ÁNFORA

de las Ciencias Sociales y Humanas

Construcciones cotidianas de la paz

UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE MANIZALES
UAM®

ACREDITACIÓN INSTITUCIONAL DE ALTA CALIDAD
RESOLUCIÓN 9527

Universidad Autónoma de Manizales
Rector: Carlos Eduardo Jaramillo Sanint
Vicerrector Académico: Iván Escobar Escobar

La revista **Ánfora** es una publicación semestral con alcance regional, nacional e internacional. Difunde resultados de investigaciones en las áreas de las ciencias sociales y humanas, con el fin de fomentar el intercambio de conocimientos, opiniones y perspectivas culturales diversas. Se dirige a investigadores, docentes y, en general, a estudiantes y profesionales de las disciplinas afines. La revista invita a presentar investigaciones interdisciplinarias que busquen interpretar y abordar soluciones a temas actuales desde distintas perspectivas de las áreas establecidas. El interés de Ánfora es aportar al enriquecimiento del acervo científico y a sus comunidades, a partir del debate y la colaboración.

Editora
Juliana Acosta López de Mesa. PhD

Editor Invitado
Álvaro Díaz Gómez. Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira

Editora Invitada
Deicy Patricia Hurtado Galeano. Universidad de Antioquia

Autores edición 50 de la revista Ánfora (enero-junio 2021)

Alejandro Granados García. Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, Colombia

Diana Feo Ardila. Universidad Francisco de Paula Santander, Colombia

Gladys Adriana Espinel Rubio. Universidad Francisco de Paula Santander Colombia.

Juan Pablo Acosta Navas. Universidad de Antioquia, Colombia

Jorge Mario Ortega Iglesias. Universidad del Magdalena, Colombia

Víctor Enrique Valencia Espejo. Universidad del Magdalena, Colombia

Francy Lorena Jaramillo Grajales. Universidad Católica de Pereira

Luisa Fernanda Cárdenas Vásquez. Universidad Católica de Pereira

Tania Galaviz-Armenta. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos, México

Giovanni Bohórquez Pereira. Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Cali, Colombia

Juan Diego Flórez Quintero. Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Miguel Orlando Alguero Montaño. Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Bucaramanga, Colombia

Vanesa Cynthia Lerner. Universidad de El Salvador

María Disney Palacios Rentería. Institución Educativa Gabriel Trujillo, Pereira, Colombia.

Héctor Alberto Botello Peñaloza. Universidad Industrial de Santander, Colombia

Isaac Guerrero Rincón. Universidad Industrial de Santander, Bucaramanga, Santander, Colombia.

Julio Cruz. Universidad de Caldas, Colombia

Contenido
Contents • Conteúdo

Investigaciones • Research • Investigações
(Construcciones cotidianas de la paz)

Investigaciones en otras Temáticas • Research on other topics • Investigações sobre outros tópicos

Revisión • Review • Revisão

Editorial

Construcciones cotidianas de la paz

Álvaro Díaz Gómez*
Editor invitado
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2602-1702

Deicy Patricia Hurtado Galeano**
Editor invitado
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5562-1267

En los metarrelatos, la gran historia, el héroe unitario, la noción de época y de civilización fueron hegemónicos en los discursos de las Ciencias Sociales; en ellos, lo cotidiano no era visible y, por lo tanto, no era un tema de reflexión. Sin embargo, existía un horizonte de actuación humana mediante el cual se concretaban las acciones que iban demarcando la historia y, con ello, los relatos que de la misma se hacían.

Con el fin de los metarrelatos se produjo un giro y la cotidianidad empezó a ser reconocida como parte del mundo de la vida o como un sinónimo de esta. En tal perspectiva, Agnes Heller, en su texto de 1985 titulado Historia y Vida Cotidiana, reconoce que esta "es la vida de todo hombre" y complementa diciendo que ésta "la vive cada cual, sin excepción alguna"; por lo tanto, si queremos hablar de paz y hacerlo desde la perspectiva de la cotidianidad, debemos plantear de manera enfática que aquella corresponde a todo hombre o mujer, pues la paz se construye en el diario vivir. En suma, cada uno puede participar en su construcción o puede "hacerla trizas", como lo han propuesto algunos sectores políticos colombianos. Podemos vivir la paz en cuanto la hayamos ganado o sentir su pérdida si la cultura de la guerra predomina.

Heller nos plantea una tensión en los siguientes términos: "nadie puede desprenderse enteramente de la cotidianidad", pero tampoco puede vivir "solo la cotidianidad". En consecuencia, y en el tono que venimos demarcando, nadie

* PhD en Ciencias Sociales niñez y juventud, Universidad de Manizales y CINDE. Magíster en Educación, Universidad Pedagógica Nacional. Psicólogo. Profesor Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira.
Correo: adiaz@utp.edu.co

** Magíster en Filosofía Política. Socióloga. Profesora Universidad de Antioquia.
Correo: deicy.hurtado@udea.edu.co

puede desprenderse de la vivencia de la paz en cuanto ésta se constituye –por afirmación o negación– en la   vida cotidiana. Pero tampoco nos podemos quedar solo en ella, pues se requiere pensarla, tematizarla, darle sentidos para reconocer cómo se expresa en momentos particulares.

La cotidianidad de la vida colombiana, marcada por "violencias crónicas" como nos lo recuerda Alejandro Castillejo (2017, 2018), puede impedirnos ver que estamos en una transición compleja entre cinco décadas de conflicto armado interno, la firma de un Acuerdo de Paz y la generación de una cultura de paz que intenta abrirse camino aún en medio de esas nuevas violencias emergentes en el postacuerdo. Y como es un trasegar, una procesualidad, se mantienen rasgos de la tradición guerrera que no logran quedar atrás, pero también asoman bosquejos –menos visibles, en cuanto son menos espectaculares– de una cultura para la convivencia pacífica, para el "buen vivir" o el "vivir sabroso", como horizontes de futuro.

La "paz en pequeña escala" (Castillejo, 2019), en la clave propuesta por los estudios críticos de las transiciones políticas, invita a pensarla más allá de la institucionalidad, en las interacciones cotidianas, allí donde la guerra y las violencias estructurales generadas por la injusticia económica y la exclusión política, han afectado la posibilidad de reproducir la vida misma y, sobre todo, la vida en común (para decirlo en términos hellerianos). Además, es en esas interacciones que se producen en la escala de lo cotidiano donde sucede la "projimidad", donde la solidaridad, la reciprocidad y la cercanía hacen pensable y posible otras maneras de concebir y vivir la vida; unas maneras que buscan romper con los patrones de comportamiento legados por tantas décadas de violencias superpuestas.

Las experiencias, luchas y resistencias de víctimas, campesinos, pueblos indígenas, comunidades afro, defensores de derechos humanos, ecologistas, estudiantes y mujeres, actualizan esa necesidad de contestar y contraponerse a un orden injusto y violento. Por eso, desde hace más de 20 años han pugnado por salidas negociadas al conflicto que hoy se expresan en la defensa del Acuerdo de Paz firmado en 2016 y en la interpelación a la clase dirigente para hacer realidad la construcción de la paz en los territorios, con la mirada puesta en hacer de ella una forma de vida que rechace toda forma de violencia, bien sea que suceda en la vida privada o en la pública.

Lo cotidiano no es linealidad sino complejidad y, en el caso colombiano, se expresa en procesos emergentes aparentemente contradictorios que se palpan en este nuevo año: la firma del Acuerdo de Paz, ha sido ensombrecida por el asesinato de cerca de 251 firmantes de la paz en proceso de reincorporación, a inicios de 2021. La lucha por la defensa de los derechos humanos, del territorio y de los pueblos originarios pervive y, en reconocimiento a ello, Leiner Palacios

–sobreviviente de la masacre de Bojayá y actual comisionado de la verdad–
recibió el Premio Nacional a la defensa de los DD.HH., correspondiente al año
2020; de igual manera, a la experiencia colectiva de La Guardia Indígena Kiwe
Thegnas del Plan de Vida Proyecto Nasa, Experiencia Asociación de Cabildos
Indígenas de Toribio, Tacueyó y San Francisco, le otorgaron el premio a la
Experiencia o Proceso Colectivo del Año (Proceso Social Comunitario).

Paradójicamente, mientras el país inicia este 2021 reconociendo liderazgos,
organizaciones y procesos sociales, la cifra de líderes y lideresas asesinadas en
el territorio colombiano supera los 250 desde la firma del Acuerdo de Paz.

Como se ha dicho, la paz no está en un decreto, ni en unas instituciones
o burocracias creadas, sino que se trata de una procesualidad cotidiana en la
que todos tenemos parte, aún desde la indiferencia. En nuestras manos está
perpetuar la cultura guerrera o incidir intencionalmente en el desplazamiento
de ésta hacia una cultura de paz. Estas mismas razones nos han llevado a
proponer este número temático en la revisa Ánfora sobre "Construcciones
cotidianas de la paz"; esto, con el fin de pensar sobre los procesos que se
están desarrollando en diversos contextos de la geografía colombiana, y de
otros lugares, por los actores sociales con matices particulares, con tonos e
intencionalidades diferentes/convergentes, pero siempre con la paz como
perspectiva de presente y de futuro.

