by depicting a man as a caregiver. On the other hand, other kinds of diversities, which also intersect with concerns on sexual orientation, do not appear to have been part of the pamphlet, such as socioeconomic ones, and representations of ability/disability.

5.3 Leverage Politics

In order to influence behaviours (and to a lesser extent, policies, and procedures), LGBTI people increased their visibility in community spaces. LGBTI NGOs led workshops on a variety of topics and engaged in international networking. In this section I look at these different actions to advance LGBTI rights.

5.3.1 LGBTI people began increasing their visibility in community spaces

As a way to influence the behaviour of society towards LGBTI people. LGBTI activists tried to become much more visible in spaces of power. This allowed them to define the sort of behaviours that they could expect from other stakeholders and decision-makers. Hence, some became Senators, vice presidential candidates, and held other positions, which directly and indirectly influenced their leveraging power vis-à-vis state institutions.

As more and more LGBTI people have decided to divulge their identities in their communities, in certain cases community members supported them and protected them from harassment (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 381). Hence, gaining allies, even when these may not be highly influential actors, has been a very useful tactic. The support of cisgender and/or heterosexual community members who interacted with LGBTI people could serve as a kind of buffer to dissuade armed groups from committing gross acts of violence against LGBTI people in public. Some LGBTI activists even became highly visible leaders, gaining legitimacy from other community leaders from a broader public. This increased visibility cut two ways. It could be beneficial to exert influence in public spaces but could also make these leaders identifiable targets for armed actors.

As the report *Aniquilar la Diferencia* mentions, LGBTI people were more likely to be victims of the internal armed conflict if their local social networks were weak or inexistent (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 152). So, when LGBTI victims (who had to run away from their communities because of ‘social cleansing’ or accusations of collaborating with certain armed forces) returned to their communities, they tended to get involved in community development. This enabled them to build social networks and community relations, influencing the behaviour of members in their local spaces, so they could just not tolerate, but also accept, and hopefully value the contributions of LGBTI people.

An interesting case regarding influencing behaviours through symbolic politics involves providing free beauty salon days for the population of a depressed neighborhood in Cartagena: “Simon was leading some actions, such as free beauty salon days for everyone in the neighborhood, an idea that came up to generate ‘positive visibility’ for LGBTI peoples in the community” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 357). Another attempt to get together with the community and influence in discourses as well as behaviours regarding

LGBTI people had to do with another initiative: a group of lesbian women who were putting together a soccer team (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 358).

LGBTI people also got organized in order to protect each other. For instance, LGBTI people from a neighborhood in Bogotá got organized and equipped with whistles in order to be safer on the streets. So, if any LGBTI person was attacked, this person or others could blow their whistle and people who were around would help. According to Sebastian, a transgender man interviewed in *Aniquilar la Diferencia*, “people were no longer dying in that area” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 380).

5.3.2 LGBTI people in spaces of discourse production through workshops on diverse human rights and peace topics and through international networking

As LGBTI activists became more visible and acquired positions of relative power within national, local, and regional decision-making bodies in Colombia, they were no longer the ‘lone wolves’ fighting against a heterosexual, patriarchal, cisgender society. Rather, they had found allies and supported one another in struggles for common causes. Identity politics may likely be a key part as LGBTI activists learned that staying hidden or unrecognizable could be helpful to get elected in certain positions of power, but once they reached those positions they would have to ‘come out of the closet’ (speaking figuratively), becoming visible to other actors and demonstrating the (small but relevant) pressure they could exercise within state institutions.

For instance, *Caribe Afirmativo* held yearly workshops on leadership and political participation at the regional level since 2014. That first gathering, entitled First Meeting on LGBTI Political Leaderships in Latin America and the Caribbean: Building Democracy for Equality, was organized by *Caribe Afirmativo*, the Victory Institute, and the feminist NGO PROMSEX -Center for the Promotion and Defense of Sexual and Reproductive Rights (*Centro de Promocion y Defensa de los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos*). As the poster represented in figure 15 shows, this gathering was sponsored by almost a dozen institutions. Some of them were the European Union, Hivos, the Institute of Studies on Health, Sexuality and Human Development (IESSDEH - *Instituto de Estudios en Salud, Sexualidad y Desarrollo Humano* in Spanish), Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, the National Endowment for Democracy, Arcus Foundation, and USAID.



Figure 15. *Caribe Afirmativo, Primer Encuentro de Liderazgos Políticos LGBTI de América Latina y el Caribe: Construyendo Democracia para la Igualdad, 2014*⁴³

Caribe Afirmativo has also facilitated trainings for Central American nationals providing them with resources and tools on increasing political participation and ensuring that LGBTI issues are included in their respective countries (Interview with O6, November 2016). Likewise, within Colombia, the organization has developed its work focusing on the Caribbean national region, but also in the departments of Nariño, Caquetá and in Diutama (Boyacá department). For instance, in the case of Nariño, the organization worked along UNDP and the Secretary of Gender Equity and Social Inclusion of the Nariño Government to promote a public policy to guarantee the rights of LGBTI peoples⁴⁴. The organization also

⁴³ Figure 3. *Caribe Afirmativo, Primer Encuentro de Liderazgos Políticos LGBTI de América Latina y el Caribe: Construyendo Democracia para la Igualdad, 2014*, electronic medium, 521x796, Bogota, URL: <https://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/encuentro-liderazgo-lgbt/> (accessed March 19, 2018).

⁴⁴ (Gobernación de Nariño, PNUD, *Caribe Afirmativo 2015*, Document website: <http://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/POL%C3%8DTICA-P%C3%9ABLICA-NARI%C3%91O.pdf>, accessed on 04/19/2016).

put together the First Gathering of LGBTI people as Peace Builders (*Primer Encuentro de Personas LGBTI Constructoras de Paz*). According to its website, “35 leaders from each of the Caribbean region departments, and three activists from Cauca and Segovia worked together in building a regional agenda that would make it easier for LGBTI people to be involved in implementing the peace agreements in their territories” (Caribe Afirmativo 2017b).⁴⁵

Likewise, a Senior member of *Caribe Afirmativo*, explained two areas of work that are of particular relevance for the organization: political incidence and citizen capacity building:

This is a centralist country but there is a mayor in every city, there is a governor in every department [...] We have a constitutional reform in 1991 creating many spaces for participation. I mean there are about 8,000 seats, so we started to look for ways to get LGBTI people to these spaces of participation so that in that way they may produce real changes. Hence, we began doing political incidence in both ways: we sought politicians and local governments to commit themselves to LGBTI issues, and for LGBTI people to participate in these spaces as political people [...] We also do citizen capacity building because we have a problem in Colombia, which is that we have advanced a lot in the Constitutional Court regarding LGBTI issues. We have same sex marriage, adoption, we do not have a gender identity law, but we do have a decree that allows for changing one’s sex and name. Besides, we have public policies in many territories, and even the victims and land restitution law addresses LGBTI people. In other words, according to our legislation, Colombia is a perfect country for LGBTI people. We have developed a lot of activities before the high courts and in the legislative bodies, but we have not concerned ourselves with capacity building for the bases. We just realized that when there was a parade against a Minister’s brochures on sexual education. So, we had a bunch of people marching against LGBTI people, and had to ask ourselves what happened? The answer was that we had many laws, but we had not advanced in citizen culture and capacity building. Taking this into account, Caribe Afirmativo has sought to be close to the communities to provide capacity building to LGBTI people. Also, we have committed ourselves to push for local public policies that guarantee the rights of LGBTI people. We have accompanied the public policy of San Andrés, Huila and Nariño, which are local answers to local needs (interview with N1, November 2016).

Some of the ways in which LGBTI people resisted or demonstrated resilience to the violent context included developing closer ties with their communities through diverse and locally organized community services. There are multiple examples of LGBTI people’s empowerment at the local level throughout Colombia. In some cases, LGBTI people used their knowledge and expertise in specific career niches that they had traditionally occupied, such as hairdressing, to serve community members and position themselves as providers of

⁴⁵ *Caribe Afirmativo*. “Manifiesto de personas LGBTI constructoras de Paz en el Caribe.” *Corporación Caribe Afirmativo* (blog), August, 2017. URL <https://caribeafirmativo.lgbt/manifiesto-personas-lgbti-constructoras-paz-caribe/> (accessed November 2018).

community spaces, community builders, and active members of their towns and neighbourhoods.

By becoming established human rights organizations at the national and international levels, LGBTI NGOs counted on the support of powerful allies internationally. For instance, they were part of the ILGA network, which has consultative status in ECOSOC. They also had access to databases with a sizeable number of members, LGBTI and allies, who could be mobilized, activated and deployed to demonstrate support and pressure on state institutions and other actors, such as non-state armed actors.

The report *Aniquilar la Diferencia* narrates how LGBTI activists joined forces with other human rights activists in order to increase the number of voices fighting for common causes (human rights) and exert more leverage. Further, they developed a practice of supporting one another and thinking in terms of a community, which has enabled LGBTI activists to count on a wider network of allies. According to one activist, “it has been significant in building with others, that the ways to transform are not limited to stable and unique resistances and identities, but also that they link with other struggle” (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 405).

LGBTI NGOs, such as *Caribe Afirmativo*, provided training workshops so that LGBTI people know about their rights and get guidance regarding the processes and institutions available to assist victims of the internal armed conflict in Colombia (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 398). These have helped to better equip LGBTI people in order to prevent violence in the future. For instance, a transgender woman leader who engaged in sexual work chose to learn as much as she could from the Police Code so that when the police forces would arrive, she would have the arguments to defend her actions. Further, she shared this information with other sexual workers so that they could resist police brutality and empower themselves (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica 2015, 380).

This sort of workshop is paramount for a variety of reasons. Importantly, they can enable LGBTI people to get a better understanding of the victimization processes to which they have been subjected, which can help them heal and re-signify their experiences. This is why

LGBTI organizations, and their international partners have placed emphasis on access to information on learning about national and international human rights protections

5.4. Accountability Politics

After ground-breaking documents such as the 1980 Penal Code and 1991 Constitution, LGBTI people in Colombia began gaining some sort of established visibility and were able to demand the same rights as heterosexual populations. Politicians and decision makers became targeted as stakeholders who were able to affect procedures within their local, regional and national jurisdictions to impact procedures in order to benefit the equal or at least more equitable access of LGBTI populations to the services that the State was to provide for all citizens. As described previously, accountability politics involves ensuring that powerful actors are held liable for their public position on a given topic (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 47). LGBTI populations and their demands were more common in the mainstream media and LGBTI NGOs representatives were more capable of exercising pressure on elected officials, making it known that LGBTI populations were not an irrelevant/ insignificant number in the electorate and that they had achieved a sort of ‘class conscience.’

Caribe Afirmativo developed a novel technique in Colombia, regarding its relationship with political parties and capacity to inform LGBTI people of candidates’ political positions on LGBTI issues. Thus, the organization came up with an Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia (*Observatorio de participación política de las personas LGBTI en Colombia*). The following subsection describes this initiative.

5.4.1 Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia

Caribe Afirmativo joined forces with the Victory Institute and the German NGO, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, in Colombia in order to develop the initiative in the context of the local electoral processes of 2014-2015. Their first strategy consisted in promoting an ‘informed vote’ amongst LGBTI people, so that they knew about candidates who supported LGBTI issues, through a mass media campaign on the participacionpolitica.caribeafirmativo.lgbt/ website and other media (Caribe Afirmativo 2014).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Caribe Afirmativo. “Observatorio de la participación política de las personas LGBTI en Colombia.” Observatorio de la participación política de las personas LGBTI en Colombia, 2014. URL

According to a communications staff member of *Caribe Afirmativo*,

The first activities of the observatory were providing workshops for LGBTI people. We developed four of these workshops on personal LGBTI capacity building in political campaigns [...] We had about 45 people becoming candidates for local and national elections. In 2014, we also began a process of dialogue with the political parties, visiting them in their headquarters in order to share with them and learn about their proposals to include LGBTI people in their programs or activities. After the Senate elections, there was an initiative called ‘Vote for equality’ (*Voto por la igualdad*) which sought to shed light upon the positions of candidates of popular elections on LGBTI issues, emphasizing positive aspects. In other words, we provided visibility to candidates who supported LGBTI agendas and issues (interview with O10, November 2016).

As more political parties and candidates became aware of the importance of the LGBTI vote and of the Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia initiative, some of them began including LGBTI issues in their proposals, strengthening their bonds with the initiative and even developing a symbiotic relationship. For instance,

There was once a government candidate who called us and said he was losing in the elections due to *Caribe Afirmativo* not displaying all his LGBTI proposals in the Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia website. We said to him that we would review it. He replied that if he lost the election, it would be due to them. I thought: ‘I cannot believe we have so much incidence’, but in any case, we included everything he was for on the website, but he lost anyway [...] Six openly LGBT people had been candidates in these elections for the Senate and Chamber of Representatives. Only one of them was elected: Chamber Member Angélica Lozano, a Green Party openly lesbian woman (interview with O10, November 2016).

Hence, through initiatives such as the aforementioned, LGBTI NGOs gained the capability to use a comparable strategy to ‘naming and shaming’, holding relevant actors accountable (candidates to public office) through highlighting their positive stances instead of through providing negative reinforcements.

Conclusions

A central part of this research project involved exploring areas that sought to redefine the ways in which LGBTI people have been perceived in Colombia in the context of the internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016). It is relevant to point out that LGBTI

people themselves had to go through processes of self-realization as a group in terms of their commonalities and the unfairness of the ways in which they had been treated in their country. Only through these difficult processes of denaturalizing the circle of violence they have often encountered, have LGBTI peoples been able to demand the restitution of their rights through the recognition of what took place to them (truth and guarantees of no repetition) in the latest processes of transitional justice. Individual actions of resistance are symbolic and significant as they are the starters that provide inspiration so that group mobilization and collective efforts may come about. It is also key to notice that intersectionality plays a significant role to delineate the access some LGBTI peoples have to some spaces, while others may have a much more difficult fate. LGBTI people had to adapt and adopt various tactics that would serve them to attempt having a safer environment.

This is why, national LGBTI activists have sought to get involved in their local communities as a common strategy implemented both individually and informally, as well as collectively and officially in an organized way. Through actively involving themselves within their communities, LGBTI people participated in actions of community gathering that intended to redefine how they were perceived or how they had been stereotyped, so that they were no longer seen as foreign or ‘alien’ to the community.

Prompting behaviours, policies and procedures is a group of tactics where leverage politics is much more prevalent than in the most initial area of influence: establishing the issue, where information politics is more prevalent. However, information politics continues to be key in this area of influence, as has been shown in all areas of influence. Thus, subsidiary hypothesis 2 gets more backing in this last empirical chapter: information politics are central for the advancement of the goals of transnational advocacy networks. On the other hand, leverage politics are also said to be prominent. In this chapter, there is more evidence to support the third subsidiary hypothesis as LGBTI NGOs such as Caribe Afirmativo chose to use positive reinforcements through its Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia.

International networking gets the spotlight in this chapter, especially taking into consideration funding for developing information politics actions, such as publishing reports. It is also noteworthy to mention that in the Colombian case, there are faith-based organizations

supporting the advancement of LGBTI rights. Pointing out that these faith groups understand their religious values differently from other faith-based groups who are against LGBTI further emphasizes the power of framing.

Also, this chapter provides support to the idea that subsidiary hypothesis 4 is incorrect because power relations among actors in the network seem to be either unimportant, downplayed or hidden from view as none of the interviewees expressed any sort of discomfort or unequal power balance when mentioning their allied/ partner organizations. In fact, they were complimentary and clear in terms of recognizing organizations' areas of expertise. The interviewees reflected diverse objectives for their organizations, instead of having a unique view of their missions. While the broader field is similar, for instance human rights and within it LGBTI rights, there are various ways in which LGBTI NGOs have specialized, via issues of work: health services, legal services, political participation, citizenship culture, transgender rights; or depending on their location and spread (local, regional, and national).

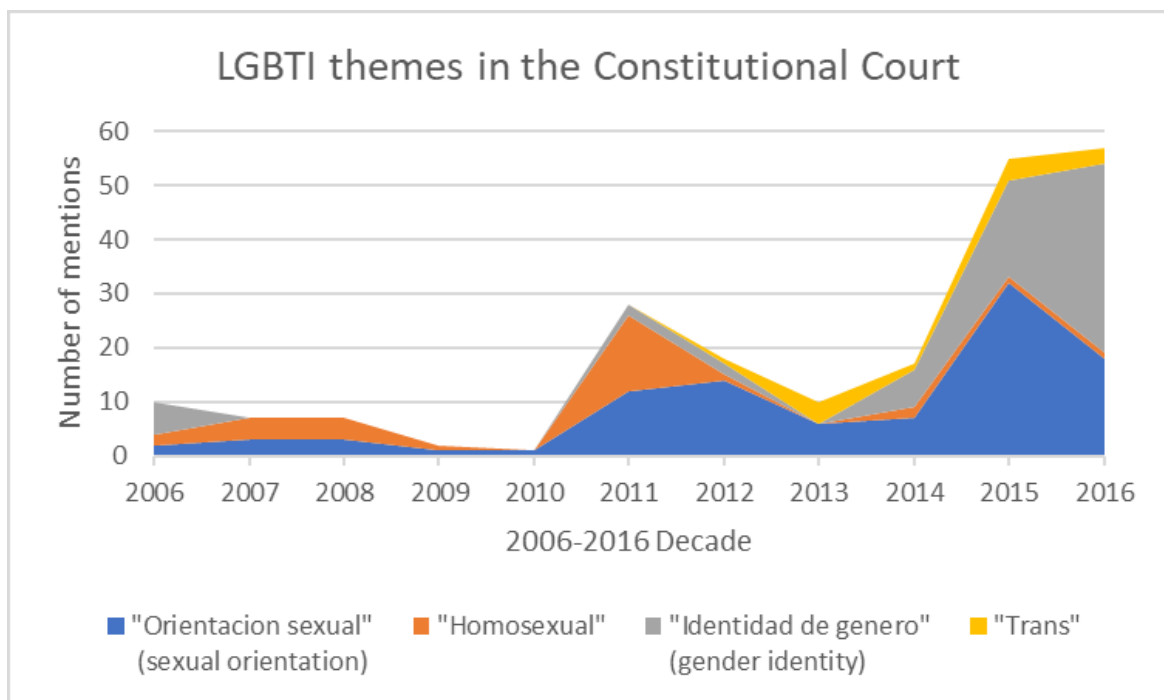
An important observation regarding changes in the nature and discourses on debates on LGBTI issues during the studied decade, analyzed through the lenses of the levels of social reality of critical realism is presented in the following table. It shows the number of items under four groupings: '*orientación sexual*' (sexual orientation), 'homosexual', '*identidad de género*' (gender identity) and 'trans', as well as the total of mentions of these terms. The following Table 5 and the graph represented in Figure 16 show that there was a marked increase in the number of items considered by the Constitutional Court of Colombia during the period under study, according to information found on its website⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/tematico.php?todos=%25&sql=trans&campo=%2F16&pg=0>

Table 5. Mention of LGBTI items in the Constitutional Court of Colombia

Year	"Orientación sexual" (sexual orientation)	"Homosexual"	"Identidad de género" (gender identity)	"Trans"	Total
2006	2	2	6	0	10
2007	3	4	0	0	7
2008	3	4	0	0	7
2009	1	1	0	0	2
2010	1	0	0	0	1
2011	12	14	2	0	28
2012	14	1	2	1	18
2013	6	0	0	4	10
2014	7	2	7	1	17
2015	32	1	18	4	55
2016	18	1	35	3	57

Figure 16. Mention of LGBTI items in the Constitutional Court of Colombia



Data from the Constitutional Court of Colombia, July 2, 2020

This reveals that in the period under study, 2006-2016, the Colombian Constitutional Court has seen an increase in the number of cases dealing with the four categories presented. It is also noticeable that terminology identifying ‘the other’ in a specific kind of sexual orientation -homosexuality- and a specific kind of gender identity -trans- became less frequent, in favor

of the aforementioned categories like ‘sexual orientation’ and ‘gender identity’, which in 2012 and 2015 respectively experienced a much higher number of mentions. This turn may be significant as far as shedding light on gradual societal acceptance of such categories (sexual orientation and gender identity) as common to all human beings, rather than as synonyms of homosexuality and ‘transness’, respectively.