Las colaboraciones académicas de este número especial, nos recuerdan
que analizar esas construcciones cotidianas de la paz nos obliga a seguir
examinando la violencia en sus formas, actores y consecuencias; que conviene
acercarnos a enfoques menos idílicos y más realistas de la paz para reconocer su
contingencia, su imperfección, así como para aclararnos que esa paz cotidiana
es una categoría en construcción; que hay sujetos concretos, por ejemplo, las
mujeres, en lugares específicos (una comuna conformada por barrios populares
de Medellín), que en sus luchas cotidianas han estado construyendo sentidos y
experiencias de paz con justicia social; que en procesos sociales comunitarios
y de base, se han gestado enormes y significativos programas de construcción
de paz mucho antes de 2016 al calor de una transición política que se configuró
en el proceso de negociación con los paramilitares.

Esta es la edición especial que entregamos a los lectores de Ánfora como
una contribución que hacen las revistas académicas a la construcción de
conocimiento, a la reflexión y a las acciones en un país al que le urge encontrar
claves para dejar las violencias y las exclusiones en el pasado.

Referencias

Castillejo, A. (2017). *La ilusión de la justicia transicional. Perspectivas críticas desde el Sur global.* Universidad de los Andes.

Castillejo, A. (2018). Del ahogado el Sombrero, a manera de manifiesto: esbozos para una crítica al discurso transicional. *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology, 15(3),* 1-16, https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-43412018v15n3d501

Castillejo, A. (2019). La paz en pequeña escala: fracturas de la vida cotidiana y las políticas de la transición en Colombia. *Revista de Estudios Colombianos, 53,* 6-10, https://colombianistas.org/ojs/index.php/rec/article/view/76/47

Heller, A. (1985). Historia y Vida Cotidiana. Grijalbo.

Investigaciones

Research · Investigações

(Construcciones cotidianas de la paz)

Prolegomena to an Everyday Peace Approach*

[English Version]

Prolegómenos para un enfoque de paces cotidianas

Prolegômenos para uma abordagem da paz cotidiana

Alejandro Granados-García**
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7201-4872
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: this article is a reflection seeking to contribute to the *foundation* of a peace-building approach that focuses on the scale of the local-everyday (of the *world of life*), without neglecting the interaction and mutual influence that may exist with other scales of the regional, national and transnational or global. **Methodology**: this article is structured based on a set of premises that open paths and scenarios for reflection; it is a perspective to work in the theoretical-practical field of conflicts and peace. **Results:** the need to think critically about the theoretical-practical field of conflicts and peace from a transdisciplinary and

---

** Psychologist. Political scientist Master of Philosophy. Doctorate student in Psychology at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, Colombia. Email: alejogranadosgarcia@gmail.com

multiscale perspective of phenomena, actions and power relations was identified. A perspective that evidences the colonization processes of this theoretical-practical field by the models of a (neo) liberal peace is also unavoidable and that, in turn, manages to transcend the critical polarizing scheme of the North and the South. It is important *to vindicate* the scale of everyday life, as it offers experiences, practices, resources, perspectives and relevant interpretations for the understanding and transformation of conflicts and peace. **Conclusions:** it is required to *problematize* peace in everyday life to address its tensions, contradictions, dilemmas and problems. This is intended to stimulate understanding and conversation around the *conditions of possibility* of an approach to understanding and strengthening everyday peace.

Keywords: Everyday peace; Peace building; Research on peace; Social conflicts; Conflict analysis; Transdisciplinarity.

Resumen

Objetivo: este trabajo de reflexión busca contribuir a la *fundamentación* de un enfoque de construcción de paz que apueste a la escala de lo local-cotidiano (del *mundo de la vida*), sin dejar de lado la interacción y mutua influencia que pueda existir con otras escalas de lo regional, lo nacional y lo transnacional o global. **Metodología:** el trabajo se estructura a partir de un conjunto de premisas que abren senderos y escenarios de reflexión; se trata de una perspectiva para el trabajo en el *campo* teórico-práctico de los conflictos y las paces. **Resultados:** se identificó la necesidad de pensar críticamente el campo teórico-práctico de los conflictos y las paces desde una perspectiva transdisciplinar y multiescalar de los fenómenos, las actuaciones y las relaciones de poder. También resulta ineludible una perspectiva que evidencie los procesos de colonización de este campo teórico-práctico por parte de los modelos de una paz (neo)liberal y que, a su vez, logre trascender el esquema crítico polarizante del Norte y el Sur. Es importante *reivindicar* la escala de lo cotidiano, pues ofrece experiencias, prácticas, recursos, perspectivas e interpretaciones relevantes para la comprensión y la transformación de los conflictos y las paces. **Conclusiones:** se requiere *problematizar* las paces en las cotidianidades para abordar sus tensiones, contradicciones, dilemas y problemáticas. Con ello, se pretende estimular la comprensión y la conversación en torno a las *condiciones de posibilidad* de un enfoque para la comprensión y el fortalecimiento de las paces cotidianas.

Palabras-clave: Paz cotidiana; Construcción de paces; Investigación sobre la paz; Conflictividades sociales; Análisis de conflictos; Transdisciplinariedad.

Resumo

Objetivo: este trabalho de reflexão busca contribuir para a fundação de uma abordagem de construção da paz que se concentra na escala do cotidiano local (do *mundo da vida*), sem parar à parte a interação e influência mútua que pode existir com outras escalas do regional, nacional e transnacional ou global. **Metodologia:** o trabalho está estruturado a partir de um conjunto de premissas que abrem caminhos e cenários de reflexão; É uma perspectiva de trabalho no *campo* teórico-prático dos conflitos e da paz. **Resultados:** identificou-se a necessidade de pensar criticamente o campo teórico-prático dos conflitos e da paz a partir de uma perspectiva transdisciplinar e multiescala dos fenômenos, ações e relações de poder. É também incontornável uma perspectiva que evidencie os processos de colonização desse campo teórico-prático pelos modelos de uma paz (neo) liberal e que, por sua vez, consiga transcender o esquema crítico de polarização do Norte e do Sul. É importante *reivindicar* a escala do cotidiano, pois oferece experiências, práticas, recursos, perspectivas e interpretações relevantes para a compreensão e transformação dos conflitos e da paz. **Conclusões:** é necessário *problematizar* a paz na vida cotidiana para enfrentar suas tensões, contradições, dilemas e problemas. Com isso, pretende-se estimular a compreensão e o diálogo sobre as *condições de possibilidade* de uma abordagem para a compreensão e fortalecimento da paz cotidiana.

Palavras-chave: Paz diária; Construção da paz; Pesquisa sobre a paz; Conflitos sociais; Análise de conflito; Transdisciplinaridade.

Introduction

There are initiatives and peace processes that emerge, unfold and struggle to consolidate and influence the conflicts present in their unique context, beyond and within the peace that is administered in the fields of macropolitics, between the elites of the different sides in conflict and under the tutelage of multinational bureaucracies that seek to manage conflicts within the framework of a *paradigm of global governance of transitions* towards societies and states "correctly" immersed in the neoliberal market system (Castillejo, 2017).

In this article I present some general reflections that seek to contribute to the *foundation* of a peace-building approach that focuses on the scale of the local-everyday (of the *world of life*), without neglecting the interaction and mutual influence that may exist with other scales of the regional, national and transnational or global. It is a perspective to work in the theoretical-practical field of conflicts and peace. Now, I am not only proposing the *claim* of the scale of everyday life, but its *problematization*. The way in which this article is written does not intend to present a complete and finished theory, but rather to collect and reflect a thought process in progress, in the manner of the *living metaphor* of Paul Ricoeur (2001), that is to say, an exercise of reflection in gerund that brings tensions, contradictions, displacements, transitions, dilemmas and problems linked to the meaning and implications of the subject discussed. Simply put, this is an *experimental* text.

I am grateful in advance for the kind and creative work of reading, appropriation, reformulation and criticism that each reader can carry out as they go through these pages. I hope that the reflections that I present stimulate reading exercises and analysis of cases. Thus, in the end, this work aims to establish reflective dialogues with some of the conceptual elements that make up discourses on peace building.

On the other hand, I recognize the context, the logic and the prevailing dynamics in the *world* of academic publishing. This is why I consider it important to make a statement about my commitment to writing in the first person. Those of us who produce and consume articles and other types of academic materials know that, in general, these artifacts avoid or deny the use of the first person as an exhibition resource. The use of the impersonal, which makes me think of the *das Man* that Heidegger speaks of, seems to be the preferred device to avoid any risk of contamination by the *informalities* of language, subjective biases, lack of objectivity and of rigor in scientific communication. In this sense, impersonal

writing tends to be associated with the objectivity and clarity of exposition expected from a scientific production.

I observe in these considerations that the presence or absence of the personal voice and the predilection for impersonal writing goes beyond stylistic issues and has epistemological implications. It implicitly involves positions on what scientific knowledge is, how it is built, how it is validated and how it is communicated, as well as what is the place of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in it.

Therefore, I want to make explicit the epistemological position from which I consider that writing in the first person can become a practice and an ethical-political commitment. The central bet from which I start is to recognize that knowledge, as feminist epistemology warns, is a *situated knowledge* (Haraway, 1991). The idea of situated knowledge problematizes the presumption of neutrality and objectivity in research and invites us to recognize the place from which it is investigated, the role of the partial gaze in the production of knowledge, as well as the conditioning, contexts, values, beliefs, relationalities and intersectionalities present in the production of knowledge. According to Donna Haraway (1991), situated knowledge is knowledge whose objectivity does not result from the alleged neutrality but, rather, from self-reflective exercises of the knowing subjects, examined with the same rigor with which known subjects are analyzed. Objectivity becomes partial objectivity. Knowledge is recognized as embedded by the context from which it is known, by the subjectivities involved in research relationships, by how it is stated and by the ontological and axiological assumptions that guide it. Under this epistemology, subjectivity and intersubjectivity that artificially disappeared after the pretense of objectivity and the recourse of the impersonal are brought to the fore.

In short, I consider that betting on the use of the first person in academic writing is consistent with the epistemological and ethical-political positioning that I assume from the idea of situated knowledge. Writing in the first person represents, for me, an invitation to position myself as a subject, to assume my own conditioning, limitations and possibilities, as well as responsibility for what I write. It is also an invitation to generate a closer setting for polyphonic dialogue and for questioning the supposed superiority of scientific knowledge.

Methodology

The reflections that I present in this article are the product of a fertile environment for conversation within the team of the line "Conflictos sociales y armados. Abordajes psicosociales hacia la construcción de culturas de paz" of the Doctorate in Psychology of the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá Headquarters. In this scenario, I have had the opportunity to question my assumptions, to get involved in discussions about multiple experiences and phenomena, to listen, learn, talk, build knowledge and draw lines of thought together with colleagues who have extensive experience in dealing with conflicts and peace. The reflections are also nourished by my own research experience on the reintegration processes of ex-combatants, as well as the critical review of the postulates wielded by the authors with whom I dialogue every day in this knowledge path, in which I stop today to make a brief pause to present to them what I have been understanding along the way.

Results

This section is structured around a set of premises that open paths and scenarios for reflection, hoping to stimulate understanding and conversation around the *conditions of possibility* of an approach to understanding and strengthening everyday peace. In other words, strictly speaking, due to the type of article this is, the following "results" could be understood as transitory understandings or preliminary results of thinking.

Premises for an Everyday Peace Approach

Premise No. 1.
The need to think critically about the theoretical-practical *field* of conflicts and peace from a transdisciplinary and multiscale perspective of phenomena, actions and power relations was identified.

Let us dwell on the examination of the various components of this premise. As a starting point, it is important to recognize that the approaches to conflict and peace have been configured as a *problematic field* of work that involves both

research, reflection and theorizing, as well as action, accompaniment or intervention. The fact of being configured as a *field* indicates an unavoidable *transdisciplinary* condition. That is to say, no monodisciplinary, or even interdisciplinary, work is sufficient to address the most pertinent topics of this *field* of studies (Flórez-Malagón, 2002).

Although historically studies on conflict and peace tend to be located predominantly in disciplines such as political science, economics, sociology and history, among others, none of them can encompass or exhaust this field [1] . No form of disciplinary intervention in this *field* can be understood as an isolated and self-sufficient entity, to the extent that its discourses and practices are dynamically configured by interweaving with other disciplines, as well as with the contexts and subjects involved.

In accordance with the above, it is understood that this *field*, emerging in the second half of the 20th century, overflows the "borders" of the different social sciences, which in turn generates questions, transformations, ruptures and innovations to ontological, epistemological, methodological and axiological level. Following Flórez-Málagon (2002), it can be stated that the configuration of this *field* allows a critique of the internal hierarchy of disciplines, the fragmentation of knowledge and the problematic separation between cognitive activity, ethics, aesthetics and ontology. Attempts to solve this separation can be found in works by authors such as Alejandro Castillejo (2000), Arturo Escobar (2015) and John Paul Lederach (2016). Peaces, like conflicts, do not function as "disciplinary objects", but rather imply a blurring and criticism of that logic. Rather, they represent dynamic convergence scenarios, thus demanding border crossings, border thinking, nomadic understandings. The *fields* are configured from new languages, new records of knowledge and writing that generate the permanent reorganization of knowledge and the establishment of new pragmaticities (Flórez-Málagón, 2002). Other characteristics of transdisciplinarity scenarios are complexity, heterogeneity, non-linearity, the dialogue between the local-regional-global and the political vocation. A vocation that generates tensions and slopes within the *fields*. In the *field* that concerns us this is manifested, for example, in the tension between a *(neo) liberal peace* and the *daily peace*.

The logic of a *transdisciplinary field* forces us to recognize that, beyond some *mainstream* referents, it is a scenario in progress, emerging, that has not stabilized and its foundations are not completely delimited. The singular or existential dimension of the phenomena on which it works contributes to this. In this case,

---

1. In fact, the predominance of this type of discipline can be related to the privilege of a *macro* gaze that is aligned with a logic of conflict governance from transnational settings and institutions.

conflicts and peace (situated, contextualized, historical phenomena) permanently energize the *field*.

On the other hand, the transdisciplinary perspective is articulated with a *dynamic and integrative multiscale gaze* that invites permanent exercises to open and close the comprehension lens to move between the micro, meso and macro study of social processes and contexts. This examination does not focus solely on the processes and logics that occur in each scale, but rather seeks to identify the differences between the scales, that is, the way in which they relate and influence each other. Conflicts and peace are dynamically configured in the interaction between different scales (local, regional, national, transnational-global).

The foregoing invites us to consider both the everyday peaces in themselves and in their relations with other scales and phenomena, as well as the external contexts and the way in which they affect the configuration, the becoming, the tensions and the power relations that the peace experiences go through at the local level.

This last consideration allows us to address another aspect that illuminates the premise, namely, power relations. It is a *field* completely crossed and configured from the logic and dynamics of power. Hence, in this article I do not delve into what might seem obvious, namely, that conflicts and peaces emerge, become and take shape from a certain network of power relations. Rather, I focus on a look at the *geopolitics of knowledge* that cuts across the *field* of conflict and peace studies. I explore this from the following premise. Therefore, it is important to point out, in relation to the issue of power relations in the reading of everyday peaces, that it is essential to incorporate understandings about the factors that have generated conflicts and the emergence of violence.

The integrative multiscale perspective should also guide the understanding of conflicts and violence, in such a way as to avoid *depoliticizing* everyday peaces or shifting responsibility for violence to the subjects who coexist and inhabit the territories in which in an interrelated way different conflicts have historically been configured.

Finally, it is essential to highlight the use of the plural to refer to conflict and peace. Peaces, like conflicts and violence, are differential, intersectional, territorialized, embodied, situated, unique. The use of the singular to refer to peace is symptomatic of a global governance logic that seeks to channel the force of the social torrent implied by the conflicts and the possibilities of political transformation that they open and prefigure, through a State-centric, institutionalized model, bureaucratic and functional to the reproduction of neoliberal societies anchored in the global market and in the *promise* of progress. Talking about peaces invites us to break with the idea that there is an ideal and equal

Peace for all societies, a *path* that must be traveled to achieve it and some *prophets* who know the proper way to *lead* anyone towards the *promised land* of peace *(neo) liberal.*

The use of the plural to refer to peace can be understood in the framework and *spirit* of a turn towards pluralism and multiculturalism that has led to talk of identities, subjectivities, genders, etc. In the reflections of Francisco Muñoz (2001, nd), one of the precursors of the *pluralization* of the notion and understanding of peace, and in particular in his idea of *imperfect peace*, we can find some fundamental reasons that stand out the importance of the use of the plural in the approach to peace.

With the notion of *imperfect peaces* Muñoz (2001) tries to open up the meanings of peace, to understand it as procedural, unfinished, immersed in uncertainty and complexity; free her from negative orientation; identify it with the human condition and the particular conditions of existence, thus opening up the real possibilities of thought and action based on the realities that we live; Recognize that there are many spaces where peaceful conflict regulations take place, as well as the contributions that each subject and each culture can make to *their* peace, in other words, *decentralize* understanding and peace building. In short, the use of the plural, the commitment to *peaces,* entails the need to debate, rethink and resignify the ontological, axiological, epistemological, methodological and practical presuppositions of the theoretical-practical *field* of conflicts and peaces.

Premise No. 2.

From a perspective of *geopolitics of knowledge*, it is possible to show a process of colonization in the theoretical-practical field of conflict and peace from the North to the South.

Juan Daniel Cruz and Victoria Fontan (2014) postulate and argue that historically, the North has functioned as a *center* from which the thinking and practices about peace that currently predominate in the South have developed. It is, according to these authors, a dynamic of colonization of the Latin American *episteme* on conflict and peace, as occurs in other *fields.* The colonizing process goes through the imposition, by hegemonic powers (national and transnational), of discourses, practices and vertical logics (top-down) in academia, institutions, governments, communities and various practical fields. The peace that is imposed through these vertical logics, from above, is called by Cruz and Fontan (2014) as *liberal* peace.