At last, one cannot help but notice that the 2006-2010 period registers 27 mentions of said groupings altogether, while just in the following year, 2011, there were 28 mentions. Some hypotheses one could offer regarding these events would require, for instance, developing further research on the changes in structures of political opportunity in the country. Nonetheless, the period does coincide with the last term of former President Álvaro Uribe Vélez, while the peak in mentions in 2011 coincide roughly with the beginning of the first term of former President Juan Manuel Santos in 2010. Undoubtedly, regardless of reasons for such increase, the evident increment in the number of mentions of these groupings by the Constitutional Court demonstrates that discursive changes took place in the 2006-2016 decade. These changes occurred in all levels of social reality, and notably, became enshrined in ‘the real’ level of influencing policies, procedures, and behaviours.

Conclusions

Life is there ahead of you and either one tests oneself in its challenges or hurdles in the valleys in a dreamless day-to-day existence whose only purpose is the preservation of an illusory security and safety [...] Unlike the chore of the mythic Sisyphus, this challenge is not an endless pushing up of a boulder to the top of a hill, only to have it rock back gain, the chore to be repeated eternally. It is pushing the boulder up an endless mountain, but unlike Sisyphus, we are always going further upward. And also, unlike Sisyphus, each stage of the trail upwards is different, newly dramatic, an adventure each time. At times we do fall back and become discouraged, but it is also not that we are making no progress. Simply, this is the very nature of life -that it is a climb – and that the resolution of each issue in turn creates other issues, born of plights which are unimaginable today.

The pursuit of happiness is never ending; happiness lies in the pursuit. Confronted with the materialistic decadence of the status quo, one should not be surprised to find all revolutionary movements are primarily generated from spiritual values and considerations of justice, equality, peace, and brotherhood. History is a relay of revolutions; the torch of idealism is carried by the revolutionary group until this group becomes an establishment, and then quietly the torch is put down to wait until a new revolutionary group picks it up for the next leg run.

Thus, the revolutionary cycle goes on. A major revolution to be won in the immediate future is the dissipation of man's illusion that his own welfare can be separate from that of all others

- Alinsky (1971, 22–24).

This research sought to comprehend the expansion of LGBTI rights within a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice process in Colombia (2006-2016). It intended to shed light upon the diverse ways in which actors managed to become involved in these endeavours without focusing on a legalistic perspective. There were two main reasons to do so: the first one was privileging examining tactics to transform ‘the terms and nature of the debate’, instead of those directly focused on juridical processes. The second one considered giving priority to other targeted actors of those tactics, rather than the State. Keeping this in mind, the following are the main reflections on methodology, empirical findings and theoretical implications derived from this case study.

1. Reflections on methodology

Part of the research project involved considering the differences between gatekeepers, hubs and, generally, actors who had decision-making powers above the average. Yet, I realized that if the project had developed in that way, it would not have addressed the research question satisfactorily because according to interviews from relevant actors in this case study, horizontality is a central value for members. So, I decided to signal the existence of power

differences among the actors who are considered to be part of the transnational advocacy network that has pushed for LGBTI rights in the context of the armed conflict, but it would be important to analyse these differences in more depth, as well as the role of gender norms in conditioning access to goods, services or decision-making bodies in future research.

At the same time, it seemed that focusing on decision-making processes and power dynamics among actors, while a worthwhile pursuit, would go against the ethos of transnational advocacy networks. I contend this since according to the review of the literature presented in my theoretical framework (chapter 2), as well as the experiences depicted in this case study and through ‘situated knowledge’, becoming part of transnational advocacy network implies a high degree of voluntarism. Hence, coercive, and/or more obviously forceful influencing techniques among actors would not make sense given the sort of relationships and goals upheld by value-driven conglomerates.

Due to the context of the internal armed conflict, there was little social mobilization. This feature made transnational advocacy networks an appropriate concept to analyze this case study. Theories of social movements and other transnational activist approaches consider mobilization to be central for their workings. Nevertheless, this research did not sufficiently consider e-activism. It would have been important to collect and analyze more data on the subject in order to further explore the capabilities of communication departments within LGBTI NGOs in Colombia. Specific data on e-activism would have shed more light upon the tactics and areas of influence of these communication departments. However, this research did include among its findings that a technical and logistical aspect (the creation and strengthening of communication departments) within LGBTI NGOs was central in order for these organizations to be active participants in the creation and interpretation of discourses about LGBTI people.

One of the most difficult things about authoring this dissertation was to face the emotional demands that the collected information requires from the researcher. I consider that, as an academic with a feminist standpoint of ‘situated knowledge’, my positionality does inform the way in which I have read between the lines of the data. Maintaining sensitivity towards research subjects also required me to be aware of my role as a subjective actor who has maintained a generalist-constructivist approach to knowledge and its production, while

hoping to delve into infusing more feminist methodologies, methods, and standpoints to my research. Thus, this case study attempted to highlight and problematize multiple intersections between the research object (the tactics of influence used by LGBTI activists from 2006 to 2016 and their scope) and the researcher, who recognizes that developing research in the field of peace and conflict studies overlaps with activism and sometimes prescriptive approaches to the research subject/object.

Transitioning from a mindset of international relations to one of international studies, to then focus on local/global studies provided me with the opportunity to experience and explore a main feature of our changing field: actor inclusion and expansion, going from the state to local agents. Thus, in this thesis in international studies I attempted to establish connections between multiple fields of social sciences, seeking to contribute to an eclectic research agenda devoted to little known actors in the field.

While this thesis has sought to shed light on the tactics and areas of influence of actors in the transnational advocacy network, which has sought to advance LGBTI rights in the context of the armed conflict in Colombia, especially in the process of transitional justice, it has experienced constraints. A longer and better funded study could have considered a wider network of actors, as well as more subaltern actors, who might have been instrumental in advancing the rights of LGBTI people, but who were not as visible as the activists that I interviewed. Instead, I used a pragmatic approach to data collection and processing, which privileged the experiences of more visible actors within the communities of LGBTI people. This is a shortcoming of this research. I hope that future research projects can provide platforms for these heroes, who are seldom ignored, unwelcomed or/and absent in academic spaces.

A shortcoming that appeared during the development of this thesis was the specialized knowledge necessary to answer my central research question. For instance, in an effort to fit actions within the politics of influence found in the literature and described in the second chapter, I might have failed to notice that some of the actions undertaken by activists may not fit within the strategies commonly theorized for actors in transnational advocacy networks. Further, only one activity was categorized as strongly being part of accountability politics, which probably reflects LGBTI advances in Colombia being at an initial stage even when

LGBTI movements have roughly half a century of existence in the country. I argue that this is the most fundamental tactics of influence for actors in transnational advocacy networks tend to correlate to the most fundamental level of influence and social reality as well.

All my interviewees stated that horizontality characterized relations among members of the network. This led me to believe that it was in fact so. Nevertheless, my data collecting methodology neither counts on the length of time one might need to be deemed trustworthy, nor what sort of contexts would be more neutral while conducting interviews. Thus, while the research did not intend to unveil power relations between actors of transnational advocacy networks, I naïvely hoped that it would be able to provide some information on the subject. In this regard, I have learned that a more thorough use of ethnographic methods would have enriched this aspect of data collecting, and the subsequent analysis.

Activists identified Colombia as susceptible to be influenced due to the interest of policymakers to present the country as a democratic state that advanced LGBTI rights in the context of seeking to end the internal armed conflict and that of the emergent transitional justice process. Thus, international cooperation was not only accepted by the states but also encouraged as a strategy for the country to become more global. So, one can argue that there was tactical LGBTI alignment to discourses of development and modernity so that the framing of human rights would be linked to them and thus more easily accepted.

2. Main empirical findings

The Santander event shows us that collective and public action was necessary as part of the symbolic politics to push for the emergence of LGBTI rights as an issue in the Colombian human rights agenda in a context of internal armed conflict. This collective demonstration of identity ownership as LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict, or activists, made two aspects evident for LGBTI activists and for Colombian society: 1) LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict and activists were not just a couple of people, but rather a numerous and diverse conglomerate, and 2) LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict and activists were no longer willing to hide in the shadows.

A conditio sine qua non for the emergence of LGBTI issues in the Colombian human rights agenda in a context of internal armed conflict and nascent transitional justice process is the

previous existence of LGBTI human rights movements and groups in the country. Subsequently, as part of the processes for Colombian LGBTI NGOs to establish national expertise and gain international recognition, they counted on a network of established national and international partners. Hence, this amorphous network of LGBTI human rights defenders, which started solidifying in the 1970s, was fundamental to build a Colombian LGBTI movement in a context of internal armed conflict. It did so by providing international safe spaces as well as capacity-building and funding.

While the emergence of LGBTI issues within the Colombian human rights agenda may seem somewhat static, there was significant progress from the use of information politics to that of leverage politics. Indeed, as mentioned, the emergence of LGBTI movements in Colombia has been conditioned by the internal armed conflict. So, there were significant achievements from the 1950s' *Los Felipitos* to the 2016 legalization of same-sex marriage. Likewise, in terms of specific activities, there was clear progress from LGBTI human rights defenders compiling information and making it known that there are LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict to LGBTI NGOs leading capacity-building workshops for LGBTI people in the subcontinent (Andean or Caribbean regions) who were considering running for local or national offices.

A significant step in order to guarantee the adequate treatment of LGBTI issues in local, regional and national state institutions was to support LGBTI people who were running for office so that, once in office, these people could push for the recognition of LGBTI rights. The inclusion of LGBTI people in state instances helps guide the process and creates incidence. This specific leverage politics implied that LGBTI people recognized themselves as a group and, thus, were able to imagine themselves as developing policies, procedures, and norms to advance a common cause. Additionally, conscious of the importance of political power, actors within the transnational advocacy network (for instance, LGBTI NGOs) sought ways to support LGBTI candidates who would be powerful allies in future endeavours.

Further, the recognition of LGBTI rights in the context of the armed conflict in Colombia was facilitated by advances in the recognition of LGBTI rights in general in Colombia and beyond. For instance, the 2016 approval of same-sex marriage in Colombia provided a propitious context for LGBTI activists to push for the recognition of their rights more

specifically in the context of the internal armed conflict. Likewise, the emergent process of transitional justice was influenced by these developments.

As a consequence of the internal armed conflict in Colombia, some LGBTI people had to flee the country to find refuge elsewhere. Some of these have become activists and, from abroad, they have pushed for the recognition of LGBTI victims of the armed conflict. In particular, they have tried to set the agenda to recognize the rights of LGBTI victims and to influence policies and procedures regarding LGBTI victims of the armed conflict. In so doing, they have further expanded the reach of plights for LGBTI rights, increased the visibility of LGBTI victims, and pressured the Colombian government to act on available information to hold perpetrators of human rights violations accountable and to recognize the situation of LGBTI victims, including through historical memory.

LGBTI activists were able to position themselves and legitimize their participation in the peace negotiations between the Colombian government and FARC (2012-2016) by using information politics and other tactics. In particular, they provided evidence that LGBTI people had been victims of both a heteronormative, classist, patriarchal, homophobic, and transphobic society, and of the internal armed conflict. Against this backdrop, LGBTI activists request to be involved in the peace negotiations in order to provide expert knowledge to help draft a much more inclusive agreement appeared to be reasonable, legitimate and useful.

Sadly, structures of inequality can also be tracked down to LGBTI advocacy. For some time passing as straight helped many heteronormative LGBTI individuals gain visibility. While sexual orientation and gender identity diversity are found in all groups and social classes, most political power of this population is identified as a gay, cisgender, male and well-off resident of Bogotá.

While this thesis focused on the period from 2012 to 2016, the emergence of the issue of LGBTI rights in the context of the internal armed conflict in Colombia could be traced back to sometime in the 1970s, as this is when an international caucus of LGBTI human rights defenders was formed. The Colombian LGBTI movement then became more stable throughout the 1980s and 1990s, where most of its activities were related to shaping

discourses and agendas. Later, the final moment started at the turn of the millennium, where activists used tactics mostly to affect behaviours, procedures and policies.

One motivating finding from this thesis is that participation of activists involved in advancing the rights of LGBTI people was associated with personal attachment to the issue itself. Understanding the different motivations for political participation among the many kinds of activists in different formal and informal spaces may be an additional element worth studying in greater depth to better grasp transnational advocacy networks' push for human rights. In this case study, the actors involved in pushing for LGBTI rights in the context of the Colombian armed conflict and the process of transitional justice seemed to adhere to goals and issues that were strongly associated with their personal connection to them, which is consistent with the literature on transnational advocacy networks pushing for human rights.

As previously discussed, the process of predicting what constituents may desire is not exact. Symbolic events can have multiple meanings. Hence, a finding of notice is that, while this research did not contemplate exploring a competing transnational network of right-wing constituents who opposed the peace agreement, the analysis shows that there are multiple realities created from the same symbols: where LGBTI people may have seen human rights inclusion, some other people may have seen indoctrination or sin. In fact, a majority of the Colombian population voted 'no' in the 2016 referendum, which reveals that an important opposition to the agreement existed. Yet, we are still to find out the extent to which the campaign against the referendum waged by a transnational network of conservative ideals contributed to a majority of 'no' vote. This would be an interesting topic on which to conduct further research in the future.

As expected, peace campaigns were politicized by political actors. In general, left-leaning parties supported the peace process, agreement, and inclusion of LGBTI populations. On the other hand, some right-wing parties supported the process, but less so the agreement and inclusion, while others simply rejected the process, agreement and inclusion and used the referendum as an opportunity to propagate fear based on prejudices and misinformation.

As a Senior member of an LGBTI NGO commented, strong LGBTI associations and a movement per se in Colombia was born in a context of and mobilizing for ending conflict. The LGBTI movement goes hand in hand with the failed Pastrana peace process. So, a

learning opportunity that speaks of LGBTI NGOs resilience explains that they did not see the Pastrana peace process as a missed opportunity, but rather adapted their expectations and made use of the available spaces to advance their goals. They created organizations, worked in support for one another and were able to push for their more significant inclusion in the peace process during the Santos presidency.

3. Theoretical implications

This thesis shows that the lack of existence of a formal institution that may call itself “the” LGBTI transnational advocacy network does not mean in any way that there are no nodes, and more relevant actors within such configurations. On the other hand, there was no evidence found to assert that power relations, bargaining, negotiating, among other soft power tactics, were features taking place among actors in a network. Additionally, this dissertation provides important insights into the ways in which these actors relate to one another. Their relationships cannot be based on imposition, as belonging to a network, and choosing to support a cause is fundamentally voluntary. In other words, it is a choice. Hence, such structural framework configures the collegiality and good faith that is prevalent among actors in the network, which could not be sustainable otherwise.

Owing to the taboo nature of the issues at hand (sexual orientation and gender identity), not all the actors involved were willing to be visible and appear in public when involved in actions to push for LGBTI rights in the context of internal armed conflict. So, the openness of the configuration of the transnational advocacy network allowed keeping track of stages and tactics of influence, without necessarily pinpointing specific actors within the network. It is crucial to understand that the transnational advocacy network which has pushed for the recognition of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict is not homogenous (regarding the overarching goals of all its members), is not stable (regarding the frequent and measurable participation of members) and is rather dissimilar (in terms of the vast quantity of actors with various degrees of capabilities to exercise influence). This recognition allows us to be open to the possibilities presented by constantly reimagining allies, establishing multiple steps towards achieving goals, and being involved in a multiplicity of endeavours. Further, it explicitly goes against a normative, top-bottom approach to decision-making.

This thesis shows that a fascinating feature about the LGBTI informal as well as formal communities in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict has to do with the kinship structures that are developed amongst LGBTI people. Creating bonds of familiarity with other LGBTI people strengthens the links between members of that group and creates extended communities throughout the country, while members of a network have access to international non-governmental organizations, donors, etc. Hence, a perhaps liberal pondering regarding dialogue between development discourses and LGBTI groups, and more specifically LGBTI movements (from sociological, anthropological and psychological perspectives) could be beneficial to question the centrality of ‘standard nuclear families’ in development discourses. As Drucker (2009, 830) contends:

Queering families, communities, and larger societies lays bare the socially constructed, ideological character of gender, family, and sexual structures. People can then begin to pose questions, not so much about what is ‘natural’ or ‘what is part of our culture’ as about what kinds of network best meet their material, social, emotional, and sexual needs. Networking and organizing can begin to trump biology. This means that development should focus not just on women but also on all ‘those who lose out from not fitting into gender norms/sex categories’ (Jolly 2000: 4 – 5). This can be the starting point for ‘redefining identities outside reproduction and the family’, which so far ‘remains mostly untouched’ by official development policy (Kleitz 2000).

Processes of influence by transnational advocacy networks in contexts of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice are not clear cut: one stage of influence cannot be neatly defined as starting at one point and finishing at another one, but rather they overlap. Likewise, one would err if one chose to separate the various politics of influence (information, symbolic, accountability, and leverage) used by actors in the LGBTI transnational advocacy networks in order to advance their goals, as discussed above. LGBTI people wanted to be part of this process due to a bigger goal: transforming society. Thus, national actors in the mentioned transnational advocacy network are cognizant about the multiple spheres that are part of modern society, including the mediatic space, cultural norms, the law, etc. Hence, their bigger goal encompasses decreasing or doing away with structural and institutional conditions that make LGBTI people live in vulnerable conditions.

The emergence of LGBTI rights in the Colombian as well as the international human rights agendas began taking place in the 1970s. Significant progress was achieved at the turn of this millennium, and the legitimacy and visibility of LGBTI rights greatly increased in the period under study (2006-2016). For instance, by the end of 2016, about two dozen countries had

recognized same-sex marriage, including Colombia in April of that year. This significant recognition of LGBTI rights did neither take place in a vacuum, nor was it isolated from actors and agents, as well as structures of political opportunity. Indeed, the advance of LGBTI rights in the last decades, and the inclusion of LGBTI people in the latest peace process in Colombia can only be understood by recognizing the efforts of LGBTI activists. The present case therefore reinforces other findings in the literature about the crucial importance of activists to push for certain issues to become recognized at the global, international, national, regional, and local levels, such as the advance of LGBTI rights in a context of internal armed conflict.

Further, this thesis shows that collective endeavours, rather than individual ones, significantly contribute to the emergence of issues such as LGBTI rights. This is why this thesis places emphasis on the actions carried out by activists collectively in the transnational advocacy network, as well as their results, rather than on individual feats. This finding is congruent with the self-effacing nature of value-driven social groups configurations, where self-interest may not be the main driver behind motivation, as mentioned in the literature.