In the *field* of conflicts and peace, *mainstream* "peace" discourses are "sold" and implemented that maintain the core of power of the States and the elites.

Cruz and Fontan (2014) argue that these discourses and their practices make invisible and deny voices, idiosyncrasies and local and community contexts, as well as the existence of peace that arises from the local. This means that the leading role of people and communities in the construction of "their" peace is relegated to a *subordinate* role in the face of the domination of the State, its institutions and international organizations.

The challenge of these types of critical perspectives on the geopolitics of the *field* of studies in conflict and peace is to deploy exercises of decolonization of the Latin American *episteme*. In the words of Cruz and Fontan (2014). This implies decolonizing the assumptions *from, for and on peace* imposed from the North and, jointly, claiming that there are types of peace that arise from the local and in everyday life. It is committed to recognizing and positioning the idea that "the peace that already exists at the local level does not have to be built in accordance with the values and understanding that are not typical of that environment" (Cruz and Fontan, 2014, p. 142).

For these authors, a critical pedagogy of colonialism and the creation of decolonized knowledge about conflicts and peace should be promoted from a position from the global South. Such pedagogy would make it possible to make visible, celebrate and rethink the types, practices and models of peace that are being created from below, from the local-everyday. At this point, it is necessary to highlight that these scenarios, due to their very situation of marginality, exclusion and subordination, may face greater challenges and complexities in terms of conflict and peacebuilding, for which they require and can by themselves develop complex, and creative alternatives that can account for the uniqueness of each case. This would lead to problematize the insistence on considering the production of models from the Global North and their adoption as the "ideal", more "advanced" and "adequate" way to "manage" conflicts and build "peace".

It is important, due to all of the above, to ask what the North and the South represent in the logic of a de-colonial proposal such as that of Cruz and Fontan (2014). Speaking in terms of North and South positions us in an understanding of geopolitics that identifies a historically configured dynamic in which the relations between different societies and countries respond to a *center-periphery* logic. It is a logic that operates according to power relations in which the societies and countries that embody the *center* have a greater capacity and probability of governing the *peripheries*. It governs over multiple fields, settings and scales, from complex articulations of the political, economic, social and cultural realms.

Within *peripheral* societies the same logic of *center-periphery* is reproduced, by which some sectors and territories are established as *centers* that establish a *government* relationship with and over the *peripheries*. Said local, regional and

national *centers* can become aligned with transnational-global *centers* and thus favor the reproduction of a certain *hegemonic order of things.* It is important to note that in the power relations established in this geopolitical logic of the *center-periphery*, there is always room for emergence and the exercise of resistance. There is never total and permanent domination.

It is clear that the notions of North and South represent more than geographic location and geopolitical dynamics on an international scale. What the North and the South represent, that is, dynamic *positions* in a vertical logic of *government* relations, allows us to see that the *position* of the North can be reproduced on national, local and interpersonal scales.

The *political ontology* proposed by Arturo Escobar (2015) offers more elements to broaden the understanding of the North and the South as a model or a perspective to critically interpret power relations in an integrative *multiscale* key. The notion of *ontology* would allow us to understand the North and the South as *worlds* or sets of *worlds* articulated through a particular *grammar.* A grammar, according to Joan-Carles Mèlich (2014, 2012), is a symbolic-normative universe (signs, symbols, beliefs, myths, rituals, habits, values, frames, practices, customs and *epistemes*) that structures experiences and everyday life, which orders, classifies and conceptualizes, which includes and excludes, which prescribes and, in this way, configures a world taken for granted. There is a world in each grammar, that is why when inheriting a grammar, a world is also inherited, one that is being made and that is never completely done; that owns us, determines us, places us, but that we can also transform and configure.

The North and the South represent worlds, ways of life, of being, of relating, of building community, of assuming *development*, of socio-political organization, etc., whose configuration is mutually conditioned or determined. In other words, in this model, it does not make sense to think of the South or the North in themselves, leaving aside the other *position.* The configuration and operation of a North are conditioned by the configuration and operation of a South, and vice versa. We are facing a relational model that, as Arturo Escobar (2015) would say, postulates that nothing and no one pre-exists the relationships that constitute it. This critical perspective, which shows the way of structuring relationships from the *North-South logic*, draws attention to how the relationships that constitute us can be traversed by government dynamics that give them a vertical shape. Verticality that unbalances, that establishes forms of colonization, control, submission, inequality (ontological, political and economic) and exploitation by the North of the South.

Now, it is not about looking for the South to become the new North. What it would be about, following Escobar (2015) and Cruz and Fontan (2014), is to decolonize North-South relations, to *deconstruct and subvert* that relational logic.

27

Ultimately, it is hoped that the situation from which one should speak of a North and a South does not exist. In Escobar's (2015) *political ontology* this translates into the affirmation and preservation of the *pluriverse*. The North-South model reveals the existence of multiple worlds that are grouped together in an agonistic dynamic in which one of those *worlds*, or a *set* of them, tries to position itself as "the" World towards which, or in which, all *worlds* should converge. The *political ontology* re-locates the North, the modern world (globalized, neoliberal-capitalist, rationalist, "civilized", individualistic, dualistic, marked by the myth of progress), as *a world among many other worlds*. This represents the *subversion* of the North-South model, through the defense of the *pluriverse*.

In this way, it is possible to avoid the aporia and the contradiction that affirming the Global South (as a new North) would entail without *exploding* the *North-South relational logic*. Thinking about peace from below, from the local and the everyday, without *subverting* that *logic*, perhaps leads authors like Cruz and Fontan (2014) to postulate a *subaltern peace*, a term that I have deliberately sought to avoid for the *foundation* of an approach to everyday peace. The notion of subalternity, although it may fulfill a function, for example, from the perspective of the construction of a *class consciousness*, it may also contribute to the configuration of identities anchored, ontologically and epistemologically, in the polarity and reproduction of the North-South model. Installing in polarity is contrary to an approach to everyday peaces that is more committed to the dialogue of knowledge, to encounters and joint construction with the different agents and institutions that are present (and even absent) in a world of life crossed by violent conflict.

The everyday peace approach that I outline here finds fertile ground in Arturo Escobar's (2015) *political ontology*. Building peace on a daily scale, in the *world of life*, entails, without being exhausted in it, caring for the pluriverse. That is, the active defense of the many *worlds* that, interconnected, inhabit the planet. It is about the claim of *autonomy* to change the *norms* (the grammar) of a world from within and on its own terms. The affirmation of the *pluriverse* implies *deconstructing* the relational dynamics that favors the colonization of one world by another and exploding the myth of the "ideal and happy world" from which all worlds should be constituted in its image and likeness.

From what has been said so far, it is understood that a condition of possibility of everyday peaces is found in the lucid and desacralizing criticism of the *gospels*, the *prophets* and the *dogmas* on which the myth of a modernity that operates as an *anthropotheistic religion*. This *democratic religion*, as Nicolás Gómez (2001; 2010) called it and as several insightful thinkers such as Walter Benjamin (1996) and Max Weber (2010) have warned, is dedicated to a perverse and im-

perative duty: capital must circulate, reproduce, expand, multiply. And for this goal everything can be sacrificed. The defense of the *pluriverse* puts the care of life before this imperative imposed by "the only completely false god". In this *care* for life and *worlds*, everyday peace can find resources, paths, territorialities and interactions conducive to germinate.

Premise No. 3.

The study and practice of peacebuilding have experienced a technocratic turn, an overvaluation of the expert and the imposition of a vertical (top-down) logic centered on institutions.

Following Roger Mac-Ginty (2014) and Cruz and Fontan (2014), a strategy that is part of the way colonizing *logic* operates in the *field* that is the subject of this work involves the import and implantation of models, in a vertical (top-down), technocratic and institutionalized way. They are models thought out and tested for other societies and contexts. This strategy entails the standardization and professionalization of a large part of the discourse, understandings, measures, activities and practices related to peacebuilding.

Faced with this panorama, an approach to everyday peaces must assume a critical and purposeful stance. One of the focuses of criticism is the position of experts that the colonizing *logic* encourages in peacebuilding professionals and the idea that "expertise" is exogenous, thus relegating local actors to the position of passive victims and recipients who lack the agency to traverse their path without external help (Cruz and Fontan, 2014; Tovar, 2013). The colonizing *logic* derives, in this scenario, in the configuration, on the one hand, of the role of "experts-saviors" (the professionals who diagnose, prescribe, guide and impose practices) and, on the other, the role of inexperienced people who must be "Saved." For Cruz and Fontan (2014), the relational dynamics that promote assuming these roles could be understood as a form of *therapeutic governance*, in which

> The external models are the recipe, the governments and peace policies are the doctors, the peace agencies are the good nurses, the communities the patients who "do not know" why they have gotten sick and do not know (nor should they dare to know) a different prescription than the one recommended by the doctor (p. 137). [Own translation]

Therapeutic governance generates bonds of dependency, subordination and assistance, as well as interventions that are *invasive* insofar as they alter routines and the local environment, ignore the resources installed, do not consult the will, availability and felt needs of people and their communities (Tovar, 2013). This contributes to silencing and marginalizing local voices and initiatives, in favor of an imposed peace, which can generate disastrous consequences in relation to the conflict that is being managed (Cruz and Fontan, 2014; Tovar, 2013).