This research also revealed that the transnational advocacy network that sought to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict had a contending network, mainly made up of fundamentalist religious groups. Such a contending network (that grew in Colombia) counted on the devotion of many followers in Colombia and hampered efforts to advance LGBTI rights. Further, as this religious network is older, it had more economic resources and political connections than the more recent transnational advocacy network that has sought to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia. This finding suggests that the study of transnational advocacy networks pushing for human rights should pay more attention to contending actors, who resist advances in human rights. In particular, it would be interesting to contrast the working of the two kinds of networks: (i) transnational advocacy networks pushing for human rights and (ii) transnational advocacy networks resisting the advancement of such rights.

This thesis has sought to analyse actions that have been applied by actors in the transnational advocacy network pushing for the advancement of LGBTI people in Colombia during a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice, as part of certain politics

or tactics to influence specific scopes. One cannot fail to notice that some (most) activities have underlying, or rather encompassing characteristics that make them capable of going across areas of influence and/or even kinds of politics. The following table 6 (similar to table 2) presents this categorization, which I have named ‘wide-ranging actions’ of communications for peace campaigns, for visibility, for social engagement, for network creation and strengthening, and for political empowerment.

While it was not conceived as so at the beginning, during the development of this research, the reliance on Keck and Sikkink made this thesis a sort of instrument to confirm that their theoretical and methodological innovations can be applied to the case at hand. In that sense, this study was theory-based, seeking to be as close to reality as possible, but in the process, it likely did not prioritize visions, theories and methodologies of regional, national and local authors. Foreign theoretical sources and methodologies shaped the way the study was conducted as well as my analysis. Ways to remedy this in future endeavours would be to increase the number of sources, to diversify them, and to ensure local importance.

Table 6. Levels of influence / Tactics of influence *with proposed ‘wide-ranging actions’ categorization

	Issue (Ch. IV)	Discourse & Agenda (Ch. V)	Behaviours, Policies & Procedures (Ch. VI)
Information Politics	Establishing national expertise (4.1.1)	Victims of the conflict (5.1.1)	Publishing information on LGBTI people to promote their visibility and acceptance (6.1.1)
	Developing communication strategies (4.1.2)	Vulnerable to violence in armed conflict (5.1.2)	Campaign for peace referendum and other human rights issues (6.1.2)
		LGBTI rights as human rights (5.1.3) Peace discourses (5.1.4)	
Symbolic Politics	Parade in Santandercito (4.2.1)	Parades and public space (5.2.1)	Increasing social status and visibility in public spaces (6.2.1)
		Community activities (5.2.2)	
		Reshaping LGBTI human rights image (Respectability politics) (5.2.3)	
		Pacifism, non violence, non confrontation (5.2.4)	
Leverage Politics	Connecting relevant actors (4.3.1)	International discourses (5.3.1)	Increasing support from community (6.3.1)
	Recognition and support for LGBTI candidates (4.3.2)	Networking with human rights groups and sympathetic decision makers (5.3.2)	Discourse production through workshops on human rights and peace topics & international networking (6.3.2)
Accountability Politics			Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia (6.4.1)

There are six wide-ranging actions that seem to have touched upon various levels of influence and can also be read as belonging to different tactics. These are the cases of ‘wide-ranging actions of communication’ which are used throughout all tactics of influence (highlighted in fuchsia). For instance, as can be noticed in the previous chapters, ‘wide-ranging actions of communication’ are present in all levels of influence through information politics, as expected. They were also found to reshape LGBTI human rights (respectability politics)

within the symbolic politics to affect discourses and the agenda. They are also part of Chapter 5 through leverage politics via using international discourses to push for national advances. At last, they can also be found within the activities of leverage politics in what pertains to ‘discourse production’ through workshops on human rights and peace topics, and international networking. Wide-ranging actions of communications in accountability politics are included in the observational aspect and diffusion of information in the ‘Observatory for political participation of LGBTI people in Colombia’.

The second category is the ‘wide-ranging actions for peace’ (in yellow), which are prominent to influence discourses and the agenda, as they appear as information politics when advancing peace discourses and as pacifism, non-violence and non-confrontation through symbolic politics. In the case of influencing behaviours, policies & procedures, ‘wide ranging actions for peace’ appear as information politics through supporting the affirmative vote in the peace referendum and other human rights campaigns. When considering the third category, ‘wide-ranging actions for visibility’ (in sky blue) are the main set of activities within symbolic politics, used to frame the issue and influence discourses, agendas, behaviours, policies, and procedures. The fourth category, ‘wide-ranging actions for social engagement’ (in blue), are the community-oriented activities that serve as both symbolic and leverage politics. In the case of symbolic politics, community activities are used to influence discourses and the agenda. On the other hand, they are used as leverage politics to influence behaviour, procedures, and policies.

The fifth category, ‘wide-ranging actions for network creation and strengthening’ (in gray), is the main set of tactics used in leverage politics in order to influence all areas under consideration. At last, the sixth category, ‘wide-ranging actions for political empowerment’ (in green), demonstrates the importance of spaces for collective learning and empowering LGBTI people because they are key within leverage politics to frame an issue, as well as to influence behaviours, policies and procedures. They are also present when considering accountability politics to influence behaviour, politics, and procedures in the Observatory of political participation of LGBTI people in Colombia.

Wide-ranging actions of communication are relevant throughout the study, as expected when considering academic literature referring to transnational advocacy networks’ use of

information politics. What is novel in this case is that while these six wide-ranging actions attempted to propose a categorization that would respond to this case study in a more discrete way, the two squares at the bottom right of table 2 show that these wide-ranging actions can also be combined. For instance, influencing behaviour, policies and procedures through leverage politics in ‘discourse production through workshops on human rights and peace topics and international networking’, as well as through accountability politics in the ‘Observatory of Political Participation of LGBTI people in Colombia’ had wide-ranging actions of communication as part of their component, and both were also part of wide-ranging actions for political empowerment.

It is telling that combined wide-ranging actions are much more prevalent near the more advanced process of influence. In other words, data shows that wide-ranging actions are less likely to be combined with others during the initial process of influence, which are setting the issue and influencing discourses and agendas.

4. Future agenda / musings

Actions by national NGOs specialized in LGBTI rights, working in partnership with and within transnational advocacy networks, explain the expansion of LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice (2006-2016). These NGOs did so by undertaking various actions, categorized within four politics of influence and evident in levels of effectivity/ levels of social reality. The analysis of the subsidiary hypotheses/congruence tests for this crucial-case study reveals that there is evidence to argue that:

- 1) Not all politics of influence seek to affect legal changes, since altering the terms and nature of the debate is another solid pillar to advance LGBTI rights in a tangible way.
- 2) Information politics is central in the toolbox of transnational advocacy networks as it was present in all areas of influence.
- 3) National actors used positive reinforcement mechanisms to advance human rights issues, as expected according to prevalent transnational advocacy network literature.
- 4) Relations between actors in the analysed network are horizontal. While the theory of transnational advocacy networks uses leverage politics as part of one of its tactics, acknowledging power relations in a social setting does not mean that these

phenomena are always observed in the accounts of the interactions and communications among actors in this network in Colombia.

- 5) While involved in information politics, some local actors in the transnational advocacy network to advance LGBTI rights in Colombia in a context of internal armed conflict and emerging transitional justice experienced changes in their identities and interests through the process of exchanging information with other actors or networks.
- 6) Most political parties did not include LGBTI people tacitly within their ranks, which conditioned the expansion of LGBTI rights to using strategic litigation mostly, instead of legislative ways.
- 7) The internal factors that favour transnational advocacy network success increased over the analysed period: strength, density, and as a result, the capability of national actors to exercise pressure.
- 8) External factors that favour transnational advocacy network success were present in the analysed period. These are constructing the topic as a matter of equality, seeking to avoid violence towards innocent people, and establishing a clear cause and effect linkage.

I hope that this research provides useful data that can shed light on the human rights violations suffered by LGBTI people in the context of internal armed conflict in Colombia and the struggle for the recognition of their rights. The silence that has been characteristic of the situation of human rights violations against LGBTI people in dictatorships, armed conflicts, etc. reproduces an idea of unimportance, impunity, and anonymity, which needs to be broken. As an academic, I felt compelled to analyze and reveal this situation, hoping that it will not only make a scholarly contribution but can also have an impact in practice, supporting the efforts of activists who have struggled for LGBTI rights in Colombia and globally.

While an unnamed objective of this dissertation was to show instances of resistance, providing glimpses of hope to LGBTI people, disregarding the centrality of LGBTI victimization felt dishonest and superficial. One cannot neglect that the internal armed conflict had difficult and lasting repercussions not only directly on LGBTI victims themselves, but their family members and friends too suffered repercussions. Further, through

inadequate and/or insufficient state protection, all LGBTI people in general learned through socialization, media, society's expectations and so on that their lives were seen as less valuable, even sometimes subhuman and evil.

I also do not wish to leave the reader with lessons and strategies for incidence in a functionalist approach. Instead, I recognize that there is much to be done since elected government representatives in the Colombian State have the responsibility to uphold and respect the peace agreement, as it is the minimum that the victims require. Hence, this document welcomes all additions in terms of making visible instances of resistance to violence, as well as discussions on strengthening transitional justice measures.

In sum, I consider that this research project may show some of the challenges as well as the limitations of interdisciplinary work for junior researchers in the field of peace and conflict studies. For this dissertation, I have used a constructivist framework within the field of international studies, the concept of transnational advocacy networks, some concepts from sociology (especially from social movement theory), an analysis of power dynamics (from political science) and have tried to shed light on some narratives exposing individual processes of resistance and healing (from anthropology and psychology). I have also delved into a feminist standpoint of situated knowledge for data collecting and processing, while levels of reality of critical realism were used to show results within transnational advocacy networks levels of effectiveness. It is my hope that this dissertation enriches the field of international studies, even if only to show where some of the shortcomings of the research for this case study may be.

It is relevant to mention that there are many reasons why not all key actors who were interviewed saw themselves as part of a transnational advocacy network advancing LGBTI rights. One of them can be related to the context of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice, which places significant relevance in national instances of decision-making, which, in part, may decrease the belief of social entrepreneurs that working within a transnational advocacy network may help their goals. A second reason may be much more related to an international shift in terms of ownership of projects and processes as part of the field of international development cooperation. In this case, the field of cooperation has seen a shift from projects being understood as guided by the global North to local empowerment

of processes. The latter privileges local actors' national ownership of struggles as well as achievements. Consequently, these actors might be reluctant to acknowledge that they belong to transnational advocacy networks, lest they could be perceived as subjugated to foreign interests or designs.

This research paves the way for the advancement of various research agendas. For instance, it calls for more research on the ways in which LGBTI rights can advance in contexts of internal armed conflict and emergent transitional justice. It would also be useful to explore the importance of constitutional guidelines that guarantee human rights as well as a well-established judicial tradition with regards to its capability to incorporate novel concerns, categories, or issues, when dealing with LGBTI rights expansion. Situated knowledge, the application of critical realism, process tracing, and a retroductive logic can also be of use to the field of transnational advocacy networks as these methodological tools could provide it with ontological novelty, which would not only refresh constructivist assumptions on intersubjective understandings but also strengthen the analysis of multiple effectiveness levels.

Another significant finding has to do with the fact that this study has shed light upon the need to further develop research in terms of our understanding of, on the one hand, the extent to which a network is theorized to have agency and, on the other hand, whether one of its central characteristics -its capacity to use information strategically- is ultimately the defining feature that delineates the terms and levels of influence of such extent. This concern includes the economic aspect of network building and maintenance, appearing somewhat excluded (or underappreciated) in the literature, which, as a consequence, caused this research not to look for these linkages sufficiently once data collecting occurred. Hence, future research agendas may focus on the much more economic aspects/ funding of national groups as markers or determinants of transnational advocacy network belonging.

This case demonstrates that LGBTI rights expansion in a traditionally conservative region is possible, even during an internal armed conflict and emergent process of transitional justice. Colombian activists showed that framing and aligning their goals to state priorities, such as internationalization, strengthened their capacity for informational, symbolic, leverage and accountability politics. In this way, the political inclinations of the government were taken as

windows of opportunity to advance public policies. At the time of writing (2019), in accordance with the 2016 peace agreement, the recently established truth commission has a mandate that includes the investigation of human rights violations against LGBTI persons. Also, in the period under study, local departments have come out with attention guidelines, as well as city-wide ordinances to protect LGBTI rights.

The inclusion of LGBTI populations in the peace process enriched transitional justice. This innovation is likely to become *de rigueur* in future transitional justice processes worldwide due to norm diffusion and an increased need for international legitimacy, as discussed when defining type III-transitional justice. Likewise, counting on a specific focus on LGBTI people in the work of the National Center for Historical Memory represents a victory for the recognition of human rights violations due to real or perceived diverse sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Currently, international human rights discourses take LGBTI people into account. Hopefully, their inclusion in transitional justice processes will soon be taken as a given too.

National LGBTI populations had their identities transform continuously: from being perceived as victims of the internal armed conflict to becoming human rights defenders. Ultimately, some became seen as peacemakers. There are multiple individual and group strategies to survive victimization. However, the creation of informal networks of activism as well as temporary agreements with irregular forces were the ones that tended to save LGBTI people's lives in the context of armed conflict.

Keck and Sikkink have contributed a canonical model for comprehending transnational advocacy networks. A great challenge for researchers here is identifying actors and their interactions, especially when considering social movements, NGOs, INGOs, etc. Thus, it should be noted that women's movements have many more adherents and thus are much more able to use mobilization as a political strategy than LGBTI populations and their allies. Similarly, the resources available for women's, Indigenous, farmers' movements, etc. are different from those that LGBTI populations can access. Hence, women's movements used their significant resources to back LGBTI populations in order for them to be part of the peace process. Further, there are emulation mechanisms by which implicitly and explicitly LGBTI populations have made use of the expertise achieved by women.

Some themes and events in which LGBTI NGOs worked alongside women's movements are mentioned in this thesis, chiefly when discussing leverage politics. Nevertheless, the contributions of the various conglomerates in Colombia to the advancement of the rights of LGBTI people would require a more in-depth analysis, especially if focused on the intricate relationship between women's groups and LGBTI ones. Consequently, it would be useful to include this issue in future research agendas.

The expansion of Colombian LGBTI NGOs's actions to include regional partners, such as in the case of Caribe Afirmativo managing workshops on political participation for Caribbean LGBTI leaders, provides a fascinating research area: South-South LGBTI cooperation. Traditionally, the literature on transnational advocacy networks contemplates that Global North or Western partners are involved in the network and offer expertise and funds to Global South partners. The development of more capacities by LGBTI NGOs in the South creates a unique opportunity to analyze how LGBTI advocacy functions in a South-South context.

Appendices

Appendix A. Information Sheet for Interviewees

Hoja informativa
investigación académica:
**“Uso de Redes transnacionales de activistas por parte de actores nacionales
en el avance de derechos LGBTI, en contexto del conflicto armado interno
y justicia transicional (2006-2016) en Colombia”**

Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) - sede Ecuador
La Pradera E7-174 y Av. Diego de Almagro
Quito, Ecuador
Teléfono: (593 2) 2 946 800
Correos electrónicos del investigador, Carlos Paredes:
caaparedes@flacso.edu.ec; paredescarlosa@gmail.com



Le invito cordialmente a participar en el proyecto de investigación académica: “Uso de Redes transnacionales de activistas por parte de actores nacionales en el avance de derechos LGBTI, en contexto del conflicto armado interno y justicia transicional (2006-2016) en Colombia” desarrollada en el Programa de Doctorado de Estudios de Internacionales de la universidad de posgrado Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO-Ecuador). Por favor, antes de decidir su participación, es esencial tener en cuenta los objetivos de este estudio, así como su participación en él. Se ruega leer la información presentada a continuación y preguntar abiertamente en caso de duda o si requiere más información.

Equipo, objetivos y relevancia del proyecto de investigación:

Este proyecto es desarrollado por el investigador Carlos Andrés Paredes Minango dentro del Programa de Doctorado en Estudios Internacionales de la FLACSO-Ecuador, bajo la dirección de la Dra. Cécile Mouly (FLACSO-Ecuador) y el Dr. Pedro Valenzuela (Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá). Este proyecto se enmarca en un espacio interdisciplinario de investigación de Estudios de Paz y Conflicto, Derechos Humanos y Redes Transnacionales de Activismo. El objetivo de este estudio es explorar los procesos que posibilitaron la inclusión de las víctimas LGBTI del conflicto armado interno en el marco de la justicia transicional colombiana entre 2006 y 2016. Se pretende interpretar críticamente y de forma contrastada, la información de las fuentes tanto documentales como de entrevistas a profundidad para entender cómo las redes transnacionales de activistas han logrado influenciar la justicia transicional colombiana en cuanto a la inclusión de grupos LGBTI. Dicha investigación es significativa desde la perspectiva teórica pues, amparado en la teoría de nivel medio de las redes transnacionales de activismo, busca develar las complejas estrategias de activistas locales e internacionales para ejercer influencia en la naturaleza, términos y política pública orientada a los derechos de las personas LGBTI en el marco de la justicia transicional colombiana.

Participación en el estudio:

En Colombia (y en ocasiones en Ecuador) se realizarán entrevistas a profundidad con actores clave, toda vez que su experiencia e interpretación del caso permitirá entender los diversos procesos articulados al caso y sus implicaciones. Asimismo, se complementará el estudio con documentación en prensa, fuentes formales e informales. Si acepta concederme una entrevista, le garantizo el uso exclusivo de los datos provistos por usted sólo para el estudio mencionado. Su nombre no figurará en ningún producto de la investigación, ya sea ponencia o publicación académica, y será mantenido confidencial. Usted tiene la opción de permanecer completamente anónima/o solo ser referida/o como a título personal o perteneciente a su institución o grupo específico. Puede pedir ser eliminada/o de la investigación en cualquier momento sin lugar a penalidades, con tan solo avisarnos y sin dar ninguna explicación; su información puede ser borrada del proyecto en cualquier momento hasta la publicación de los productos del estudio que posiblemente será a inicios de 2018. Por favor, tome en cuenta que no recibirá ningún pago por su participación en este estudio, pero estaré gustoso de hacerle llegar una copia de la tesis doctoral, cuando sea aprobada.

Agradezco de antemano su colaboración.

Carlos Paredes

Translation of Appendix A:

Informational page for academic research:

"Use of transnational advocacy networks by national actors in the advancement of LGBTI rights during internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia"

Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) - Ecuador
La Pradera E7-174 and Av. Diego de Almagro, Quito,
Telephone: (593 2) 2 946 800
Investigator emails, Carlos Paredes: caaparedes@flacso.edu.ec; paredescarlota@gmail.com

I cordially invite you to participate in the academic research project: "Use of transnational advocacy networks by national actors in the advancement of LGBTI rights, in the context of internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia", developed in the International Studies Doctorate Program of the Latin American Graduate School of Social Sciences (FLACSO-Ecuador). Please, before deciding your participation, it is essential to consider the objectives of this study, as well as your participation in it. Please read the information presented below and do not hesitate to ask openly about any doubt or if you require more information.

Team, objectives, and relevance of the research project:

This project is developed by the researcher Carlos Andrés Paredes Minango within the FLACSO-Ecuador Doctorate Program in International Studies, under the direction of Dr. Cécile Mouly (FLACSO-Ecuador) and Dr. Pedro Valenzuela (Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá). This project is framed in an interdisciplinary research space of Peace and Conflict Studies, Human Rights and Transnational Advocacy Networks. The objective of this study is to explore the processes that enabled the inclusion of LGBTI victims of the internal armed conflict in the Colombian transitional justice framework between 2006 and 2016. The intention is to interpret critically and in a contrasted way, the information from both documentary sources as well as in-depth interviews to understand how transnational advocacy networks have managed to influence Colombian transitional justice regarding the inclusion of LGBTI groups.

Such research is significant from a theoretical perspective because, supported by the medium-level theory of transnational activism networks, it seeks to unveil the complex strategies of local and international activists to exert influence on the nature, terms and public policy oriented to the rights of LGBTI people in the framework of Colombian transitional justice

Participation in the study:

In Colombia (and sometimes in Ecuador), in-depth interviews will be carried out with key actors, since their experience and interpretation of the case will allow us to understand the various processes articulated to the case and their implications. Likewise, the study will be complemented with press releases, formal and informal sources. If you agree to grant me an interview, I guarantee the exclusive use of the data provided by you only for the mentioned study. Your name will not appear on any research product, be it a paper or academic publication, and will be kept confidential. You have the option to remain completely anonymous / or only be referred / or as a personal title or belonging to your specific institution or group. You can ask to be removed from the investigation at any time without penalty, just by notifying us and without giving any explanation. Your information can be deleted from the project at any time until the publication of the study, which will possibly be at the beginning of 2018. Please note that you will not receive any payment for your participation in this study, but I will be happy to send a copy of the doctoral thesis to you, when approved.

I appreciate your collaboration in advance
Carlos Paredes

Appendix B. Consent and Fair-Use form

Formulario de consentimiento para personas entrevistadas

Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) - sede Ecuador
La Pradera E7-174 y Av. Diego de Almagro
Quito, Ecuador
Teléfono: (593 2) 2 946 800
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caaparedes@flacso.edu.ec; paredescarlosa@gmail.com



Por favor complete este formulario, luego de que haya leído la hoja informativa acerca del proyecto de investigación académica titulado: “Redes transnacionales de activistas en la justicia transicional colombiana para grupos LGBTI (2006-2016)”

Agradezco su disposición para contribuir a este proyecto académico. Antes de aplicar la entrevista le proporcionaré información pertinente respecto al proyecto a fin de que usted decida su contribución para su desarrollo y en qué manera. Si tiene cualquier duda respecto de esta hoja informativa o la explicación brindada, no dude en preguntarme.

- Si usted decide, en cualquier momento, no participar más en el proyecto académico, puede notificarme, a fin de que los datos recopilados durante la entrevista no sean considerados en el proyecto. La información provista será retirada hasta el punto indicado en la hoja informativa.
- Los nombres de las personas entrevistadas no aparecerán en ninguna publicación derivada del proyecto académico. Si usted desea que alguna información confidencial no aparezca en las publicaciones derivadas del proyecto, por favor déjeme saber.

Carlos Paredes

Declaración de la persona entrevistada:

Yo, _____, confirmo que el proyecto académico descrito arriba me ha sido explicado con claridad y estoy de acuerdo en ser parte del estudio. He leído la hoja informativa y entiendo de qué trata el proyecto y cómo será usada la información provista.

Firma _____

Fecha _____

Declaración del investigador:

Yo, _____, confirmo que he explicado la naturaleza y requerimientos del proyecto académico a la persona que voy a entrevistar.

Firma _____

Fecha _____

Translation of Appendix B:

Consent and Fair Use Form

"Use of transnational advocacy networks by national actors in the advancement of LGBTI rights, in the context of the internal armed conflict and transitional justice (2006-2016) in Colombia"

Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) - Ecuador headquarters
La Pradera E7-174 and Av. Diego de Almagro
Quito, Ecuador
Telephone: (593 2) 2 946 800
Investigator emails, Carlos Paredes:
caaparedes@flacso.edu.ec; paredescarlosa@gmail.com

Please complete this form, after you have read the fact sheet about the academic research project entitled:
"Transnational networks of activists in Colombian transitional justice for LGBTI groups (2006-2016)"

I appreciate your willingness to contribute to this academic project. Before conducting the interview, I will provide you with pertinent information regarding the project so that you can decide upon your contribution to its development and the ways you would want to help out. If you have any questions regarding this fact sheet or the explanation provided, please feel free to ask me.

- If you decide, at any time, not to participate any more in the academic project, you can notify me, so that the data collected during the interview is not considered in the project. The information provided will be withdrawn to the point indicated in the information sheet.
- The names of the people interviewed will not appear in any publication derived from the academic project. If you wish that some confidential information does not appear in the publications derived from the project, please let me know.

Carlos Paredes

Statement of the interviewee:

I, _____, confirm that the academic project described above has been clearly explained to me and I agree to be part of the study. I have read the fact sheet and understand what the project is about and how the information provided will be used.

Signature Date _____

Investigator's statement:

I, _____, confirm that I have explained the nature and requirements of the academic project to the person I am going to interview.

Signature Date _____

Appendix C. First Sample of In-Depth Demi-Structured Interview (in Spanish).

Entrevistado: Miembro Senior de Caribe Afirmativo, N1

Sector: ONG LGBTI

Entrevistador: Carlos Paredes CP

Fecha: 15 de noviembre de 2016

Lugar: sede de Caribe Afirmativo, Barranquilla

Hora: 15h00

Duración: 40 minutos, aproximado

Reglas de Transcripción:

- [palabras]: Interrupción del interlocutor mientras el otro está hablando.
- [ininteligible]: Indica que no se entendió la transcripción.
- (palabras...): Los paréntesis encierran transcripciones que no son seguras, incluyendo la suposición más probable de quien transcribe.

CP: Gracias por recibirme, muchas gracias a [tercera persona] también, estoy aquí en Caribe Afirmativo (susurros) y el objetivo de esta investigación es buscar conocimientos sobre las tácticas y estrategias que desde esta organización se han trabajado para ser parte del proceso de paz, me gustaría preguntarte bueno... ¿desde cuándo la organización viene trabajando con este tipo de temas?

N1: Mira, hay un antecedente a la organización y es que... en Colombia la agenda LGBT es una agenda que nació en el marco de un proceso de paz. En el año 98, cuando estaba el presidente Andrés Pastrana haciendo un acuerdo de paz con las FARC en San José de Ralito, que fue un acuerdo... es un territorio en el sur de Colombia en Caquetá, el presidente Pastrana empieza el proceso de paz y en ese momento la cooperación internacional... sobre todo la cooperación sueca... le dijo el presidente que ellos apoyaban el proceso de paz siempre y cuando hubiera participación de la sociedad civil. El presidente lo tuvo a bien, pero además de eso la cooperación sueca dijo que en la participación de la sociedad civil debían estar las personas LGBT... entonces eso si no era claro para el gobierno porque estoy hablándote del año 98 en Colombia ya existían algunos liderazgos LGBT y la marcha, pero no eran visibles en procesos de país

CP: ¿Y ya se había despenalizado la homosexualidad?

N1: Sí, ya se despenalizó en el 79 [(okay, nosotros estamos bien tarde entonces...)] entonces a raíz de eso el presidente crea como una mixtura de sociedad civil que se llamó Planeta Paz, Planeta Paz era un espacio donde confluían líderes de todos los grupos poblacionales y sociales... y, Planeta Paz empezó a organizar encuentros nacionales de mujeres, jóvenes, de sindicalistas para recoger aportes al proceso de paz en San José de Ralito... llegó la hora de llamar a los LGBT y el gobierno tenía mucha incredulidad, la sociedad civil también porque no había antecedentes de que en Colombia se habían juntado los LGBT, había unos liderazgos aislados. Entonces se escogió un pueblo cerca de Bogotá, que se llama Santandercito, y se hizo una convocatoria... pero todo el mundo esperaba que llegaran dos personas, cinco personas... llegaron más de 100 personas LGBT y para sorpresa de la gente... era una convocatoria muy restringida: “personas LGBT que habían sido víctimas del conflicto armado o que estaban construyendo su liderazgo en territorios de conflicto armado”... llegaron más de 100 personas de todo el país con trabajos magníficos, gente que está haciendo cosas maravillosas, gente que estaba resistiendo al conflicto, gente que había sido víctima del conflicto eh... y ese momento se reconoce en Colombia como el momento fundacional del movimiento LGBT, inclusive eso nos permite decir que en Colombia el movimiento LGBT es fruto del proceso de paz, porque ahí empezamos a sumar como actores protagónicos. Y muchos de nosotros nos empezamos a conocer en Planeta Paz, yo participé en Planeta Paz, por ejemplo, nos reunimos entre el 98 y el 2002 como cuatro veces, el proyecto de paz finalmente no avanzó... el proyecto de Planeta Paz se acabó... pero eso dio como los motores del arranque porque terminando este proceso de Planeta Paz es cuando empiezan a aparecer las poblaciones LGBT en Colombia. Aparece Colombia Diversa, aparece Caribe Afirmativo, aparece Santa María Fundación, es decir Planeta Paz le abrió la puerta a la organización LGBT en el país, [o sea, se le podría pensar como que fue el espacio en el cual se logró convocar a diferentes actores ¿no?] Así es, es decir... antes de Planeta Paz existían liderazgos LGBT individuales y la marcha de la diversidad sexual en Bogotá, Medellín y Cali [como que muy esparcidos...] sí cada uno por su lado, Planeta Paz articula, organiza y empieza a generar un proceso más permanente... después de Planeta Paz somos más permanentes y menos locacionales [ahora ustedes, digamos... a propósito conformaron estas redes, o sea, a lo que me refiero a que no dejaron perder esa continuidad...] así es Planeta Paz se acaba como proyecto del proceso de paz pero los LGBT seguimos articulándonos ya con otros debates, el debate de matrimonio, el debate de las políticas

públicas... pero nos es claro que Planeta Paz es un ejercicio fundacional y es muy importante para tu investigación el dejar cuenta que el primer, o sea de que hoy estemos en el proceso de paz no es gratuito... nuestro primer espacio de articulación como movimiento social fue un proceso de paz... pero además eso nos dejó evidenciar una cosa que después va a constatar el Estado, que es que las personas LGBT han sido afectadas por el conflicto armado [por su condición de orientación sexual e identidad de género...] por su orientación sexual y de identidad de género, que eso lo va a profundizar la unidad de víctimas, eso lo va a profundizar el Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, pero ya Planeta Paz cuando hace su encuentro en Santandercito empieza a darse cuenta la sociedad Colombiana que en este país también se es víctima del conflicto por la orientación sexual o identidad de género o... que ser LGBT en el marco del conflicto hace más difícil la vida... [o sea en general] sí, porque hablamos de afectación y de exacerbación porque son cosas diferentes muchas personas LGBT no fueron víctimas del conflicto pero tratar de asumir un liderazgo en un territorio de conflicto les hizo más difícil la vida... es un poco la temática que hacemos ahí.

Caribe Afirmativo, para responder a tu pregunta, aparece con un hecho muy puntual: en el año 2007, no... en el año 2006, en Cartagena, había un profesor de una universidad de Cartagena que combinaba su tiempo entre ser profesor y tener un programa de radio, era comunicador de profesión, se llamaba Rolando Pérez. A Rolando, Rolando era un hombre abiertamente gay, usaba su programa de radio que se llamaba “Amaneceres Comfenalco” para hablar de estos temas... entonces Rolando empieza a recibir en el año 2006 amenazas... amenazas en el sentido de que no siga haciendo ese programa de radio... no queremos que haga ese programa de radio... Rolando hace caso omiso a las amenazas, en la navidad del 2006 es víctima de escopolamina, ¿no sé si escopolamina es claro para ti? [sí] y finalmente en enero del 2007 es asesinado... [o sea no es en el instante de la escopolamina] no, son episodios diferenciados. Nosotros no podemos decir a ciencia cierta que a Rolando lo asesinaron por ser un hombre gay... a Rolando lo asesinaron con un martillo de construcción en su casa, pero efectivamente esa visibilidad que tenía por ser un hombre gay exacerbó sus condiciones de vida [además que el tipo de muerte que se le dio es... una muerte violenta que más bien nos haría pensar que es por homofobia] claro, pero un poco donde nosotros hacemos más énfasis en la muerte de Rolando... cuando a Rolando lo matan, Rolando tiene un solo hermano, recuerda que Rolando es cubano, Rolando es de los cubanos que no es disidente... él no era disidente cubano (él iba y venía de Cuba) pero tampoco era pro gobierno cubano, era un cubano neutral [que no es fácil] que no es fácil. Rolando tiene un

solo hermano... y su hermano cuando matan a Rolando era jefe de seguridad de Fidel Castro, era un hombre importante... cuando matan a Rolando su familia, claro... como era hermano de una persona importante de inmediato la cancillería se pone en contacto con la policía de Cartagena y dice hay que investigar esta muerte porque es una muerte importante, y se decide encarar de la investigación al comandante de la policía de Cartagena que se llama el Coronel Mena, y el Coronel Mena llega al lugar de los hechos y en el lugar de los hechos ya está Edgar que era la pareja de Rolando, era su compañero. Cuando Mena llega, pregunta si hay algún familiar del muerto, y le dicen “sí, él es su pareja” cuando Mena se da cuenta de que es un hombre homosexual, de inmediato, da unas declaraciones totalmente homofóbicas, que inclusive las puedes encontrar en Google en el historial del periódico El Tiempo, donde Mena dice: “bueno, es que este era un hombre homosexual quien sabe lo que estaba haciendo, etcétera, etcétera”. Caribe Afirmativo aparece como una organización que se crea de grupo, de amigos de Rolando para exigir que su muerte no quede en la impunidad, ahí aparece Caribe Afirmativo, pero con el correr del tiempo nos damos cuenta de que no es solo Rolando, que son muchas personas las víctimas de violencia por razón de su orientación sexual e identidad de género. Entonces ya Caribe se vuelve una organización más amplia y es lo que conoces hoy y ahí te hago cuatro claridades, la primera: Caribe busca evidenciar de qué manera el conflicto armado hace más difícil las condiciones de vida de las personas LGBT, porque nuestro trabajo es en el Caribe, la región Caribe... en Colombia el conflicto armado ha afectado más a las regiones que al centro cuando tú vas a Bogotá vas a ver que allá hablan de estos temas pero el conflicto no les pasó... nuestra preocupación es, este es un país muy centralista más que Ecuador y aquí todo tiene que pasar por Bogotá, entonces nuestra preocupación es que en Colombia empiezan a tener avances LGBT pero se quedaban en Bogotá, llegaban a veces hasta Medellín o hasta Cali, pero no llegaban hasta el Caribe, pero el Caribe tiene una alta afectación del conflicto armado y el conflicto armado hace más difícil los avances LGBT porque en el conflicto armado colombiano, lo que está en juego son principios de moralidad con guerrillas y paramilitares. Entonces finalmente además del conflicto por las tierras hay un conflicto de moralidad, entendemos moralidad por autoridad, autoridad moral... entonces esa disputa por la autoridad moral hace que cualquier expresión de diversidad sea mal vista por los actores del conflicto, ¿me hago entender? [ya sean las FARC, o los AUC o el Estado] si cualquiera de los dos o el Estado, porque eran los tres, tienes razón, porque finalmente... te pongo el ejemplo, [tercera persona] es guerrillero, tú eres paramilitar, yo soy el Estado, estamos en el conflicto por tener la hegemonía en el

territorio del Caribe y disputando las tierras y el poder y las armas y el capital, todo... [y las mujeres...] ... las mujeres todo... pero además tenemos una fuerte influencia moral, entonces ni él ni tu ni yo vamos a permitir cualquier construcción que vaya contra la moralidad porque pone en riesgo nuestra autoridad. Ese tipo de proyecto político en el Caribe, porque fue un proyecto político que fue muy fuerte en el Caribe colombiano, hizo más complicado la situación de los derechos de las personas LGBT en el Caribe, entonces Caribe Afirmativo aparece a decir “un momentico... de eso nadie habla” porque aquí parece que los LGBT fueran los de Bogotá o los de Medellín y Cali. Empecemos a hacer preguntas que pasa con los LGBT en el territorio de, que viven conflicto.... con un valor adicional, el Caribe colombiano no se parece al resto del país. Si tú ya has ido Bogotá te has dado cuenta de que Bogotá se parece mucho a Quito, y a Lima, y a Bolivia, porque es región andina, pero esta ciudad en la que estás hoy no se parece a allá, o sea somos muy caribeños, nos parecemos más a República Dominicana, a Cuba, [a Puerto Rico] a Haití, a Trinidad y Tobago, a Puerto Rico porque somos cultura Caribe, finalmente estamos en Colombia pero finalmente somos cultura Caribe, pero la cultura Caribe es ampliamente homofóbica [porque Jamaica todavía es] porque la cultura Caribe tiene sus raíces en los grupos afro descendientes y los grupos afro descendientes sus profundamente homofóbicos, es cultura africana, [por culpa del colonialismo también] sí, entonces si bien nos beneficia las leyes de Colombia del 79 se despenaliza la homosexualidad como es un país donde hay derechos de matrimonio y adopción y ese tipo de cosas culturalmente en el Caribe eso no es tan fácil porque además de que es una región permeada por el conflicto la cultura genera barreras [entonces eso como que lo piensan bueno, eso allá en Bogotá, pero la cultura nuestra es otra cosa...] pues te lo digo, te pongo un ejemplo en primera persona yo soy director del Caribe y soy del interior... y para mí eso ha sido más fácil, es decir claro nuestra presidenta (de pronto) es una Caribeña, pero en el imaginario de la región todavía está la pretensión de que es más fácil ser LGBT en el interior que en el Caribe, por la cultura Caribe. Entonces la primera apuesta del Caribe es... esa particularidad de esta región, del conflicto armado y la cultura homofóbica ¿qué tipo de sujeto LGBT está generando? Segunda acción de Caribe Afirmativo tiene que ver con la incidencia política, este es un país centralista, pero en cada ciudad hay un alcalde, en cada departamento hay un gobernador... entonces lo mismo los gobiernos locales no hacían nada porque creían que esto era un cuento del gobierno central, pero es que si el alcalde no asume compromisos... si es que el gobernador no asume compromisos.... pero Colombia... nosotros tenemos una reforma constitucional en el 91 y este es un país donde hay muchos

espacios de participación, o sea aquí hay 80.000 para participar, entonces empezamos a ver cómo logramos que las personas LGBT lleguen a esos espacios de participación y de esa manera ellos sean protagónicos del cambio real... entonces empezamos a hacer una incidencia política como en dos vías, que los políticos y los gobiernos asuman compromiso con las personas LGBT pero que las personas LGBT participen (en calidad de personalidad política).

CP: Perdona que te corte, pero ¿cuándo, en cuanto a fechas, sucedió esto... estas estrategias políticas?