From an everyday peace approach, it tends to denature (historicize) and *deconstruct* the role or subject position of the *expert-savior*. This entails raising the *ontological equality* between the knowing subjects and the known subjects (Vasilachis, 2006). By virtue of the recognition of this equality, the "other" towards whom the knowledge and intervention strategies are directed appears as someone who has the same capacity to produce valuable knowledge, whether or not it involves the scientific method, as well as to influence the knowing subject (Vasilachis, 2006). Along these lines, Claudia Tovar (2013) affirms the importance of genuine gestures of humility and curiosity as a reaction to the omnipotence that is often frequent among professionals who work with vulnerable populations. This requires, of course, a reflective and permanent self-criticism attitude on the part of professionals, in the face of the ontological, axiological, epistemological and methodological assumptions that guide the proposals for understanding and action that they raise. To this is added the importance of recognizing oneself as a knowing subject situated, intersectional and framed by power relations.

In accordance with the above, the perspective that assumes an approach of everyday peaces claims the agency capacity of individuals and communities, as well as the idiosyncratic knowledge and resources installed and emerging in work contexts (Mac-Ginty, 2014; Tovar, 2013). Thus, the transgression of conventional ways of producing knowledge and work practices in the field of conflicts and peace is necessary (Cruz and Fontan, 2014). The construction of knowledge and work plans in the field lead to a logic that favors cooperation, horizontal dialogue, and permanent feedback mechanisms. The importance of collecting, analyzing, making visible and celebrating the learning about peace building in everyday experiences is also highlighted (Hernández, 2013).

Celebrating everyday experiences in the *field* of peace-building offers the opportunity for new questions, demands, alternatives, methods, metaphors, and perspectives to emerge for conflict transformation, regulation, and overcoming violence. In this way, the very meanings of daily experiences in peacebuilding stand as a guiding beacon of theorizing-action (Tovar, 2013). In this regard,

Mac-Ginty (2014) draws attention to how the apparent banality of everyday life challenges us to think creatively about the perspectives and methodologies that can allow us to capture it; I would say that they allow us to *grasp* the everyday, without colonizing or subduing it.

Premise No. 4.

The scale of everyday life offers experiences, practices, resources, perspectives, and interpretations of conflicts and peace that can confront the hegemonic *logic* of a North-South geopolitical model.

The approach of which I have exposed some of its *foundations* vindicates the daily, local-community scale, without neglecting the other scales and the multiple possibilities of interrelation, as is typical of what I have called dynamic and integrative *multiscalar perspective*. This demand implies showing and celebrating the capacity for agency and the heterogeneous peacebuilding initiatives that are configured and woven from below, from the local, as well as the expertise and innovations that are not the product of academies, institutions and gurus of conflict resolution (Mac-Ginty, 2014). The idea is therefore to position the idea that external experts and their resources are not a necessary and sufficient condition, they are not indispensable, to "bring Peace" to communities and shape the *world of people's lives.*

This does not mean that the possibility of dialogue with external agents is rejected, but it does mean that, in any case, the conversations would take place in a horizontal setting, of mutual recognition, in which people and their communities can become active agents building their peace. Of course, this position entails a deep questioning of the primacy of the State and formal institutions (national and international) as the main referents for research-intervention in the *field* of conflicts and peace. It also implies wondering about the type of power relations that are built from the external cooperation that reaches the territories with resources that are often long desired by the communities. Hence the importance of investigating the way in which different communities have managed to resolve these tensions without rejecting dialogue and interaction with external agents and without allowing the co-option of the construction of their daily peace.

Roger Mac-Ginty (2014) warns that, due to positions such as those just presented, the agenda of an approach to everyday peace is potentially *subversive* because it takes the *field* of peace beyond and beyond programs, projects, initiatives, the resources, the NGOs and the international organizations that colonize and manage many of the peacebuilding scenarios. With this author it can be affirmed then that the daily-local is not an *epiphenomenon* of deep structural for-

ces, rather, it is a generative force in itself and is constitutive of the national and the transnational. This perspective, Mac-Ginty (2014) would say, contributes to counteracting a fatalism associated with the growing power of technocratic, state-centric and institutionalized approaches to peace. Fatalism that is associated with the perception of an absence of control and agency in the face of one's own conflicts and the world of life itself.

Decentralizing the *field* of work in conflicts and peace from the vertical-institutional *logic* goes hand in hand with a critique of the approach to these phenomena centered on violence, even more on direct violence. Focusing on violence can generate skepticism and despair in the face of possibilities and alternatives for building peace. Similarly, dismissing forms of cultural and structural violence may itself be a form of violence that perpetuates them, thus maintaining conditions that make the possibility of escalations of direct violence remain latent.

Consequently, an approach to everyday peace will always require a complex and comprehensive understanding of the different aspects of conflicts, key to peace building. Within that, is the construction of precise and complex representations of the "other" that go beyond one-dimensional cartoons (Mac-Ginty, 2014). It is therefore essential to aim at the deconstruction of the *dominant and saturated histories of the problem*, allowing us to see that conflicts are not total, that there are always alternative histories, resources, resistance and experiences of peace even in the most critical and virulent moments of confrontations.

From Lederach's (2016) proposal, the above is connected with the idea of betting on the strengthening of a *moral imagination* that challenges what seems to be a deadlock and structurally determined, which bursts into new territories, overflows existing opinions about perceived reality it opens up what is determined as possible, contributes to materialize possibilities, to create what does not exist or to enhance what exists without the necessary force to generate greater transformations. Along the path of Lederach (2016), the everyday peaces approach focusses on that capacity to imagine and generate responses and constructive initiatives that, even being rooted in the daily challenges of violence, transcend and, ultimately, *break* the ties of those destructive patterns and cycles.

The everyday peaces approach entails the challenge of being able to grasp the everyday in and from its own poetics, its ethos, its pathos, its aesthetic-politics (ways of life). It is essential that the subjects themselves, situated and intersectional, who build their daily lives with others are the protagonists of the interpretation and transformation of that *world of life*. However, this cannot lead to an idealization of the local-community. Subjects often incarnate, reproduce and can be seen "favored" by the violence that runs through their daily

lives. Hence, external agents, as long as they assume a position that recognizes ontological equality and guarantees horizontal scenarios, play a significant role in supporting subjects in their exercises of understanding and transforming themselves and their circumstances.

The work of understanding that I have outlined so far as the insignia of the everyday peaces approach can also be understood as a task of *historicizing* the everyday, along the path of the *ontology of the present* that articulates all the work of Michel Foucault (2014, 2004).

Premise No. 5.

The semantic field on which an approach of everyday peaces is established claims an everyday peace in the face of a *(neo)liberal* peace.

In this last premise, I address the central concept of the approach that I have been profiling from the above premises. The concept of everyday peace or structured everyday peaces this approach and contrasts (ontologically, epistemologically, methodologically and ethically-politically) with a *(neo)liberal* form of peace.

According to Juan Daniel Cruz y Victoria Fontan (2014), a liberal or *(neo) liberal* peace is one that is imposed from *above*, in a vertical, colonizing logic, through hegemonic practices in which the external (national or transnational) submit the local-everyday life. This model of peace-building is part of what Alejandro Castillejo (2017) called as *global governance* of *political transitions* (in situations of armed conflict or dictatorship). For Cruz y Fontan (2014), as I stated in the development of the third premise, this is *therapeutic governance.*

A *(neo)liberal* peace is constituted from the universalist and administrator gaze that assumes Peace as a mechanical solution for Conflict. It is also organized around States and their territories, neoliberal socio-economic development, international organizations, bureaucratic elites, and political and business classes. This dynamic, as I mentioned above, derives from the marginalization and/ or co-optation of voices and local processes. This situation, that can deepen conflicts and create the illusion that peace-building, is due exclusively to formulas and imitations of external models, as well as to the redemptive agency of peace experts. The approach of everyday peace is at the same time as all these logics, perspectives and implications of *(neo)liberal peace.*

In contrast to a *(neo)liberal peace*, Roger Mac-Ginty (2014) defines everyday peaces as the practices, techniques and norms deployed by individuals and groups, in deeply divided societies to avoid and minimize conflict and difficult

situations, both intergroup and intragroup. I believe that this definition can be reformulated and complemented to understand everyday peace as dynamic, localized (contextualized) and ritualized sets of discourses, norms, methods, practices and techniques that individuals and collectives use in daily life, within the framework of deeply divided societies, willing to direct violence and with expressions of structural violence, in order to manage their conflicts, create and care for non-violent forms of life and interaction with others.

To assume this concept of everyday peaces implies to recognize that everyday life is governed by sets of rules, the social world flows, groups are heterogeneous, environmental factors are of paramount importance (Mac-Ginty, 2014), and the domination is never total, it means, there are always possibilities for agency, resistance and *poietic action* (involves *moral imagination*, innovation, improvisation and creativity). An everyday peace must be based upon and allow agency. Its origin is local-community and works in a horizontal logic of *bottom-up* always within the framework of power relations and they are decisive for its understanding and conformation.