N1: Eso tiene un mito fundacional y es cuando aparece el Polo Democrático Alternativo. Estoy hablando del año 2003, 2004... el Polo Democrático que es un partido de izquierda que se forma en Colombia, es el primer país... el primer partido en América Latina, que en sus estatutos le da un cargo electivo a una persona LGBT. Es decir, dentro de los estatutos del Polo la dirección está conformada por una lideresa de mujeres, una líder del movimiento LGBT, una líder sindicalista... entonces es el primer partido que en su estructura pone a las personas LGBT... eso fue muy novedoso y eso lo que hace es, que el partido, en aras de conseguir miembros, empiece a ir por todo el país y, uno de los grupos que empieza a impactar para que participe en política son las personas LGBT. Entonces en el año 2012, 2013, el Polo Democrático empieza a recorrer todo el país y dentro del Polo Democrático se crea una estrategia que se llama el Polo Rosa, que era un grupo dentro del partido invitando a las minorías LGBT a participar en política, y logran muchos adeptos LGBT porque aquí hay otro dato, entre paréntesis... en Colombia antes de lo que te contaba de Planeta Paz, decimos que hay dos personas fundadoras del movimiento LGBT que son: Manuel Velandia y León Zuleta. Manuel Velandia en Bogotá, un profesor de teatro; León Zuleta en Medellín, un sindicalista... estoy hablando de los años 80. fueron dos líderes cada uno por su lado, que empezaron a proponer la agenda LGBT... ambos eran muy políticos, León Zuleta era comunista militó en la izquierda, a León Zuleta lo asesinaron en el 93 y Manuel Velandia también era un líder político, Manuel Velandia le hicieron atentado terrorista en su casa y ahorita vive en España... entonces eso hace que el movimiento LGBT (se convierta en una corriente política) muy permanente. Entonces lo que ocurre es que, de eso se aprovecha el Polo Democrático, por ejemplo, y empieza a llamar a muchas personas LGBT a participar en sus filas... además era muy atractivo. Hay un partido que nos da espacio y eso va a tener como resultado que, en las elecciones del 2007, en Bogotá, se va a elegir el primer edil

abiertamente gay, que se llamó Sebastián Romero. Sebastián ya murió, de muerte natural, y eso fue una campaña muy mediática inclusive la prensa hablaba del primer Harvey Milk colombiano, porque Sebastián fue muy mediático y toda la cosa... En ese mismo año el alcalde que eligen desde Bogotá es del Polo Democrático y el alcalde nombra una primera alcaldesa abiertamente lesbiana que es Angélica Lozano, entonces aparecen como tres personas: el alcalde de Bogotá, aliado de los LGBT; la alcaldesa de Chapinero, una mujer abiertamente lesbiana; el edil de Chapinero, un hombre abiertamente gay. Entonces eso le hizo tener alta visibilidad en el país, pero además muchas personas hicieron campaña abiertamente LGBT: mujeres trans, hombres gays, mujeres lesbianas del país... y empezaron a poner el tema sobre la mesa.

Incluso, para hacer honor a la verdad, antes del Polo Democrático, el partido liberal... en cabeza de la senadora Piedad Córdoba... antes del Polo, te estoy hablando de los años 90, fue el primer partido que empezó a proponer en el Congreso agendas para los LGBT, y cuando Piedad fue Directora del Partido antes del Polo Democrático creó una oficina para los LGBT, pero es que claro... por antigüedad el partido liberal puso primero el tema, pero quien primero tuvo gente real fue el Polo Democrático, entonces te hago este paréntesis para decirte que ahí hay como un antecedente, en el 2007, pero el trabajo que hace Caribe puntual empieza en el 2012. En el 2012 Caribe Afirmativo era socio con una ONG gringa que se llama (el *Victory*) empieza... a hacer escuelas de formación para preparar a personas LGBT que estén en política. Por esa escuela pasó, por ejemplo, Angélica Lozano que ahora es Senadora de la República y Representante a la Cámara. Por esa escuela pasó Julian, que ahora es alcalde en el Valle; pasaron dos mujeres trans que son Concejalas en (Chapala Alto Lima); por esa escuela pasó Carolina que es una Concejala de Pereira y otras personas, que sin haber accedido a cargos de elección popular, hoy tienen un alto cargo en política... Entonces es un espacio importante. Lo tercero que hacemos en Caribe Afirmativo tiene que ver con la formación ciudadana porque en Colombia tenemos un problema y es que en Colombia hemos avanzado mucho en temas LGBT en la Corte Constitucional, o sea en Colombia tenemos matrimonio, tenemos adopción, tenemos... no tenemos ley en la identidad de género, pero tenemos un decreto que permite cambio de nombre y de sexo, tenemos políticas públicas en muchos territorios, la ley de víctimas recoge los LGBT. Es decir, si tú lees la legislación, Colombia es un país perfecto para los LGBT, pero hay dos problemas: primer problema, la cultura ciudadana; es decir, nos hemos hecho con hacer incidencia en las altas cortes y en el legislativo, pero no nos hemos preocupado por hacer formación de base...

Y nos acabamos de dar cuenta de eso cuando se hizo la marcha contra las cartillas de la ministra: un montón de gente marchando contra los LGBT y dijimos ¿qué pasó? Que tenemos muchas leyes pero no hemos hecho la formación con la ciudadanía. Entonces en relación con eso Caribe Afirmativo ha tratado de hacer un acercamiento a la ciudadanía, para formar en estos temas LGBT, pero también en relación con eso... hemos asumido un compromiso de que haya políticas públicas territoriales que garanticen los derechos de las personas LGBT. Hemos acompañado la política pública de San Andrés, la de (Huila), la de Nariño que son respuestas territoriales a necesidades territoriales.

CP: O sea que ustedes han acompañado Nariño a pesar de que trabajan sobre todo en el Caribe, o sea digamos han brindado su experticia más allá de lo que les correspondía probablemente geográficamente...

N1: Así es nuestro proyecto es en región Caribe, pero... en Colombia las regiones son fronteras imaginarias es decir no tenemos impedimento de ir a otra región. No solemos ir, solamente vamos a otra región para hacer ejercicios comparativos, entonces decidimos ir a Nariño porque es una región pacífica y decimos acompañar en Nariño para hacer un comparativo: qué diferencia hay entre Nariño... entre la región pacífica y la región Caribe o sea como aprender entre regiones, pero nos concentramos en el Caribe. Y, hay otro problema que te decía que hemos avanzado, pero hay dos problemas... uno es de cultura ciudadana y otro problema es de la criminalización. Es decir, Colombia es el tercer país, después de México y Brasil, con mayores muertes de personas LGBT en el hemisferio occidental... entonces tú dices ¿pero qué pasa si hay tantos avances...? Pues es que este país es muy violento y esa violencia también afecta a las personas LGBT. Entonces hay derechos, pero hay mucha criminalidad... Entonces un poco... es también un llamado de atención que hacemos, no ganamos nada con tener derechos cuando la vida digna no se está respetando. Lo otro que hacemos... y lo último que hacemos tiene que ver con la investigación social aplicada y es que esos países centralistas como Colombia hay un riesgo y es que se trate de reproducir un modelo. Bogotá cuando tuvo ese alcalde muy cercano a los LGBT que se llama Lucho Garzón, te estoy hablando del año 2007, fue un Alcalde que hizo mucho por los temas LGBT, hizo política pública creó el centro comunitario LGBT... o sea Bogotá se empodera como una ciudad para los LGBT gracias a la alcaldía de Lucho Garzón, del Polo Democrático [me dice 2007 no es cierto...] sí 2007... entonces que ocurre... [sacaron una campaña creo, que era en Bogotá se puede ...] esa campaña fue más reciente como el 2012, pero eso fue

resultado de lo que empezó en 2007. Pero qué pasa, que muchas ciudades de Colombia empiezan a pensar que Bogotá es un ejercicio que imitar. Entonces empiezas a ver tú que los pocos gobernantes que hacen algo hacen réplica de Bogotá. La preocupación de Caribe Afirmativo es, no señores, se les avala la intención pero se tiene que entender que no es lo mismo Bogotá que Medellín... no es lo mismo Bogotá que el Caribe... pero lo que hace Caribe Afirmativo es una investigación regional para decir ¿cómo se construye el sujeto LGBT en el Caribe? Y, cuando se entienda la realidad propiamente del sujeto LGBT en el Caribe... pues va a entender como intervenir, entonces finalmente eso es lo que hace Caribe Afirmativo hoy en día.

CP: Muchas gracias, me ha llamado mucho la atención que me comentas que ustedes ya han realizado acercamientos con organizaciones internacionales, como por ejemplo en este caso con cooperación sueca, ¿tienen algún otro tipo de... digamos redes internacionales también? porque tienen las nacionales no... con estas dos organizaciones que me comentas, Santa María Fundación y Colombia Diversa pero internacionales... ¿cómo se maneja?

N1: A ver, nosotros tenemos dos maneras de relacionarnos internacionalmente: una es la cooperación, nosotros nos financiamos solamente con cooperación internacional [ese es todo su financiamiento no reciben nada del Estado ni de...] decidimos no hacerlo por una estrategia ética porque es una organización que es crítica del Estado. No tenemos problema con recursos del Estado y en algún momento hemos recibido, pero desde hace dos años decidimos no recibir recursos del Estado para poder mantener nuestra autonomía. [Ahora, perdona que interrumpa en esto, esto implica que se sintieran lo suficientemente seguros para pensar que no les hacía falta estos recursos del Estado] Porque hemos hecho un buen ejercicio de incidencia internacional también... pero vuelvo y te digo la claridad no es que no nos negamos a trabajar con el Estado... en algún momento de la vida lo hicimos y en algún momento lo volveremos a hacer, pero el momento coyuntural que tiene Colombia creemos que la mejor manera de aportarle a la paz es ser independientes y la independencia también pasa por no comprometernos con recurso públicos. Entonces nosotros, desde los inicios Caribe Afirmativo ha buscado recursos internacionales, de hecho, hoy toda nuestra financiación es internacional, tenemos financiación de la Unión Europea, tenemos financiación de los Estados Unidos... la que ustedes rechazaron... bueno Correa rechazó... (inintendible) [Ahh, yo trabajé en la Secretaría de Cooperación Técnica del Ecuador... que

ya cerraron, entonces sí...] sí nosotros tenemos, Unión Europea, Estados Unidos que por supuesto se va a ver afectada con la elección de Trump, tenemos la cooperación de Open Society y tenemos la cooperación de ASTRAEA que es una organización LGBT gringa... y tenemos cooperación de gente que recibe dinero de Estados Unidos y nos da dinero que es la Fundación Interamericana, que es la fundación NED y así pues efectivamente todo eso para resumirte buscamos recursos siempre en el extranjero... [y ahora... de parte del Estado nunca... o más que nunca... nunca y siempre son malos términos... ha habido el apoyo por parte del Estado a que ustedes se relacionan de manera internacional o de vez en cuando ha habido más bien...] No, esto es autónomo nunca a través del Estado... [pero tampoco ha habido deseos del Estado decir no nos gusta que ustedes se relacionen de manera internacional] No [Porque, por ejemplo, en el caso ecuatoriano sí ha habido un control estricto de parte de la Secretaría de Cooperación Internacional para decirles... o sea es más que nada el miedo que se ha planteado desde el Estado es que la incidencia de Estados extranjeros y organizaciones va más allá de los temas a los que se quiera tratar] No, en Colombia es todo lo contrario: a Colombia le encanta, al gobierno al menos le encanta que tengamos relaciones internacionales. Nunca hay oposición, nunca hay llamado la atención, pero hay que manejar (algunas cosas del extranjero) que es lo que tú preguntas y son las redes... por su puesto hoy participamos de cinco redes internacionales, una red que es clásica que es ILGA que es la red latinoamericana de gays y lesbianas, hacemos parte de ILGA aunque de alguna manera no somos protagonistas en ella; de hecho, no vamos a los encuentros. Hacemos parte de ILGA por estar confederados a nivel internacional. Hacemos parte de una segunda red que se llama (ARCICAL) que es una red sudamericana de gays, es muy vieja. Hacemos parte de (ARCICAL) hay gente de Ecuador recuerdo, gente sudamericana... Hacemos parte de una red internacional de organizaciones LGBT que trabajan con grupos afrodescendientes que la conforman organizaciones de Brasil, Perú, Colombia y el Caribe... porque si tú te has dado cuenta esta región es profundamente afrodescendiente. Aquí vinieron a vivir todos los esclavos entonces todos nuestros temas LGBT pasan también por el tema étnico... entonces hacemos parte de esa tercera red. Hay una cuarta red que trabajamos... se llama la Red Latinoamericana de Liderazgos Políticos LGBT, que nosotros somos su Secretaría Técnica que es una red en donde se agrupan personas abiertamente LGBT que están en cargos de elección popular... que nos juntamos cada año (inentendible) En República Dominicana el próximo año [perdón y... ¿para qué se juntan?] para compartir experiencias, es decir bueno ¿cómo te está yendo? Senadores,

diputados, alcaldes, alcaldesas, qué significa eso ser abiertamente LGBT y estar en el cargo político. Entonces aprendizajes, dificultades [intercambio de conocimientos y como quien dice al mismo tiempo pensar en estrategias... pensar en tácticas... pensar en bueno a ti te funciona esto, a ti no... ¿son espacios apropiados para eso? o...] Sí, y finalmente participamos de una red con El Salvador y Guatemala que estamos tratando de incluir a Perú que es como la experiencia de las agendas LGBT en los países que han tenido conflicto... como bueno los retos que genera el postconflicto para las agendas LGBT, son como los espacios que buscamos articular, y los espacios nacionales y también los espacios territoriales es decir (ininteligible) mayor beneficio

CP: Perfecto, muchas gracias, te comento que mi análisis parte de... no sé si tú has escuchado estas a dos autoras que son Keck y Sikkink, creo que son Margaret Keck y Kathryn Sikkink, y ellas sacaron un libro que se llama “Activismo sin fronteras”. Ellas consideran que, a través del trabajo en redes, justamente como tú planteas, se puede lograr mucha más influencia y ellas piensas que existen cuatro tipos de forma de realizar incidencia. Piensan que hay tácticas de información, tácticas simbólicas, tácticas de apalancamiento, es decir servirse de otras personas que les puedan dar apoyo y tácticas de utilizar a políticos que en sus campañas han dicho que van a apoyar poblaciones LGBTI, diciéndoles bueno pues... hay que cumplir las promesas que se realizaron. Y, de mi parte también estoy considerando que también existen las tácticas legales que es como su quinta pata. De su parte, ¿en cuántas de estas áreas piensan que ustedes se manejan? Yo lo que estoy digamos... mientras que te escucho hablar y tratando de organizar digamos secuencialmente las cosas parecería que en todas. Ustedes realizan tácticas de información, tácticas políticas... tácticas de apalancarse con personas como me comentas tú mismo... ¿cuáles han sido más útiles? o tal vez la pregunta más apropiada sería ¿cuál es más útil para qué?

N1: Yo creo que dos, uno el tema de apalancarnos con otras organizaciones y personas nos ha servido en doble vía. Por ejemplo, cuando nos apalancamos con otras organizaciones del Caribe somos la organización que tiene más que ofrecer porque somos el país más abierto en temas LGBT. Cuando te sientas, por ejemplo, con Santa Lucía, con Trinidad y Tobago, con Jamaica: ahí es un delito ser gay. Aquí hay avances; entonces es un retroalimentarnos interesantemente, pero también es doble vía. Son países en donde la cultura afro se ha mantenido ahí, aquí no se ha mantenido (ininteligible). Entonces creo que... hay un primer

beneficio del apalancamiento y es que permite trascender las agendas, entonces eso mensajes más contundentes, es decir, cuando nos sentamos con ellos podemos mandar un mensaje de inclusión de diversidad sexual en grupos étnicos que puede calar más que lo mandemos sólo desde Colombia o que lo manden sólo desde Trinidad y Tobago... y de otro lado, creo que todo el tema legislativo ha sido muy importante, sobre todo entendiendo la legislación internacional. Nosotros hemos acudido dos veces al Sistema Interamericano de Derechos Humanos en el 2011 y el 2014 tuvimos dos audiencias temáticas... y nos hemos dado cuenta de que en el sistema internacional funcionan más los casos de región. Es decir, si yo voy por ejemplo ante la CIDH o ante Naciones Unidas, si digo esto está pasando en Colombia y luego (además digo) pasa en Colombia, en Perú, en Ecuador, en Bolivia... porque ya es un defecto en la región y es más convincente... entonces eso nos permite articularnos un poco más en ese sentido.

CP: Una pregunta ustedes tuvieron algún tipo de participación... yo lo único que he revisado un poco es más el tema de Naciones Unidas y como en... creo que es el consejo o el comité... el Comité de Derechos Humanos se resolvió este asunto de Equis vs Colombia entonces... ¿ustedes de alguna manera acompañaron?

N1: No, no es que el caso de ese señor X es muy viejo, [fue en el 2013] Sí, salió en el 2013 pero es un caso de los 90: conocimos el caso del Señor X. Lo presentó un abogado (ininteligible) que se llama Germán Rincón... es más, el caso del Señor X llegó a la Corte Interamericana antes que el caso de Karen Atala... el problema, es que cuando la Corte se iba a pronunciar ya Colombia lo había resuelto, ¿ves? Es decir, el caso del Señor X es un caso de pensión, de pensión de sobreviviente... cuando la Corte se iba a pronunciar en Colombia ya existía una sentencia de la Corte Constitucional que reconocía la pensión... entonces eso hizo que la Corte Interamericana se frenara y por eso apareció primero el caso de Karen Atala... pero por su puesto conocemos el caso del Señor Equis.

CP: No sé qué otra cosa me quisieras comentar que yo me esté perdiendo y que tú me quisieras más bien

N1: No, dos cosas primero, es clave que en Bogotá hables con [confidencial], te voy a dar el teléfono [...] es una persona que está en la academia. Él participó en Planeta Paz... de hecho, él ha escrito de Planeta Paz y es clave para todo lo que estás haciendo [...] él es una persona que es clave conversar con él y que te va a dar muchas orientaciones... yo te voy a compartir

algunos textos [Muchísimas gracias] (susurros) aquí está la política pública de Bolívar [gracias... sabes que traje también USB en el caso de que no tengan...impreso] Ah bueno, esto es nuestra presentación de lo que hacemos como organización, nuestro informe de derechos humanos, esto es lo que trabajamos con víctimas LGBT...

Tercera persona: Mira aquí hay como una especie de guía práctica sobre como acudir sobre como una persona LGBT víctima del conflicto puede acudir a cuáles son como... el orden de las entidades que debe visitar para...

CP: Súper útil porque una persona que está aquí, como (pensar) es muy bueno

N1: Esto es lo que trabajamos con partidos políticos (conversación) [yo feliz porque aquí hago análisis del discurso del contenido] lo que me falta [tercera persona]... hay que revisar allá... el texto de la ley de víctimas que hizo) (conversación)

Tercera persona: yo estaba mirando esta guía de Centro de Memoria, pero no vi

N1: Y este que me queda... el del Centro de Memoria... justo al último lo vi la semana pasada, pero en Bogotá te pueden dar... o fijate si hay uno en la biblioteca o tengo yo uno aquí, esta es una investigación de partidos políticos. Mira... aquí está mi correo, escíbeme para tener en cuenta eso...

Tercera persona: una investigación que hizo el centro de memoria con ayuda de Caribe Afirmativo y los líderes aliados de Caribe... sobre las personas LGBT víctimas del conflicto armado [Muchísimas gracias, me llevo una biblioteca completa] sí, sí así es... [increíble... increíble...]

CP: ¿Cuántas personas trabajan en la organización?

N1: ¿Cuántos somos?

Tercera persona: ¿cómo doce no?

N1: En Cartagena son tres personas... y aquí somos 4, perdón, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11... somos once personas, [entonces sí claro... es bastante grande...] sí, también fluctúa... fluctúa porque claro también dependemos de la cooperación que tratamos de mantener un equipo estable (pero vamos viendo) ... Entonces revisa tus textos, quedas comunicado conmigo... con [tercera persona] cualquier pregunta, [muchísimas gracias] clave hablar con él que tiene unas cosas maravillosas que te van a ser muy útiles...