For the above, peace is not always obvious, it can and tend to operate almost clandestinely, in an informal area that is not immediately subject to the same controls that shape formal projects (budget cycles, reporting mechanisms, deadlines, etc.) (Mac-Ginty, 2014). In the informal context, unwritten and constant evolving governance systems emerge and apply to intergroup and intragroup relations (Mac-Ginty, 2014).

In this way, an everyday peace departs from notions, logics, programs, projects, State-centered instances and organizations, institutionalized, technocratic and bureaucratic (peace-building elites). Here is one of the main challenges for an everyday peace: to establish dialogues and cooperative relations with external (national and international bodies) without losing their autonomy and their capacity for agency, without giving in to co-optation and colonization, managing strategically the risks to the lives of those who embody this model based on local daily life. The goal is that dialogues and other interactions with elites and institutions can increase the likelihood that a daily peace will be positioned and lasted over time.

It is important to understand, in accordance with Mac-Ginty (2014), that an everyday peace is fluid and can be thought of as a continuum, with a minimalist version that concerns survival (to avoid or to calm conflict and direct violence – negative peace), and a broad vision (more positive and ambitious actions of transformation or qualitative impact on the nature of the conflict – positive peace). Flow can mean, on the other hand, that a daily peace may be possible in some periods and impossible in others, strong in some respects but weak in

others. It is also an intersectional peace (responds to aspects of class, gender, race, religion, age, etc.), differential, territorialized, embodied and dialogical (it is supported in interaction, social recognition, reciprocity, shared parameters and social responses). In different aspects it is a *parrhesiac* peace.

According to Michel Foucault (2010), the concept of *parrhesia* had extensive use in Greco-Latin antiquity. This concept connoted a vital, earlier than formal, relationship of the subject with his speech. This means that his discourse is not "true" because it obeys a set of technical rules, but it is backed by the way of life of that who enunciates it. The *parrhesist* showed a "courage of truth" by not fearing the vital risk of behaving according to his speech. This is a correspondence between action, speech and ethos. The *parrhesist* reveals, challenges and confronts the politician, the technician of the management of the social, with his "truthfulness", through his way of life.

In this sense, I suggest that an everyday peace is *parrhesiac*, because it is a peace that is not shaped and positioned in everyday life based on formal models and technical discourses, but its power lies in the ways of life, in the microso-cialities, narratives, experiences and meanings of subjects and communities that bet on strategies for the management of their conflicts, which depart from the logics of a *(neo)liberal* peace.

Therefore, its *teaching* responds more to sensitive observation, intuition, essay and error, various forms of cultural transmission, and the encounter of subjects immersed in conflict situations than to handbooks or academic literature confined to articles Q1 and Q2. In the contexts of deep socio-political division in which everyday peace initiatives are at stake, as Foucault mentions about the *parrhesist* and Lederach (2016) warms about *moral imagination*, it requires courage, willingness to risk and to advance into the unknown without further guarantee of success or security. A paradox of conflict scenarios, Lederach (2016) states that the violence is what is known, the *mystery* is peace.

This *parrhesiac* aspect, in which peace efforts become life forms with others in everyday life, as well as their local-community origin, can give everyday peace greater authenticity and legitimacy in the face of imported and hegemonic initiatives. According to Mac-Ginty (2014), it is a form of peace that can help to prevent escalation, the *hybris* of conflict, maintain some "civility" and introduce informal rules in critical situations.

The *parrhesists*, then, did not seek to walk away in order to preserve their way of life, rather they were looking for something that authors like Mac-Ginty (2014) and Lederach (2016) consider indispensable for the construction of an everyday peace, called the conquest of an *existence* in the public sphere as agents of their own peace. This involves, for example, demonopolizing the peace agen-

das of models, timelines and resource management imposed by national and international institutions (Cruz y Fontan, 2014).

The *parrhesists*, with their truthfulness, with their politics and peace embodied in their bodies, in their territory, in their way of life and in relation to others, seek to horizontalize the social field of power relations. An everyday peace, *parrhesiac*, thus becomes a category, figure and exercise of resistances. Resistance to all logic and model of (neo)liberal peace, but also with regard to any form of polarization, fatalism, dominant narrative, hegemonic and totalizing conflict. Resistance to the narratives of the "other" that reproduce ontological inequality and represent it as someone homogeneous and invariable, irrational, dangerous, illegitimate, unworthy, with whom you cannot dialogue and who can not be trusted. Resistance as a critique to the legitimacy and instrumentalizations of conflicts and violence.

Conclusions

As a colophon and invitation to continue to think of an everyday peace approach, I draw on these conclusions some reflections, challenges, questions and openings arising from the development of the above premises.

As a starting point, I consider it is necessary to make it clear that everyday peace is not limited exclusively to the world of the lives of populations in conditions of exclusion, discrimination, marginality, socio-economic precariousness or violated by direct violence. An everyday peace can, and often must, involve different sectors of society. To this contributes the commitment to the everyday peace, that here, I outline to depolarize the *world of life* and to *subvert* the *relational logic* of the North-South type. Taking on this polarizing model can lead us to settle in a place of subaltern identity and in a militancy that seeks to break entirely with the above; with the North, elites, institutions and the State (locally, regionally, nationally and transnationally). In this regard, I remark on the importance of reconstructing relationships from and in everyday life, understood as a generative force in itself, but without "idealizing" it.

At this point, I consider it is necessary to problematize and add nuance to the way in which some of the considerations on everyday peace were presented, and that they could create the impression that a dichotomic perspective is being proposed that aims to encapsulate forms of peace-building into two ideal categories or types: everyday peaces and neoliberal peace. I believe that, it is not

feasible to assume that all peace-building experiences can be placed or aligned in one of these two forms of understanding and interpretation.

Each experience of peace, although in principle may give rise to the impression that it can be recognized from one way or another of building peace, can involve or develop complex forms of hybridization, contradictions, continuity and discontinuities, displacement, transits and transformations. Interconnections may occur between different forms of peace-building. Presences and incidents of logics of a neoliberal peace in the experiences of daily peace, as well as the logics of everyday peaces influence the way in which to proceed in peace-building scenarios signed by presence and technocratic management.

It is also important to note that at non-local scales and state areas non-neoliberal logics can operate, it means, those are not necessarily prerogative of the local-daily scale. I believe that, phenomenological and ethnographic approaches to peace-building experiences, without excluding other methodological approaches, can determine one's own movements of understanding and interpretation, as well as their relevance in contributing to the strengthening of those experiences.

On the other hand, it is risky to be unaware that conflicts, violence, exclusion logics, neoliberalism and capitalism are also built from the South, from *below*, from the local. We cannot fall into the trap of "idealizing" the everyday and community strategies as if they were perfect and free from contradictions, conflicts, risks, ideologies, particular interests, reproductions of colonizing logics and perverse effects, just by emerging from *below*. An everyday peaces approach cannot deny or ignore the historical configuration and presence of conflicts, and violence that may exist in communities and territories where challenges arise for building peace. In fact, it is possible that one factor that stokes these conflicts is the different understandings and bets on how they are understood and how peace is built.

To pretend *breaking* with the State, institutions, organizations and elites may involve entering into the *game* of neoliberalism, which shifts responsibility (and guilt) for change and "development" to individuals and their communities. An example of the above is pointed out by Mac-Ginty (2014) in relation to the superficial agendas that elevate "resilience" to the status of the idea of the cure for everything (an ideological view that connects neoliberalism and communitarianism). Without facilitating the "hand washing" of governments, an everyday peaces approach aims to build bridges of horizontal dialogue and joint, collaborative and co-crafting construction between local peace experiences, and agents and institutions working in other scenarios and scales. To this end, it is essential to advocate for the recognition of *ontological equality* for all.

A peace built from the local can find it difficult to connect with the level of the elites. However, some kind of interaction is necessary to prevent the elites from attacking the processes of building everyday peace. In this sense, those who interact with the elites should seek to take into account the fears and risks that they may be perceiving, in order to contribute to managing them strategically.

This everyday peaces approach advocates a dynamic view of power relations that allows peace initiatives to have more and better tools to persist, resist, adapt, strengthen, to take a place in and influence the public sphere. It is also a matter of claiming the legitimacy and power of knowledge that is built from the local, from whom it is usually placed in the position of known and enunciated subject. A knowledge not only about themselves, their experiences and their worlds of life, but about elites, government and, in general, those who have historically studied, categorized, theorized, enunciated, modelled, calculated and governed.

In everyday life, on the local scale, there are epistemologies, ways of thinking and relating, that an approach of everyday peace must vindicate and express the knowledge from academia and other institutions, that affect the field of conflicts and peace. It is important that everyday peace experiences and initiatives implement a dynamic and strategic view of power relations, the functioning of government, rulers and other elites, in order to enhance their actions, their chances of resisting attempts to co-opt or instrumentalize them, and their scope in terms of transforming conflicts and violence.