CP: Muchas gracias, una pregunta quería hacerte, tienen ustedes un departamento de comunicación y qué tan importante para ustedes ha sido para el tema de pensar en cómo se transmite el mensaje. Entonces para ustedes cómo han pensado en enmarcar el tema del conflicto y cómo esto afecta esto a las personas LGBTI para que la población lo reciba de una mejor manera... no como que digan “pues bueno, a ellos les pasan cosas diferentes que a nosotros, sino que, a la población en general nos ha afectado y a los grupos LGBTI, parte de la población colombiana, también les afecta”, no separados sino aparte... no sé si me explico...

N1: Es una tarea que hemos venido aprendiendo de la mano de [tercera persona], que él ha ido (complementando el trabajo en equipo), que hemos ganado muchísimo, que vamos a seguir ganando más seguramente... y es eso, cómo dar el mensaje, cómo saberlo llevar porque teníamos el impedimento de que como no éramos comunicadores pues... la teníamos clara pero no la dejábamos clara (entonces un poco decíamos después cómo la dejamos clara). Pasando por dos cosas: primero, la particularidad de la región... que es que eso en Colombia es bien fuerte... no tanto en Ecuador, Ecuador es un país más unitario [y bueno una cuarta parte de la extensión de Colombia somos pequeñitos] Claro, pero por ejemplo, Bogotá y el Caribe se repelen, es decir... aquí parecemos más venezolanos que andinos... yo me siento más tranquilo yendo a Ciudad de Panamá que a Bogotá... tenemos más identidad con Ciudad de Panamá, con Caracas, con Santo Domingo que con Bogotá... ¿ves? y eso también pasa por lo LGBT, o sea finalmente una mujer trans de Bogotá es muy diferente a una mujer trans del Caribe y eso tiene que ver con la cultura con la realidad eso es un poco lo que estamos aprendiendo (de la mano de ellos)

Agradecimiento

Appendix D. Second sample of in-depth semi-structured interview (in Spanish).

Entrevistado: Miembro Senior del Partido Conservador

Sector: Partido político

Entrevistador: Carlos Paredes CP

Fecha: 14 de septiembre de 2016

Lugar: sede del Partido Conservador, Bogotá

Hora: 14h00

Duración: 50 minutos, aproximado

Reglas de Transcripción:

- [palabras]: Interrupción del interlocutor mientras el otro está hablando.
- [ininteligible]: Indica que no se entendió la transcripción.
- (palabras...): Los paréntesis encierran transcripciones que no son seguras, incluyendo la suposición más probable de quien transcribe.

[Información omitida de presentación del entrevistado y entrevistador]

PC: Las FARC nacen en la República independiente de Marquetalia llamada así por Álvaro Gómez que hace parte del Municipio de Planadas. Planadas es Tolina y Santa Maria es Huila, zona limítrofe con el Tolima. Pero mi pueblo es de ascendencia exageradamente conservadora y Planadas es muy liberal. Entonces en la época del 48, los pocos conservadores que había en esa zona se refugian en el Tolima, así como los pocos liberales. Entonces estos pueblos son muy marcados en su tradición por la ideología política. Entonces en esto nacen las primeras autodefensas de aquel entonces. Y allá nunca la guerrilla se la tomó en ese entonces. No pudieron porque hasta la iglesia (los curas) era donde se guardaban los arsenales, las bombas, etc. y a los curas se los entregaron.

Y ahora que la guerrilla creció más y tuvieron otra estrategia se tomaron 5 veces el pueblo y la última vez mataron 11 soldados. Esas experiencias vividas en ese pueblo llevaron a la gente a querer mucho a Uribe cuando ascendió al poder. Entonces los conservadores se volvieron Uribistas porque Uribe con su vocación de guerra con ese afán de acabar las FARC los lleva a colocar batallones de alta montaña. Y colocaron uno muy cerca de Marquetalia y de Santa María, es decir en zonas limítrofes.

Yo no puedo desconocer que Uribe cuando estuvo de presidente fue muy bueno porque si bien no acabó con la guerrilla, la ahuyentó. Y no la pueden acabar. Yo soy convencido que no

los pueden acabar a bala por que Colombia tiene mucho recoveco, mucho espacio, mucho lugar donde escurrirse. Sí, para el estado dedicado a la guerra es muy difícil porque de noche de acá a 30 kilómetros ya se esconden en otro vericuetto. Y cuando comienza en el proceso de paz uno dice, yo no lo veo tan fácil, pero en la medida en la que uno va a hablar con la gente de los pueblos [Interrupción de una tercera persona].

Indudablemente la guerrilla en esa época hizo ataques muy reconocidos: el billar, la toma de San José. Unas zonas guerrilleras grandísimas con soldados y policías secuestrados. Incluso tenían campos de concentración tipo cárceles. Yo no entiendo cómo arman una cárcel en el monte inentendible.

Como consecuencia la guerra se agudiza y tenemos tanta capacidad en el país que 3, 4 presidentes salen a nombre de la guerra y a nombre de la paz lo mismo. Arranca Pastrana que logra reunirse con Tirofijo en un sitio clandestino y el siempre hablo de iniciar el proceso de paz. Pero bueno lo hizo desde el Partido Conservador. Lo elegimos presidente y él arranca un Proceso de Paz en los pozos de Caquetá. Se frustra porque ellos querían negociar en medio de la confrontación. Entonces la gente no podía concebir eso. Estamos hablando de una vez, pero estamos matando y secuestrando. Se toman un edificio en la ciudad de Neiva, sacan la gente, luego de que estaba jugando Colombia. Se gana el partido y en la euforia, mientras todos celebraban, ingresó la guerrilla al centro de la ciudad y al edificio que tenía más seguridad, donde las puertas eran blindadas, solo vivían los ricos... se los llevaron 7 u 8 años secuestrados. Se los llevan para allá y comenzó todo un proceso. Allí es cuando se bajan a un parlamentario del presidente de la Comisión de Paz del Congreso, lo bajan del avión secuestran el avión, sacan al tipo y se lo llevan y eso le da a Pastrana el espacio para romper las negociaciones.

Entonces arranca y les dio 5 horas para que se desocupen y comenzó el desbando. Ahí una cosa que hay que reconocerle a Pastrana: que él comenzó el Proceso de Paz, pero a la vez encontró unas fuerzas armadas débiles, raquíticas, famélicas. Soldados con botas rotas, trajes que no eran color tigre sino beige de lo desteñidos. No había ropa para las tropas, no había armamento sofisticado. No tenían balas, tanto que la guerrilla decía adentro hijueputas que a ustedes les dan las balas contadas y a nosotros por chorros.

Entonces Pastrana pide ayuda a EE. UU. diciendo que están con dificultades de narcotráfico y etc. Entonces se inventaron un tema que era el Plan Colombia. Este Plan Colombia le pone sal a la gente en las manos, pues arma al ejército. Cuando inicia Pastrana tenía 3 helicópteros,

pero Pastrana logra los 36 helicópteros, una flotilla, aviones fantasmas 3 o 4 que entregan dotados a las fuerzas armadas, por lo menos lo necesario. Ya los soldados no tenían que estar cocinando, sino que le daban raciones de campañas.

CP: Ya estaba todo hecho

PC: Así se avanzó en el fortalecimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas.

Así cuando fracasa el Proceso de Paz y comienza Uribe, él comienza con ya una teoría totalmente diferente que no es con el proceso de paz sino con la guerra: acabar con la guerrilla. Ya se envalentonó más porque ya encuentra unas fuerzas armadas mejor dotas así que comienzan a darles bala a diestra y siniestra. Duran 8 años en guerra y no las acaban, crecen, aumenta el pie de fuerza de la guerrilla y mejor armada porque ya cambiaron la idea de su negocio con el narcotráfico. Porque ellos primero a los que cultivaban coca y la transformaban en su finca les cobraban una cuota, un impuesto por producir coca.

[Interrupción de tercera persona]

La guerrilla se dio cuenta que ese no era el negocio porque se hacían enemigos del productor, entonces ellos tenían que trabajar en otro negocio que era la intermediación.

Así que aprendieron a comercializar y más bien compran al productor, manejan el mercado, pagan a tanto el gramo y lo llevan hasta Bogotá y hasta el mar, ganándose la intermediación financiera. Es mejor negocio, así quedan bien los campesinos porque van a su finca y se la pagan allá y usted no corre el riesgo de sacarla de su finca, llevarla al pueblo porque en el camino lo pueden robar o matar. Entonces, ¿cuántos gramos tiene? tengo 2000 gramos, a 2500 el gramo. Y ellos tienen sus hombres porque no las cargaban en mula, helicóptero ni avioneta sino a puro hombro. 200 o 300 hombres cargando 20 o 30 toneladas de coca. Llegan hasta el cuerpo y cambiaban esa coca por armas, entonces no es cierto que tengan tanta plata porque la guerra demanda plata.

Nosotros, el gobierno, bueno sostiene a los militares con impuestos, pero ellos sostienen todo el material de guerra con la intermediación. No es tan cierto que tienen tanta plata ni que estén pelados.

CP: Entiendo, porque los costos de la guerra son altos.

PC: Eso lleva a que cuando se inicie el proceso, luego de los mandatos de Uribe donde los ha ahuyentado y replegado. Porque estando cerca de las ciudades los replegó. Con ese mismo

cuento elegimos otro presidente, el que está ahora. El presidente actual siempre tuvo desde el primer mandato la concepción de terminar la guerra vía hacer la guerra. Ganar el conflicto a través de las armas. En el transcurso de ese primer mandato, de pronto no sé qué paso, pero tiene un hermano que tiene mucho contacto con la guerrilla.

Todos los presidentes han tenido contactos con la guerrilla para buscar mecanismos de aproximación. Y ya en el segundo mandato él trabaja el tema de paz.

CP: O sea de 2014 en adelante

PC: Correcto. Él trabaja el tema de paz tanto que la propuesta de él se convierte en hacer la paz, hacer la paz.

CP: Luego del bombardeo al campamento donde estuvo Raúl Reyes, cuando el Presidente Santos era Ministro de Defensa

Santos era el que más duro le daba a la guerrilla pues siendo ministro mata a Raúl Reyes. De Presidente, mata a Jojoy, a Cabacano. De todos los grandes jefes el único que murió de viejo fue el mayor Tirofijo, el Comandante en Jefe que ellos añoran por ser como su figura.

Tratando de ser muy incluyentes trabajando, se dieron muchos contactos, foros a través de las páginas, a través de redes, internet. Convocaron a todo el mundo y Reymundo: mande su propuesta, usted qué cree que se debe hacer en esto... y la gente escribía y mandaba. Yo creo que deben hacer esto en el tema de narcotráfico, en el tema de sacar la guerrilla.

Pero además nombraron un equipo negociador que tenía no experiencia porque pues en general experiencia no la tiene mucha gente ya que hay que buscarlos en todas partes del mundo. Sino que un equipo que estuvo participando en todos los procesos anteriores.

CP: Tenían esa memoria histórica

PC: Sí, esa memoria desde Tlaxcala cuando estaba Virgilio Barco era Presidente. Humberto de la Calle siempre estuvo en todas y concierta. Eso le permitió que el tipo conociera qué se había trabajado antes y en los tres cuatro procesos anteriores porque estuvo en Tlaxcala, estuvo en Oslo, en Venezuela. Es decir, en unos 4 o 5 procesos, todos fallidos, todos se hacían cada 8 o 10 años. Imagínese, cuando estuvo Pastrana hace 20 años fue el último intento y ahora esto. Con esa vocación de tanta inclusión de todos para incluir a trabajadores de la cultura, estudiante. Es decir, vienen generaciones tras generaciones trabajando y pensando los procesos de paz. Eso es lo que ha enriquecido ese proceso.

Lo de Pastrana fue muy amplio, cuando lo hicieron en los pozos porque eso transmitían hasta en televisión los encuentros que estuvieron involucrados los comerciantes, la banca, incluida la banca internacional. Los empresarios, los industriales de Colombia, les daban publicidad. Entonces venía una generación de colombianos escuchando eso.

Los escépticos de los procesos y en este proceso están en la ciudad que nunca han vivido la guerra.

CP: Que evidentemente tiene otra experiencia

PC: Entonces es la gente más escéptica. Pues creen que esa gente no cumple, Santos, etc. Además, otro fenómeno adicional es que nadie le cree a Santos. Cuando digo eso no es que vamos a votar por Santos o a votar por Timochenko, sino por un proceso que se viene dando y que uno espera un resultado. Entonces para incluir a la gente, como la gente venía escuchando a través de convocatorias, foros en las universidades. Entonces fue muy incluyente.

CP: ¿Cómo aparece la población LGBTI en el proceso?

Aparece la población LGBTI en este cuento porque tenemos una Corte Constitucional que es exageradamente liberal en su forma de actuar, en su forma de pensar.

CP: A veces van más allá de lo que la población desea porque me atrevería a decir que la población colombiana es más conservadora que su Corte Constitucional.

PC: Claro, decía Álvaro Gómez que en Colombia hay más conservatismo que conservadores. Para nosotros los pronunciamientos de la Corte son lejanos, lo dejan a uno sin piso. Cuando uno cree que estamos nosotros como el Partido Conservador que defiende la familia, ¿cómo la Corte teniendo miembros del Partido Conservador votan en la posibilidad que haya matrimonio en parejas del mismo sexo? ¿Cómo votan por la adopción por parte de parejas del mismo sexo? ¿Dónde quedan las bases de un partido como el nuestro que está defendiendo la familia? Sin embargo, la Corte a través de todo esto ha sacado del clóset a la población LGBTI y entonces la gente se salió del closet también. Entonces se hicieron visibles y participan en las actividades y eso hace que participen en el proceso. Entonces en el proceso en la Habana se reúne tanta gente que fue la población víctima de la violencia, ahí tuvo la posibilidad de hablar.

Y lo que se ha encontrado en ese proceso es que la gente no quiere reparaciones, como víctima que me hayan matado a mi padre, hermano o hijo yo no quiero que me resarzan. Yo quiero saber la verdad, ¿por qué lo mataron? Es decir, llenarme de la expectativa, malicia intuición que a mi hermano lo mandó a matar fulano de tal por intereses políticos, yo quiero saber si eso se dio o no se dio. Entonces estamos en la fase más expectante para saber hasta dónde vamos a llegar en toda esa recopilación de memoria histórica. Y cuando le cuento esto a la gente, a ver si todavía cree. Por ejemplo, la viejita mamá de un coronel sabe que no le van a devolver a mi hijo, pero quiere saber qué pasó y que no pase de nuevo.

Hacia allá va toda la gente, así que se va a dar y cómo podemos saber si se cumple. Es fácil porque si se gana el no volvemos a quedar como estábamos. Y de ahí a renegociar, pero no, porque en dónde está escrito eso. Si gana el sí ya sabemos que va a pasar porque es la línea, ahí están los protocolos del acuerdo. En dos meses sabremos si se está cumpliendo o no.

Por ejemplo, a partir de ahora, la guerrilla debe ir a los sitios de concentración. Las Naciones Unidas que van a ser los garantes de ese proceso ya están ubicados en las zonas de concentración con su gente, no digamos militares, sino con su gente ya está allí.

CP: Lo que yo le entiendo entonces es que la Corte Constitucional ha sido central para digamos brindar legitimidad a las personas LGBTI como víctimas, sacándolos del clóset por así decirlo. Con grupos afro, campesinos, mujeres, ¿ha sido también la Corte?

PC: No, eso sí está en la Constitución. [Interrupción]

Estas otras poblaciones que son las de la Corte se han venido incluyendo: indígenas, negros, afros, ron, madres, todo está ahí. Estas otras poblaciones que son las que no estaban, se han venido incluyendo con la Corte.

CP: La cooperación internacional, ¿cree usted que han estado también colaborando con las organizaciones de base?

PC: Ha realizado muchos apoyos también sobre todo para los temas de los foros, sobre todo Naciones Unidas. La parte logística que tiene sus costos. Europa ha estado metido a través de Oslo en todos estos temas. Hay que reconocer que Venezuela también ha estado metida en esto. Nos han abierto las puertas para trabajar estos temas, asimismo lo hizo Chile. Que han sido fundamentales. Ayer lo reconoció el Presidente y el Comandante de la guerrilla. Ahora se espera como objetivo final una tómbola donde todos aporten para poder sacar el proceso. Colombia no está boyante en la economía no porque la guerra lo haya acabado.

CP: Ha caído el precio del petróleo

PC: El precio del petróleo y las regalías. Y el otro cáncer que tenemos acá es la corrupción. Eso sí es tenaz. Acá deberían quitarle las huevas a todos los ratas porque bajaría la población porque serían muchos los que tendrían que quitarles los huevos, eso es lo más grave: la corrupción [información personal]

Cuando uno tiene la visión política, no se consigue plata, pero sí amigos que lo sostienen a uno en la política.

CP: Que son las redes. Entonces parte de mi trabajo en específico tiene que ver con tratar de entender cuáles fueron las estrategias de estos grupos, estrategias de comunicación, o entiendo que en este caso pudieron ser estrategias legales a través de la Corte Constitucional.

PC: Uno creería que más que movilización de calle lo que se gana es a través de la Corte pues la gente decide desinhibirse, decir yo soy así y punto. Entonces desde el medio donde uno se desenvuelve empezamos a entender que hay personas que están en eso y que hay que aceptarlas y respetarlas y eso. Es algo que no le gusta a uno, así que se ve mal, como el niño que se come los moquitos, pero se los respeta. Uno ve a dos hombres o dos mujeres besándose por la calle con ánimo y entusiasmo y eso a uno no le gusta, pero eso es problema de ellos.

Y ahora participan en todas las actividades y uno los ve.

CP: La persecución en el conflicto armado, ¿cree usted que tiene que ver más con el tema político, con el tema de tierras, ser defensores de derechos humanos o algún otro aspecto? Porque entiendo que hay un grupo de personas LGBTI que argumenta que eran perseguidas específicamente por sus características, mientras que a otros podría ser por ser dirigentes populares

Lo que pasa también es que la guerrilla no concebía a las poblaciones LGBTI como un espécimen de la sociedad entonces para ellos era como una escoria, pero no fue lo común porque nunca salieron del clóset. Ahora es que salieron y de pronto sí se les alborotaba el chuzo en un pueblo y un maricón se metía con los hijos de un señor y el señor iba y le decía a la guerrilla y lo pelaban pues la gente estaba con su cultura encima. Pero ahora y no veo que sea así.

Entonces hubo mucha persecución en liderazgos, pero en la guerra todos matan. Y a todos se echan la culpa entre ellos así que queda en la impunidad.

La semana pasada me puse a trabajar acá sobre mi pueblo y saqué el listado de los muertos de mi pueblo por la guerra. Como cosa curiosa, incluso con la fecha... faltan dos niños que no pudo conseguir en nombre. Va a haber una reparación y cómo van a contar la verdad, yo quiero saber y entonces me voy para allá.

CP: Justo antes del plebiscito

PC: Sí, primero a preguntarles como están y para reclamar dentro del proceso para reclamar la verdad. Porque nosotros sabemos quién los mato, que era el comandante tal, cuénteme la verdad por qué lo mataron.

Es decir, la formas de sanar la herida. Nosotros estamos sacando un proyecto que se llama como el *Cicatricure* de la guerra: cómo sanar la cicatriz de la guerra. Estamos en eso y lo que hemos encontrado es que la gente no quiere plata, sino que cuenten por qué lo mataron y qué hizo él de malo. Puede ser que la familia no sepa que era un muérgano, que se la pasaba robando y ellos como venían con el tema la limpieza pues entonces así pasaba con las fechas de su homicidio. Hemos hecho ese trabajo.

CP: Un trabajo nada fácil de hormiga en búsqueda de detalles.

[Interacción e interrupción corta de entrevista: ofrecimiento de café al entrevistador]

PC: Si nosotros hemos podido sobrevivir en medio de la Guerra, con la paz podemos tener días mejores. A eso le estamos apuntando. Listo, qué más te puedo comentar.

CP: Su prospectiva a futuro, si gana el sí, ¿cuál sería?

PC: Hay una cosa fundamental, para que los acuerdos se hagan ley. Se les dará un tratamiento especial y tendrá una fuerza vinculante porque será como un tratado internacional. Como son vinculantes, para que se puedan cumplir deben abrirse los espacios de la legislación colombiana. Ellos vienen con la intención de hacer política y reintegrarse a la sociedad.

CP: Y van a tener su número de curules para poder hacer política.

PC: Pero para poder hacer política necesitan constituirse en partido y que la ley les de ese reconocimiento. Y eso está muy ligado a votos y a curules, entonces iniciando no la pueden dar pues no tienen ni votos ni curules así que hay que acoplar la ley para lograr esto.

En Colombia para que tengan legitimidad y personería jurídica deben haber tenido votos y un porcentaje de representación en el congreso y no la tiene porque apenas entran.

CP: Desde el punto de vista de dar curules a exguerrilleros, ¿pierde algún partido político ya establecido?

PC: Los curules no son para la guerrilla. Son para los 3 representantes en el senado y 3 en la cámara inicialmente, que tendrán voz, pero no voto. Con eso se busca como el acompañamiento para poder trabajar temas que tiene que ver con el proceso. No han dicho quiénes serían, pero debe ser gente capacitada que conoce el tema. Lo mismo las siguientes elecciones, como se les da reconocimiento y personería jurídica con estatutos y todas las normas para tener un partido pues pueden tener avales para así con un partido aspirar a la cámara y al senado. Van a sacar su lista al senado y para la cámara por cada departamento seguramente. Los que estén habilitados podrán participar, no sé si Timochenko podrá aspirar. Puede que sí con una amnistía o con un indulto, pero mientras tanto no.

El acuerdo dice que, si los votos que sacasen les alcancen para 6, 7, u 8 senadores pues saldrán los 8 que por mayor votación salgan, pero si no les alcanza para 2, 3, 4 o ninguno, entonces tendrán 5. Lo mínimo que tendrán son 5, pero no 5 de los 102 que hay sino 5 más.

CP: Tuve la oportunidad de entrevistar a representantes del Polo Democrático y ellos me supieron decir que había este temor de que bueno con el pasar del tiempo, ellos que se auto entendían como de izquierdas pero que al mismo tiempo no consideraban apropiada la lucha armada, iban a perder terreno ante actores que sí consideraban positiva la lucha armada.

Tienen la razón los del Polo de que van a perder terreno ellos, porque la izquierda vota por la izquierda y el Polo Democrático siempre ha estado cercano a la izquierda. Y ahora que aparece un nuevo actor de izquierda que deja la lucha armada e ingresa a la contienda política, entonces el voto de izquierda se fracciona.

De pronto algunos votan por la izquierda porque no tienen las FARC, ahora ya tiene las FARC. A ellos les merman el voto y tendrán un bajonazo, pero no te creas solo ellos, lo van a tener todos. Así paso con el M19, cuando ellos hacían manifestaciones como las que mostraron en Ecuallares, espectacular unos montajes berracos. Uno iba solo por la curiosidad

de verlo, a Navarro, 'el patepalo' le decíamos. Y si, había mucha gente y la primera elección sacaron muchos votos, la segunda ya no tienen sino uno.

CP: Perdió la novedad

PC: Perdió la novedad. Y además los que han tenido la oportunidad de ir, muy buenos, no hay que desconocer. Lo mismo que par nuestros, cinco y cinco para la Cámara, pero van a tener otro elemento que ellos dejaron colgados en los acuerdos: las 16 circunscripciones especiales que nacen. Por eso dicen la gente que van a tener 26, pero no, son 10 nomás los que van a tener, digamos por derecho propio. Las 16 circunscripciones especiales son como referentes y regiones que se identifican por tener movimientos sociales y que nunca han podido llegar al Congreso. Entonces es la oportunidad para llegar al Congreso y entonces crean las circunscripciones especiales. Cogen municipios de un departamento con otros y arman circunscripciones. Y dicen los acuerdos quienes podrán ser candidatos a la Cámara en esas circunscripciones especiales. Que no podrán ser miembros de los partidos que tengan representación en el congreso: es decir los liberales y los conservadores no podemos, pero tampoco pueden los guerrilleros, sino que son para los movimientos sociales. Entonces aparecerán candidatos como desplazados por ejemplo si están organizado, los ganaderos, los cafeteros, los campesinos, los arroceros, paneleros, como grupos sociales que puedan aspirar en esas circunscripciones especiales, no guerrilleros.

CP: Ni tampoco los políticos digamos clásicos.

PC: Exacto. Esta nueva gente también estará por dos periodos nada más.

CP: Muchas gracias. Le quería hacer una última pregunta, si me lo permite. Al considerar los acuerdos con el ELN, ¿qué avizora al respecto? Porque entiendo que en Ecuador se van a empezar las conversaciones formales, pero luego del reciente terremoto en Ecuador hubo un pequeño congelamiento, además de centrarse más bien en las FARC. ¿Pero, con el ELN, se sospecha que será algo similar?

Lo que sucede con el acuerdo con las FARC es un campanazo de alerta para el ELN y los otros grupos guerrilleros porque se darán dos fenómenos raros: al desaparecer las FARC, el ejército queda liberado porque ya no tiene una confrontación con ellos, así que van a tener todo su tiempo en seis meses. Listos para concentrarse en la guerra contra el ELN y los otros, sobre todo porque están concentrados en cuatro partes del país: en Arauca, el Cauca y Nariño,

en la Gabarra, en lo que llamamos Santander y la zona entre Antioquia y Chocó, por un paso obligado que hay del Urabá al salir del Magdalena Medio para poder traficar droga y toda esa cosa. Entonces o se acogen o hay tierra arrasada. Ellos están apuntando a ver qué pasa con el proceso con las FARC, en tres o seis meses ya sabemos. Si comienzan el proceso de entrega de armas como está contemplado en los protocolos, ya en tres o dos meses se sabe. Si no se cumple pueden seguir peleando porque si no se cumplen ojo porque se viene la guerra arrasada, comienzan las negociaciones. Ha sido más belicoso porque han sido más atorados de la guerra, le comen menos cuento al estado y van contra todo, infraestructura y todo. Pero el estado está preparado, ya no tienen que comandar 52 frentes, sino solo cuatro zonas para controlar. A mí se me hace que por ahí saldría, pero si ellos se acogen al proceso, entonces este país se avecina a un vuelco hacia la centroizquierda. Porque, los candidatos presidenciales que uno ve en este momento: Zuluaga, el Procurador, Vargas Lleras, van a tener una situación muy difícil porque el Centro Democrático está con el no, el Procurador está con el no, la misma Martha Lucía [Ramírez] que es del partido [Conservador] está con el no. Vargas Lleras ha estado ni sí, ni no, ni chicha ni limonada, sino agazapado. ¿Qué va a pasar si se cumple el proceso en 6 meses, qué va a pasar con los que dijeron no? Se les acaba de caer el discurso porque eran los del discurso guerrillero. ¿Qué pasa con Vargas Lleras porque era ni chicha ni limonada?

Acá se viene a probar dos cosas: el partido, como partido que tuvo aguas tibias, que cometió el error de no tomar posición política hace tres o cuatro meses cuando nosotros aconsejamos sí o no, pero tomar partido. Entramos al final, así como cuando estando en una chiva uno dice lléveme que uno colgado se va. Entonces uno lo que ve a futuro es que el fuerte va a ser Humberto de la Calle que fue el negociador, que conoce el tema porque fue el negociador y el segundo, el otro fuerte que va a haber es Petro.

CP: A pesar de haber sido destituido, ¿eso no mermó la confianza de la población?

PC: Para que usted tenga en cuenta ese referente, en dos años va a decir oiga [información confidencial] del Partido conservador me dijo algunas cosas. Entonces el partido seguirá como expectante del poder por no tomar decisiones políticas con anticipación. Hay que tomar decisiones de manera más radical. En política hay que tomar decisiones radicales y oportunas.

Yo soy muy amigo de los candidatos presidenciales del Valle del Cauca. Yo me reuní con ellos porque estaban por las redes consultando a sus bases para que opinaran si estaban de

acuerdo por el sí o por el no. Yo me puse a pensar y me dije están equivocados: la democracia es buena, pero no al extremo. La gente todavía en Colombia espera, nuestra gente sabes, del partido, esperan que el jefe tome la decisión porque el jefe tiene el tiempo de estudiar y es él que sabe y tiene el olfato, mide oriente, norte, sur y occidente. Es una cosa plantear porque sí o plantear porque no. No consulte a las bases porque ellas no. Porque sí o porque no, el político es la cabeza del equipo. Esperaron que la gente se comenzara a ubicar por el no y ahora están diciendo sí. Pero cómo diablos a la gente uno no puede cometer esos errores en política. Porque usted es el cerebro, el que tiene el olfato político y conoce la política, usted tiene que tomar decisiones y en el momento oportuno. ¿Por qué vamos a votar por Roberto Tomaso? Porque es el hombre inteligente, capaz, está formado, nos propone eso y esto otro, uno es el que orienta la política, uno viene en eso. Por eso en política hay que saber esto.

Agradecimientos

Appendix E. Interview coding

#	Sector	Organization	Assigned Code	Occupation	Place and Date of Interview
1	LGBTI NGO	Caribe Afirmativo	N1	Senior member	Barranquilla, Caribe Afirmativo Headquarters, November 2016
2	LGBTI NGO	Colombia Diversa	O1	Member of the legal team	Bogotá, Colombia Diversa Headquarters, November 2016
3	LGBTI NGO	Colombia Diversa	O2	Staff member	Bogotá, Colombia Diversa Headquarters, September 2016
4	LGBTI NGO	Colombia Diversa	O3	Staff member	Bogotá, Colombia Diversa Headquarters, September 2016
5	LGBTI NGO	Mayor LGBTI NGO	O4	LGBTI activist	Bogotá, September 2016
6	LGBTI NGO	Caribe Afirmativo	O5	Communications officer	Barranquilla, Caribe Afirmativo Headquarters, November 2016
7	LGBTI NGO	Caribe Afirmativo	O6	Member of the legal team	Barranquilla, Caribe Afirmativo Headquarters, November 2016
8	LGBTI NGO	Colombia Diversa	O7	Member of the legal team	Bogotá, Colombia Diversa Headquarters, November 2016
9	LGBTI NGO	Colombia Diversa	O8	Communications officer	Bogotá, Colombia Diversa Headquarters, November 2016
10	LGBTI NGO	Caribe Afirmativo	O9	Communications officer	Barranquilla, Caribe Afirmativo Headquarters, November 2016

11	LGBTI NGO	Caribe Afirmativo	O10	Communications officer	Barranquilla, Caribe Afirmativo Headquarters, November 2016
12	Government	Ministry of the Interior	M1	Civil servant	Bogotá, Ministry of the Interior, September 2016
13	Government	Ministry of the Interior	G1	Civil servant	Bogotá, Ministry of the Interior, September 2016
14	Independent	Ministry of Education	I1	Civil servant	Bogotá, Teusaquillo Park, September 2016
15	Independent		I2	LGBTI activist	Cali, Chipichape Shopping Mall, November 2016
16	Independent		I3	LGBTI activist	Bogotá, September 2016
17	Political Party	Conservador Party	P1	Senior party member	Bogotá, Conservador Party Headquarters, September 2016
18	Political Party	Liberal Party	P2	Senior party member	Bogotá, Liberal Party Headquarters, September 2016
19	Political Party	Polo Democrático Alternativo Party	P3	Senior party member	Bogotá, Polo Democrático Alternativo Party Headquarters, September 2016
20	International NGO	ILGA	L1	Officer	Personal communication. Bangkok, Sukosol Hotel (ILGA World Conference), November 2016
21	Intergovernmental Organization	European Union	E1	Gender Officer	E-mail correspondence, 22 November 2016

Appendix F. List of national, regional, and international academic presentations on the topic during the drafting of this dissertation.

Dates	Presentations
03/20	<p><i>International Studies Association's 61st Annual Convention</i>. Honolulu, Hawaii – United States*</p> <p>“Including LGBTI people in Colombian political parties during internal armed conflict and transitional justice”</p> <p>*Postponed due to coronavirus. Rescheduled to 04/21 in Las Vegas, Nevada.</p>
11/07/19	<p>Jornadas sobre Justicia Transicional, Paz y reconciliación en Colombia, FLACSO, Quito – Ecuador</p> <p>“Diversidad en la justicia transicional colombiana”</p>
07/27/18	<p><i>Power Reconfigurations: Regional and Global Responses in an Age of Uncertainty</i>, FLACSO-ISA Joint International Conference, FLACSO-Ecuador</p> <p>“Including LGBTI NGOs in Colombian transitional justice: on scopes and tactics of influence of national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs”</p>
27/06/17	<p>Foro de Análisis Históricos de Género y Diversidades. Asociación de Estudiantes de la Escuela de Derecho de la Universidad Central del Ecuador, Organización sociocultural IMPACTO DIVERSO-Ecuador, Proyecto Nosotrxs-Violín Rojo (Circo Social).</p> <p>“Avances en derechos de poblaciones LGBTI en la justicia transicional colombiana (2006-2016)”</p>
05/11/17-05/12/17	<p>Seminar on Political Sciences and International Relations. Quito – Ecuador <i>FLACSO-Ecuador, the Inter-Institutional Political Sciences and International Relations Network (CIPRI) and the Latin American Network on Security and Organized Crime Analysis (RELASEDOR)</i>.</p> <p>“Including LGBT groups in the process of transitional justice in Colombia: on the scopes of influence of national LGBT specialized human rights NGOs”</p>
02/22/17-02/25/17	<p>Understanding Change in World Politics. Baltimore, Maryland – United States <i>International Studies Association's 58th Annual Convention</i>.</p> <p>“Legal tactics in transnational advocacy networks: a case on the Colombian process of transitional justice (2006-2016)”</p>
09/21/16-09/23/16	<p>IV National Seminar on Political Science: Democracy, Peace Building and Constitutional Processes, Bogotá – Colombia. <i>Colombian Association of Political Sciences (ACCPOL) and Pontifical Javeriana University</i>.</p> <p>“Transnational advocacy networks in Colombian transitional justice (2006-2016)”</p>
06/22/16	<p>Seminar: Transforming Conflicts Beyond Borders, Quito –Ecuador. <i>FLACSO-Ecuador, University of Massachusetts Boston and CEMPROC Foundation</i>,</p> <p>“Transnational advocacy networks in the peace agreements between FARC-EP and the Colombian government”</p>

Appendix G. Notes from the field, submitted to the *International Journal of Peace and Transitional Justice* (2017).

Title: Including LGBTI NGOs in Colombian transitional justice: on scopes and tactics of influence of national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs

Abstract: This paper examines the scope and tactics used by Colombian LGBTI human rights NGOs from 2006 to 2016 towards ensuring their inclusion in the most recent transitional justice processes in Colombia. The author conducted semi-structured interviews with diverse groups of LGBTI actors and analysed them alongside selected key documents describing LGBTI activism. This Note from the Field describes some of the ways in which Colombian LGBTI human rights NGOs contributed to rethinking transitional justice discourses on vulnerability and victimhood, affected institutional procedures to include LGBTI people in all victims' roundtables and advised LGBTI related policy in the sub-commission on gender during the peace negotiations between the Colombian government and *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias* (FARC). Further, they sought to influence voters' behaviour by campaigning in favour of the peace agreement.

Keywords: human rights, NGOs, advocacy, sexual orientation.

Note: Please note that references for this document are included in the 'References' section of this dissertation.

This Note highlights national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs' tactics and scopes of influence to advance LGBTI human rights in the Colombian transitional justice process during 2006-2016. To the best of my knowledge, while contemporary -also termed Phase III- (Teitel 2005) transitional justice legitimacy rests upon the participation of local and transnational actors (where various political aims are at play), these processes have neither adequately recognized LGBTI people as direct victims of armed conflict nor included them in peace negotiation processes. So, the Colombian case discussed herein is a global outlier in that both Wilson Castañeda, director of the NGO *Corporación Caribe Afirmativo*, and Mauricio Albarracín, director of the NGO *Colombia Diversa*, report having participated in meetings within the Colombian Peace processes in Cuba in February and March 2015, respectively. Their contributions were likely possible as part of a broader advancement in LGBTI rights in Colombia during the last decade, which has included the field of transitional

justice. For example, the peace agreement on the issue of victims included establishing a truth commission (*Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición*) with

an adequate focus making evident the differentiated ways in which the conflict affected [...] LGBTI populations, [...]. This will contribute also so that Colombian society realizes the specific ways in which the conflict reproduced historical mechanisms of discrimination, as a fundamental step to having a more inclusive and just society (Colombian government and FARC-EP (2016, 131).

This Note from the Field begins with a brief description of international LGBTI human rights norms and milestones, which are relevant to this report. Then, it briefly addresses the Colombian internal armed conflict as pertinent to human rights and LGBTI advances in the country. I then draw on analyses of a series of interviews with and documents about Colombian LGBTI activists and NGOs to illustrate the diverse tactics these actors deployed and the influence they had towards the inclusion of LGBTI populations in transitional justice processes from 2006 to 2016.

LGBTI human rights and international norms

Since at least the mid-1970s, LGBTI human rights activists have appeared at formal and informal international stages. Similarly, sexual orientation, gender identity and other topics related to human sexuality have become part of the global human rights agenda, particularly near the turn of the XXI century. Case in point, an

International Lesbian Caucus formed at the 1975 UN Conference on Women in Mexico City [...]. Marking the institutionalization of such ties, advocates established the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) in 1978. [...By 2008,] it is a ‘community-based federation’ of more than 670 NGOs in more than 110 countries, coordinating transnational advocacy and supporting national groups (Bob 2012 39, 40).

Bob (2012, 55) claims that, in 2006, the INGOs “International Service for Human Rights (ISHR) and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), [selected a...] group of like-minded ‘international human rights experts’” to draft the Yogyakarta Principles: “a coherent and comprehensive identification of the obligation of States to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of all persons regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity”. (O’Flaherty and Fisher 2008, 207). While not legally binding, “[o]ne development worthy of mention is the frequent adoption of the Principles’ definitions of ‘sexual orientation’ and

‘gender identity’ found in the Preamble by a number of authorities and States” (Ettelbrick and Trabucco 2010, 12)

In the intergovernmental arena, the UN Human Rights Committee established sexual orientation as a protected category from discrimination under the ICCPR. In *Toonen v. Australia* (1994), *Young v. Australia* (2003), and *X v. Colombia* (2007), experts deemed that states had violated: “the prohibition against discrimination under article 26 compris[ing] also discrimination based on sexual orientation” (CCPR/C/89/D/1361/2005 2007). Likewise, in 2011, under agenda item 8: Follow-up and implementation of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, the UNHRC passed South African resolution A/HRC/RES/17/19 entitled ‘Human Rights Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity’, requesting the UNHCHR to document discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity, in all regions of the world, and how international human rights law can be used to end [them] (UNHRC 2011)

Navanethem Pillay presented this report on 16 December 2011 and the second one appeared in 2015. In June 2016, the Latin American states: Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico and Uruguay sponsored resolution A/HRC/32/L.2/Rev.1 at the same UN organ, designating Vitit Muntarbhorn (Yogyakarta Principles Co Chair) as first UN Independent Expert on Protection against Violence and Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (UNIESOGI). This UN Special Procedure provided a broad mandate to assess the implementation of international human rights instruments, raise awareness of the violence and discrimination faced by LGBT populations, engage

relevant stakeholders, [UN] agencies, programmes, funds, regional and national human rights mechanisms, civil society organizations and academic institutions [...] address[ing] the multiple, intersecting and aggravated forms of violence and discrimination (Allied Rainbow -ARC International- and International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Intersex Association 2016, 3).