This dynamic and multi-step view of power relations recalls Niccolò Machiavelli's warning to Lorenzo de Medici in his dedication to the Prince. There, Machiavelli speaks to everyone who aspires to govern and move properly in the webs of power:

> And I don't want it to be taken as a presumption if a man of low and humble condition dares to discuss and settle the concerns of princes; because, just as those who draw landscapes place themselves below in the plain to contemplate the nature of the mountains and of lofty places, and in order to contemplate the plains place themselves upon high mountains, even so to understand the nature of the people it needs to be a prince, and to understand that if princes it needs to be of the people. (Maquiavelo, 2010, pp. 76-77). [Own translation]

This set of perspectives and positions is key to a daily peace approach that raises the need for complex ways of understanding the world and themselves, which renounces linear views of causality and simplifies phenomena. This approach embraces the uncertainty that the commitment to a permanent pro-

blematization of its own premises and actions can generate. You feel comfortable understanding and interacting with the paradoxes of the *world of life*, navigating through the flow of ever-provisional experiences, meanings and metaphors, as well as betting on a *poietic* action that is not disconnected from the material conditions of existence.

A complex and strategic understanding of contexts and power relations may be essential for circumvention, as Mac-Ginty (2014) points out, the possibility, generally present, that everyday peace initiatives become the target of the exercise of violence when they threaten the narratives of division and incompatibility to be perpetuated or intergroup boundaries, as well as when they open up real possibilities for structural transformations. Even members of the community in which everyday peace initiatives are born can also deposit violence and escalation of conflict when they find contact and dialogues with external agents threatening and/or threaten their privileges. This is why strategic management of fear, risk, hopelessness, prejudice and interests is a main aspect of building everyday peaces and must be done both within the community, and in interaction with external actors.

I would like to conclude with some reflections on the role of the academy in the face of everyday peace initiatives, bearing in mind that from there, a contribution is made to produce knowledge and practices that can influence peace-building at different scales. A clear call from the approach of everyday peaces is to question the (neo)liberal model of peace; this is a model whose budgets and concepts are often included in research-intervention projects, even more so when framed by funding and/or cooperation with official institutions[2]. In addition, such an approach creates significant tension for professionals working in the field of conflict and peace by asking them to resign from the position of expert-colonizer-saviors, and still require them to commit to "making a difference" by interacting with subjects and their communities.

The question then arises about the principles and strategies that can contribute to adequately dealing with this tension. This also leads us to ask about the role that the academy can play in building dialogues and interactions between everyday peace experiences and formal institutions or scenarios, so that they do not become more or less obvious forms of co-optation, colonization and instrumentalization.

It is also a challenge for the academy to avoid colonizing and instrumentalizing everyday peace initiatives by prioritizing the struggles of training, re-

---

2. For a critical approach to this scenario and its tensions, I suggest to consult the reflections set out in the text "(Re)politicizing Development Cooperation: Public discourses, practices and policies for transformative international solidarity" (Belda-Miguel, Boni y Sañudo, 2018, pp. 37-60).

search and knowledge production that favors products that are "high impact" according to the neoliberal trend that increasingly dominates academia.

A thorough fieldwork, respectful of *ontological equality* of cognizant subjects and known subjects (Vasilachis, 2006) and, consequently, open to the collective construction of knowledge, it is essential to understand how everyday peace initiatives operate, and how we can humbly contribute to their success and sustainability. Here is another challenge related to the fact that everyday peace activities can be highly localized and context-dependent.

It is about the importance of managing limits on how and where a particular commitment to everyday peace can operate, as well as the possibilities of inspiring and mobilizing initiatives in other contexts. Beyond the aspirations for replicability that science reveals, it is about how to connect with initiatives elsewhere, and how to expand the incidence range. In other words, how to move from small island scenarios and oasis of peace to a growing and dynamic context of archipelagoes that share knowledge, strategies, learnings and empower each other.

The academy cannot simply be the translator, theorizer and viewer of what emerges from the local-everyday-community. It must help to prevent violent *rupture* between the everyday, the *bottom*, and the different instances, institutions and agents that form an *up* in power relations. It is a commitment to the horizontalization of interactions around peace-building, as well as to the deconstruction of false dichotomies, and multiple forms of polarization. It is the commitment to help local subjects and experiences of daily peace to achieve strong public existence as peace-building agents. The existence that can be compromised by violent rupture with what is set on the top.

But it is not just about helping to position everyday life in the public sphere, besides that, it implies criticism of false dichotomy that seeks to differentiate and distance daily life and the public sphere. The *world of everyday life* is a generative constituent and dynamizing force of the public sphere.

References

Belda-Miguel, S.; Boni, A.; Sañudo, M. (2018). (Re)politizar la cooperación al desarrollo: Discursos, prácticas y políticas públicas para una solidaridad internacional transformadora. In G. Tonon (Comp.). *Nuevas propuestas para estudiar ciencias sociales* (pp. 37-60). Universidad de Palermo.

Benjamin, W. (1996). Capitalism as Religion. In M. Bullock & M. Jennings (Eds.). *Selected Writings 1913-1926* (pp. 288-291). Harvard University Press.

Castillejo, A. (2000). *Poética de lo otro. Para una antropología de la guerra, la soledad y el exilio interno en Colombia.* ARFO Editores.

Castillejo, A. (2017). Dialécticas de la fractura y la continuidad: elementos para una lectura crítica de las transiciones. In A. Castillejo (Ed.). *La ilusión de la justicia transicional: perspectivas críticas desde el Sur global* (pp. 17-106). Universidad de los Andes.

Cruz, J. D.; Fontan, V. (2014). Una mirada subalterna y desde abajo de la cultura de paz. *Ra-Ximhai, 10*(2), 135-152. http://www.revistas.unam.mx/index.php/rxm/article/download/71182/62885

Escobar, A. (2015). Territorios de diferencia: la ontología política de los "derechos al territorio". *Cuadernos de antropología social, 41*, 25-38. http://revistascientificas.filo.uba.ar/index.php/CAS/article/view/1594/1520

Flórez-Malagón, A. (2002). Disciplinas, transdisciplinas y el dilema holístico: una reflexión desde Latinoamérica. In A. Flórez-Malagón y C. Millán (Eds.). *Desafíos de la transdisciplinariedad* (pp. 128-154). Pontificia Universidad Javeriana -Instituto Pensar.

Foucault, M. (2004). *La hermenéutica del sujeto.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Foucault, M. (2010). *El coraje de la verdad: el gobierno de sí y de los otros II.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Foucault, M. (2014). *El gobierno de sí y de los otros*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Gómez, N. (2001). *Escolios a un texto implícito. Selección*. Villegas Editores.

Gómez, N. (2010). *Textos*. Ediciones Atalanta.

Haraway, D. (1991). *Ciencia, ciborgs y mujeres. La reinvención de la naturaleza*. Ediciones Cátedra.

Hernández, E. (2013). Mediaciones en el conflicto armado colombiano. Hallazgos desde la investigación para la paz. *CONfines de Relaciones Internacionales y Ciencia Política*, *9*(18), 31-75. http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/confines/v9n18/v9n18a2.pdf

Lederach, J. P. (2016). *La imaginación moral: el arte y el alma de la construcción de la paz*. Semana Libros.

Mac-Ginty, R. (2014). Everyday Peace: Bottom-up and Local Agency in Conflict-Affected Societies. *Security Dialogue*, *45*(6), 548–564. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0967010614550899

Maquiavelo, N. (2010). *El príncipe*. Ediciones Akal.

Mèlich, J. C. (2012). *Filosofía de la finitud*. Herder.

Mèlich, J. C. (2014). *Lógica de la crueldad*. Herder.

Muñoz, F. (Ed.). (2001). *La paz imperfecta*. Editorial Universidad de Granada.

Muñoz, F. (s. f.). *La paz imperfecta*. Instituto de la paz y los conflictos de la Universidad de Granada. https://www.ugr.es/~fmunoz/documentos/pimunozespañol.pdf

Ricoeur, P. (2001). *La metáfora viva*. Editorial Trotta.

Tovar, C. (2013). Desplazamiento forzado: potencia política de la acción psicosocial. In A. Castillejo (Ed.). *Violencia, memoria y sociedad: Debates y agendas en la Colombia actual* (pp. 391-408). Editorial Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino.

Vasilachis, I. (2006). La investigación cualitativa. In I. Vasilachis (Coord.). *Estrategias de investigación cualitativa* (pp. 23-64). Gedisa Editorial.