These developments show that in the last roughly 45 years, LGBTI human rights have entered the global human rights agenda, and some topics related to human sexuality have gained worldwide and national recognition (through the Yogyakarta principles). LGBTI human rights are part of international human rights discourses and procedures (as seen in UN Human Rights Committee decisions). And they encourage public policy and state behavioural adaptations (as noticed in the UN Human Rights Council).

LGBTI human rights in the Colombian human rights agenda and bolstering national LGBTI movements

The 1991 Constitution, ‘which boasts a broad bill of rights’ (Uprimny 2007), has provided LGBTI movements with key tools to advance their goals:

it introduced a solid rights declaration, including equality and autonomy, [...] created a protection special juridical resource, *tutela*, that can be used by any judge to secure the direct protection of these rights and a Constitutional Court that can review the protection cases, [...] and] included the separation between church and state, which led the way to more secular debates on sexuality and reproduction (Albarracín and Lamaitre 2016, 113).

At the turn of the millennium, during former President Andrés Pastrana’s (1998-2002) peace process with FARC, LGBTI movements were bolstered. Individual activists, such as Manuel Velandia and León Zuleta, had held leadership positions before it, but the peace process provided an opportunity for ‘social movements wishing to take advantage of that moment to present proposals to the negotiations table’. Personal interview Grand 2016 *Planeta Paz* was born then, as a conglomeration of civil society groups, where leaders from social sectors met and organized yearly national forums for women, youth, workers, among other sectors. A Senior member of Caribe Afirmativo reported that the process was supported by international agencies including “the Swiss cooperation agency [that] mentioned to the government that LGBTI people should be included in the participation of civil society” (personal interview with N1, November 2016).

When the time came for LGBTI sectors to participate in a forum, ‘the government and civil society watched incredulously as more than 100 people made their way to Santandercito from all over the country” (personal interview with N1, November 2016). Their participation makes it apparent that LGBTI populations had been affected during the internal armed conflict due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. This was acknowledged in the 2011 Victims and Land Restitution Law, which created the National Center for Historical Memory and the Victims Unit.

Advocacy for human rights during this period fortified LGBTI organizations in Colombia. Thus, isolating these broader advocacy goals and campaigns from the particular context of the internal armed conflict is challenging. *Planeta Paz* helped consolidate and initiate various national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs working on topics regarding internal armed

conflict, such as *Corporación Opción*. In our conversation a Senior member of a LGBTI NGO noted that despite the ending of “[Planeta Paz] ...as part of a peace process [...] the LGBTI movement continues with new debates” (personal interview with N1, November 2016).

LGBTI populations achieved major national political participation beginning in 2006. Due to an electoral reform, some political parties were going to be extinct as they did not reach the minimum seat numbers in recent elections. So, according to LGBTI activists and state representatives, the *Polo Democrático Independiente* political party joined other political movements to create the *Polo Democrático Alternativo* party, which established a quota to support LGBTI people political participation, called *Polo de Rosa* (personal interview with I1, September 2016). Article 21, Chapter XII of its statute explains: “the *Polo* will guarantee the LGBTI sectors effective participation in the party, [...recognizing] a National LGBTI Organization of the *Polo Democrático Alternativo*” (III Congreso Polo Democrático Alternativo 2012, 88). Sebastián Romero, the first openly gay member to win a seat in the Bogotá municipal council representing the Chapinero neighbourhood in October 2007, was part of these negotiations.

Then, on 28 December 2007, Luis Eduardo Garzón, Mayor of Bogotá and member of the *Polo Democrático Independiente* (later *Polo Democrático Alternativo*) signed the 603 decree, providing guidelines to establish the norms of Public Policy to Fully Guarantee the Human Rights of LGBTI people in the city of Bogotá. National LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs pushed for this law and some Council members supported it. Openly LGBTI state representatives were hired to serve as links with other organizations, and to position the District Secretariat as a leading [institution] on these issues (personal interview with G1, September 2016).

Pinpointing all national LGBTI movements’ diverse actors is problematic since they respond to multiple goals and campaigns. Plus, the nature of social movements implies that member participation is not altogether formal but rather fluctuates. Nonetheless, in the interviews I conducted, some prominent individuals were often mentioned as being central to helping advance LGBTI rights during the aforementioned timeframe. These included Ministers, Senators, Representatives to the Bogotá Chamber and Directors of NGOs who are openly gay

or lesbian. Brigitte Baptiste, the Director of Alexander Von Humboldt Institute, was the only openly transgender person who was frequently mentioned in the interviews. Activists included various local and national NGO workers focusing on human rights related issues. In addition, writers, opinion leaders, and others with significant political capital provide their support, regardless of whether or not they themselves are LGBTI. This speaks of a shift in social attitudes regarding LGBTI issues among a significant sector of Colombian society, but markedly, it also reinforces the centrality and visibility of lesbian and gay populations in LGBTI agendas.

Tactics and scopes of influence of Colombian LGBTI NGOs in transitional justice (2006-2016)

The Colombian LGBTI NGOs are actors who behave as a social movement in so far as they are seeking to push for certain issues and to exercise influence. However, they “must make use of the power derived from their information, their ideas, and their strategies to transform [...it...] and the value driven contexts within which states define their behaviour” (personal interviews with various LGBTI activists, Bogotá, September 2016). Hence, these actors use soft power tactics, ‘what Baumgartner and Jones call [...] “looking for legal ways”, [...] “the dual strategy to present an image and find the most receptive political and legal way”’ to advance an issue (Keck and Sikkink 1998). In this Note, as has been mentioned previously, emphasis is placed on political and tactical ways to exercise influence. For wide-ranging studies on Colombian legal and jurisprudential aspects, see Uprimny (2007), Albarracín and Lamaitre (2016), Cepeda-Espinosa (2004, 2011), among others.

I draw on ‘transnational advocacy networks’ to situate and interpret the information gathered through the interviews I conducted and reports I consulted. This concept posits five ‘scopes of influence’, including (1) constructing the issue and setting the agenda, (2) influencing discourse, (3) affecting institutional procedures, (4) inducing policy, and (5) prompting behavioural changes of relevant actors (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Proponents of this theory have identified four key sets of tactics or strategies through which actors exercise their influence: (1) information politics (generating quick and reliable information to be used politically), (2) symbolic politics (symbols, actions or events to appeal to an often distant audience), (3) leverage politics (using others’ resources, position and capabilities to advance

issues), and (4) accountability politics (keeping elected officials accountable to their pledges).

For example, LGBTI organizations in Colombia sought to set a common agenda and identify specific issues that contributed to the development of an information politic through which they demonstrate that LGBTI populations are a marginalized and vulnerable sector requiring public attention. Leverage and accountability politics complement each other, as evidenced in national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs exercising pressure on Bogotá's Mayor, cognizant that he was a relevant decision maker who was preparing his presidential candidacy, and thus could react favourably to citizens' demands. Leverage politics were noted above in the Swiss request to the Colombian government to include LGBTI populations in the 1998-2002 peace negotiations, suggesting international donors' capacities to affect internal public policies.

Reshaping discourses on victimhood and strengthening communication units

The 2011 Victims and Land Restitution Law or 1448 Law recognized that 'LGBTI people are subjects of special constitutional protection based on a differentiated approach, as their circumstance of victims is reinforced by their condition'. This normative and legal development along with other advances (pension rights, adoption for same sex couples and transgender rights victories, etc.) paved the way for national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs to be part of the transitional justice process. For instance, 'in 2011, in C-577, the Colombian Constitutional Court declared it unconstitutional to exclude same sex couples from the benefits of legal marriage' (Albarracín and Lamaitre 2016, 97).

The City of Bogotá Planning District Secretary published the General Guidelines to establish the norms of Public Policy to Fully Guarantee the Human Rights of LGBTI people and on gender identities and sexual orientations in the capital district in 2008, which includes the 603 decree and a reference to the Yogyakarta Principles. The 106-page-long document, mentions the internal armed conflict three times, explaining that

violating the right to life and security of LGBTI sectors seems to increase in areas affected by the internal armed conflict [...], in which violence due to gender identity or sexual orientation is a part of the practices of power and control (Payne, 2007) (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C. 2008, 16).

This report suggests a relationship between areas of internal armed conflict and contexts in which human rights violations against LGBTI populations were carried out. The document

references *Colombia Diversa*'s reports substantiating this situation and *Colectivo Lésbico*'s work

document[ing] human rights violations due to gender identity and sexual orientation, noticing various kinds of violence, abuses committed by public forces, abuses in the context of the internal armed conflict, lack of protection when these people are incarcerated, among other forms of human rights violations (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C. 2008, 54).

Framing LGBTI populations as internal armed conflict victims has been vital since this discursive association makes it possible for state institutions to respond to concrete cases accordingly. For instance, on 23 December 2013, the Ministry of Interior learned of an *embera* transgender woman, Cintia Osorio Conquista, reporting that guerrilla members had entered Bajo Baudó, Chocó. They had threatened the governor and the indigenous council there, telling them that she and two gay men had to evacuate the area. So,

the *Fondo de Acción Urgente para América Latina* (Urgent Fund for Latin America) coordinated along with the Interior Ministry how to get Cintia out of danger. Then [...she was] led to the *Unidad Nacional de Protección* (National Unit of Protection) (personal interview with G1, September 2016).

Likewise, the Superior Tribunal of Bogotá found *Autodefensas Campesinas de Puerto Boyacá* former Commander (Boyacá Port Self-Defense Peasants), Arturo Triana Mahecha, a.k.a 'Botalón', guilty of crimes against LGBTI populations in the Magdalena Medio area. In this case, human rights organizations pushed for recognizing that 'during the judicial case hearings, those people be officially named victims due to their sexual orientation and gender identity' (personal interview with G1, September 2016). At last, the law recognized and identified these LGBTI populations as collective victims in a geographically determined area, instructing the Fiscal to

strengthen documentation and research processes of similar cases [... requesting the National Center for Historical Memory and the Victims Unit to repair lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals, and transgender victims of the internal armed conflict individually and collectively (Flórez 2014).

The current political opportunity structures regarding transitional justice have led national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs to strengthen their communication units in order to influence public discourse. As a representative from one organization commented, 'the peace process after the plebiscite requires us to be active participants as we believe that our strategy is not only legal, but [involves] influencing state and social civil organizations too' (personal

interview with O7, November 2016). Key tactics to accomplish these goals involve developing communication strategies, where producing content to maintain frequent social media use is also prioritized.

Thus, national specialized organizations have used information, leverage and accountability politics to influence public discourse on the LGBTI victims of armed conflict. Information politics is evident by using the Yogyakarta principles in the General Guidelines to establish the norms of Public Policy to Fully Guarantee the Human Rights of LGBTI people and on gender identities and sexual orientations in the capital district in 2008. It is also noticeable in the frequent report publications, which have reshaped frameworks and discourses on victimhood through strategic information use. Similarly, they are central to grasp Conquista's and Botalón's cases mediatisation. Leverage politics played out during the Urgent Fund for Latin America intervention; and national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs made use of accountability politics when linking their demands to the Planning District Secretary at the City of Bogotá, the Superior Tribunal of Bogotá, and the Ministry of Interior.

Prompting institutional policy changes regarding LGBTI victims' participation in designated victims' fora, national, regional and local negotiating tables

Caribe Afirmativo and *Corporación Opción* partook in the first transitional roundtable organized by the government to articulate a participation protocol for civil society and internal armed conflict victims. There, it was established that LGBTI populations must have one or two representatives in all regional, municipal and national roundtables. While this decision seems sensible so that LGBTI populations participate, an activist and state representative made a convincing case for further differentiation, arguing that

we are a population encompassing nine sectors: lesbians, gays, bisexual and transgender men and women, intersex people, and among transgender persons we are drag queens, transvestites and transsexuals. Not all our needs are the same, which is why I propose implementing 'differentially differential treatments (personal interview with G1, September 2016).

Leverage, accountability, and information politics are relevant to understanding LGBTI influence in transitional justice processes. Information politics strategies ensured *Caribe Afirmativo's* and *Corporación Opción's* participation in the first transitional justice table. Likewise, framing public policy to include LGBTI populations in all roundtables is a welcome development but it has done little to address the power structures within LGBTI

communities that mirror the general population, regarding access and visibility, wherein cisgender, wealthy, white, urban and masculine individuals all too frequently take the lead. Accountability politics are central because, as is characteristic of transitional justice processes, state institutions are responsible for making and implementing public policy. Leverage politics analysis ought to contemplate them, linking national LGBTI rights specialized NGOs demands to institutions' mandates and missions.

Affecting procedures regarding the peace talks and prompting voter behaviour

Leverage politics is reflected in several developments. Women's organizations contributed to the creation of the Gender Sub- commission in the Havana peace negotiations between FARC and the Colombian government. This sub-commission oversaw mainstreaming a gender perspective in the agreements. *Colombia Diversa* and *Caribe Afirmativo* achieved a notable feat by being the only national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs to have taken part in the peace negotiations. They proposed including LGBTI populations in three out of six points on the peace negotiations agenda: an integral rural reform, political participation and solving the issue of drug trafficking (personal interview with O7, November 2016).

Once again, information politics was a key strategy in successfully influencing these procedures. To participate in the peace negotiations, the national organizations had established their reputation for many years by conducting numerous campaigns, producing regular public reports, and being present in national and international debates on LGBTI issues (e.g., both organizations have dealt with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights). These efforts contributed to *Colombia Diversa's* expertise being widely recognized and its being allowed to apply for, and to obtain UNDP funds for developing its own informative campaign about the peace agreement. Conversely, *Caribe Afirmativo* has received funds from organizations such as Open Society Foundation, Astraea, USAID, IMO, Ned Foundation, among others.

'[I]n December 2017, the UN Human Rights Council appointed Víctor Madrigal-Borloz as the [second ever] Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity' (International Justice Resource Center, Víctor Madrigal-Borloz Madrigal-Borloz, 2018). The scholar is a Yogyakarta principles plus 10

signatory who has also been mentioned in *Caribe Afirmativo* publications, highlighting his ‘support for the *Caribe Afirmativo* process of incidence in the [Inter American Commission on Human Rights], providing follow-ups and technical expertise’ (Caribe Afirmativo, Designación de Víctor Madrigal Borloz como experto independiente LGBTI en Naciones Unidas 2017). Also, as mentioned above, national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs capabilities to acquire funds from a variety of (mostly international) partners speak well of their networking practices. Finally, the government’s role in advancing transitional justice processes, through incorporating the demands of various actors suggests that the latter were successful in their demands for and exercise of accountability politics.

Furthermore, national LGBTI specialised human rights NGOs have been involved in transitional justice processes through developing political and educational campaigns. For instance, they created the *LGBTI vota sí* committee with various objectives in mind: convincing LGBTI peoples to support the plebiscite and showing society members at large that LGBTI populations were active participants in the issues affecting the country, specifically in the transitional justice process. Further, while this scope involves prompting changes in procedures and behaviours, the public image and discourses that society at large hold about LGBTI populations gets affected as well. People may picture such populations in a new light, not only as internal armed conflict victims, but as politically active society members who are involved in national decision-making processes.

As has been mentioned, national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs received funding from a variety of (mostly international) external sources. *Colombia Diversa* is not part of the *LGBTI vota sí* campaign. However, it received a grant from a UNDP project on peace pedagogy. The project contemplates teaching LGBTI populations how the peace agreements have addressed their demands and how the implementation process is to take place. The NGO leads a campaign called *Paz es diversidad* (Peace is diversity) as a project along local LGBTI organizations in the Colombian cities of Bucaramanga and Pereira:

This is a peace campaign, and peace does not belong to one or another organization, so we have managed to coordinate this project including other organizations [...] recognizing local leaderships and already established networks in the territories (Bucaramanga and Pereira).

The *Paz es diversidad* campaign highlights the importance of leverage politics as a successful strategy to influence procedures and behaviours. A *Colombia Diversa* member stated that

previously discussed public figures had been vital vis-à-vis increasing media exposure for the campaign. ‘By [their] tweeting the hashtag #pazesdiversidad at the beginning of the campaign, they created much more echo than what we would have gotten by ourselves on social media only’ (personal interview with O3, September 2016).

National LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs are strategic regarding the actors with whom they associate according to their specific goals. Not every chief actor is convenient in all instances. I.e., politicians’ speeches and declarations were welcomed and shared in the campaign: the backing of LGBTI friendly personalities in key decision-making positions and/or with strategic media exposure was decisive in garnering public support, which (indirectly) pressures legal decision-making bodies. Nonetheless, on other occasions, to avoid campaigns being deemed as being politically motivated, supporting the participation of academics or other seemingly more objective actors’ statements was preferred.

Final considerations

The case of advancing LGBTI human rights in transitional justice processes in Colombia reveals that the historical context and structural conditions cannot be separated from the development and institutionalization of national LGBTI movements and their specific demands. The political opportunity structure in the 2006-2016 period, established in part following the human rights and legal advances of 1991 Constitution as well as the experiences of prior peace processes, linked LGBTI activists with one another and with other national and international human rights activists, strategic partners and networks.

The repercussions of better communication channels between the government and Colombian society presented analytic challenges. Noting the evolving nature of perfecting communication channels and the interconnectedness of some of the multiple strategies and tactics of influence discussed above, it is evident that there was a degree of subjectivity in my interpretation of an action as reflective of information, accountability, leverage, or symbolic politics, or as a combination of them. For example, proposing changes/considerations to the preapproved texts on the peace agreement involved informing state institutions about the proposed treatment for LGBTI victims, utilized accountability politics (as the state processes all such proposals), and may have been indirectly influenced by the symbolic politics

reflected in the presence of the large number of LGBTI people in attendance at the gathering in Santandercito.

National civil society organizations use all of the above-discussed strategies of influence in a diversity of contexts. As suggested above, symbolic politics strategies have been less frequently utilized than others. On the other hand, information politics strategies were essential in almost all contexts, at least in part because national LGBTI specialized human rights NGOs draw on the concept of transnational advocacy networks and emphasize the centrality of using, producing, and disseminating information strategically.

List of Abbreviations

CHA	Comunidad Homosexual Argentina Argentinean Homosexual Community
CESCR	Economic Social and Cultural Rights Committee Comité de Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales
EU	European Union Unión Europea
GIZ	German Corporation for International Cooperation Corporación Alemana para la Cooperación Internacional
IOM	International Organization for Migration Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM)
JEP	Justicia Especial para la Paz Special Justice for Peace
OAS	Organization of American States Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA)
PDA	Polo Democrático Alternativo Democratic Alternative Pole Party
UN	United Nations Organization Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development Agencia de los Estados Unidos para el Desarrollo

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