Weber, M. (2012). *La ética protestante y el espíritu del capitalismo.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

The Paradigm of Imperfect Peace in a Refugee Camp: Pacifist Empowerment of Sahrawi Adolescents*

[English version]

El paradigma de paz imperfecta en un campamento de refugiados: empoderamiento pacifista de adolescentes saharauis

O paradigma da paz imperfeita em um campo de refugiados: empoderamento pacifista de adolescentes do Saarawi

Diana Feo-Ardila **
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6906-2344
Colombia
Gladys-Adriana Espinel-Rubio ***
https://orcid.org /0000-0002-8796-9257
Colombia

** Visual artist. Master in Culture of Peace, Conflicts, Education and Human Rights from the University of Granada, Spain; Master's degree in Child and Youth Social Problems from the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. Member of the Communication and Media Research Group (GICOM) of the Francisco de Paula Santander University (UFPS), Colombia. Advisor and consultant in community processes with a population that is a victim of the internal armed conflict and/or at risk of being so, and with urban, rural and indigenous communities in conditions of social vulnerability. With an investigative trajectory on identity and migration issues with children and adolescents. Email: dianafeoa@gmail.com

*** Partner-journalist communicator. Master in Studies on Latin American political problems from the Universidad del Cauca. PhD candidate in Political Science at the University of Zulia, Venezuela. Assistant professor of the Department of Pedagogy, Andragogy, Communication and Multimedia of the Francisco de Paula Santander University (UFPS), Colombia. Director of the Communication and Media Research Group (GICOM). Email: gladysespinel@ufps.edu.co

Abstract

Objective: to identify the paradigm of imperfect peace based on pacifist empowerment, built through the identity of resistance and the transmission of historical memory in a group of adolescents residing in the Sahrawi refugee camp in Tindouf, Algeria. **Methodology:** this qualitative research focused on social constructionism. Photo-elicitation, social cartography and artistic creation were the data collection instruments, as well as focus groups and semi-structured interviews. **Results:** the narratives, feelings, concerns and experiences of nine adolescents were collected, recognizing them as carriers and generators of knowledge, who account for their perceptions and alternatives about their past, present and future. It was also found that the history of resistance of the Saharawi people constitutes an example of pacifist empowerment, since they are recognized and recreated daily from their discursive practices and their peaceful community commitments, as well as in the strengthening of their social fabric, based on values such as cooperation and solidarity. **Conclusions:** it is concluded that imperfect peace is elucidated as a process and or an unfinished path, where social and environmental realities evolve, being in continuous movement, as well as the conflicts.

Keywords: Adolescents; Refugees; Imperfect peace; Empowerment; Historical memory; Identity; International Solidarity; Research on peace.

Resumen

Objetivo: identificar el paradigma de la paz imperfecta sustentado en el empoderamiento pacifista, construido a través de la identidad de resistencia y la transmisión de la memoria histórica en un grupo de adolescentes residentes en el campamento de refugiados saharauis en Tinduf, Argelia. **Metodología:** se trata de una investigación cualitativa, enfocada desde el construccionismo social. Por medio de la fotoelicitación, también se aplicó la cartografía social y la creación artística, además de grupos focales y entrevistas semiestructuradas, como instrumentos de recolección de información. **Resultados:** se recuperaron las narrativas, sentires, inquietudes y vivencias de nueve adolescentes, reconociéndolos como sujetos portadores y generadores de conocimientos, que dan cuenta de sus percepciones y alternativas sobre su pasado, presente y futuro. También se halló que la historia de resistencia del pueblo saharaui se constituye en ejemplo de empoderamiento pacifista, pues éstos se reconocen y recrean cotidianamente desde sus prácticas discursivas y sus apuestas comunitarias pacíficas, así como en el fortalecimiento de su tejido social, basado en valores como la cooperación y la solidaridad. **Conclusiones:** se concluye que la paz imperfecta se dilucida como

un proceso y/o un camino inacabado, en dónde las realidades sociales y ambientales evolucionan, estando en continuo movimiento, así como las conflictividades.

Palabras-clave: Adolescentes; Refugiados; Paz imperfecta; Empoderamiento; Memoria histórica; Identidad; Solidaridad internacional; Investigación sobre la paz.

Resumo

Objetivo: identificar o paradigma da paz imperfeita sustentado pelo empoderamento pacifista, construído através da identidade da resistência e da transmissão da memória histórica em um grupo de adolescentes residentes no campo de refugiados do Saarawi em Tinduf, Argélia. **Metodologia:** trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa, com enfoque no construcionismo social. A foto-elicitação, a cartografia social e a criação artística foram utilizadas como instrumentos de coleta de informações, bem como grupos focais e entrevistas semiestruturadas. **Resultados:** as narrativas, sentimentos, preocupações e experiências de nove adolescentes foram recuperadas, reconhecendo-os como portadores e geradores de conhecimento, que respondem por suas percepções e alternativas sobre seu passado, presente e futuro. Verificou-se também que a história de resistência do povo saharaui constitui um exemplo de empoderamento pacifista, visto que são reconhecidos e recriados diariamente a partir das suas práticas discursivas e dos seus compromissos pacíficos comunitários, bem como no fortalecimento do seu tecido social, com base em valores como cooperação e solidariedade. **Conclusões:** conclui-se que a paz imperfeita é diluída como um processo e/ou um caminho inacabado, onde as realidades sociais e ambientais evoluem, estando em movimento contínuo, bem como conflitos.

Palavras-chave: Adolescentes; Refugiados; Paz imperfeita; Empoderamento; Memória histórica; Identidade; Solidariedade Internacional; Pesquisa de paz.

Introduction

The imperfect peace proposed by Muñoz (2001) facilitates the understanding of the tensions that emerge between peaceful paths in relation to the violent ones, and the social mediations that occur in such circumstances. Thus, it recognizes that all human groups have capacities for the development of peace, making use of pacifist empowerment; that is, the exercise of integrative power (Boulding, 1993) or from peace as an internal and personal decision to act and transform their environment, by becoming aware of the capacities for peace and endorsing the potentialities of other beings for their development (Loaiza, 2016).

From this perspective, this article identifies the paradigm of imperfect peace based on pacifist empowerment, built through the identity of resistance and historical memory in a group of adolescents living in the Sahrawi refugee camp in Tindouf, who in their stories expressed conceptions of their situation of refuge and exile, as well as the history of forced migration and the conflict of their people, which has transformed imaginaries and environments, generating tensions and fragmentation of the social fabric that are overcome by the decision to live together in peace.

The Cartagena Declaration (Refworld, 1984) defines refugees as people who have fled their country because their life, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order.

Due to the condition of the camps, which, for the most part, are closed and delimited areas where a kind of relationship of assistance and protection has been configured between the refugees and those who assist them, discourses have been built around the refugee, either as victims or as recipients of humanitarian aid; this has generated a stigmatization of them as lacking and limited, underestimating or ignoring (in some cases) the management and empowerment capacity of its inhabitants (Valdivia, 2013).

However, in the Sahrawi refugee camp – a people that despite experiencing the drama of exile and daily facing the systematic violation of their human rights – has shown interest in finding a peaceful solution to the conflict, turning this resistance into an imperfect peace initiative. This shows "that the phenomena of peace and violence co-exist (probably in different scales and manifestations); and even in the most adverse and infamous situations it is possible to make life emerge and spread peace" (Loaiza, 2016, p. 63). [Own translation]

Faced with this scenario, it is convenient to speak of peace understood as a cultural construction and constitutive element of social realities and as a symbol of interpretation and action, where plexuses of emotions and subjective and intersubjective cognitions are involved (Muñoz and Martínez, 2011). Therefore, the importance of recognizing "those spaces and instances in which actions that create peace can be detected, even though they are in contexts in which conflicts and violence exist" (López, 2011, p. 9)), including and recognizing from a conflict perspective the different experiences of peace, both of individuals and of groups.

In the framework of this research, the experiences of pacifist empowerment in a group of adolescents were identified, recognizing them as carriers of information and their importance in the construction of knowledge, and discursive practices. In addition, understanding adolescence as a collective image that is historically modified depending on the structural situation in which it is found, which accounts for various experiences and representations about what it means to be an adolescent in different sociocultural contexts, as well as from the dimensions of diversity and social inequality (Colangelo, 2014).

The studies on the transnational migratory phenomenon and the refugee situation through the perspective and the paradigm of imperfect peace, are relatively recent and their advances from empirical research, theoretical understanding and methodological orientation are under development; These scenarios need to be approached in a comprehensive manner, taking into account various dimensions for their understanding (Sandoval, 2009; Egea and Soledad, 2011).

Therefore, this article sought to answer the questions: In what way is the paradigm of imperfect peace expressed in the Sahrawi adolescents in the Tindouf camp? Is there a pacifist empowerment configuration? Through what mechanisms is historical memory and the identities of resistance recreate the conditions to understand peace as a process and/or an unfinished path, understanding that social and environmental realities evolve and are in continuous movement, as well as conflictive forms?

Background and Theoretical Framework

Investigations on the Sahrawis in the Camps.

Until the first decade of the 21st century, academic research on the Tindouf refugee camps was scant. Canales (2009), pointed out that the camps are a "*dramatic part of the Saharawi people with little bibliographic reference*" (p. 1).

Los Saharauis (The Western Saharans), written by Hodges (1984) and translated by Portillo (2014) is so far the most significant document published in Spanish. The Hogdes report was commissioned and published, at the time, by The Minority Rights Group (MRG) to promote public understanding of the issue.

Hodges's investigation has proven validity, since in 2012, the New York Bar Association used it in its Report on the legal aspects of the conflict in Western Sahara (Portillo, 2014).

Other references on the Sahrawis are reports from NGOs, cooperation agencies and official documents from the UNHCR and IOM. In addition, there are reports from the mass media, but in the last decade (2010 to the present) there have been important advances, especially in understanding the teaching and learning process within the camp.

Pozuelo and Gimeno (2010), stand out for their theory committed to postcolonial analysis and anthropological practice through research carried out by mixed teams: Sahrawis and non-Sahrawis and mentioning the works of Mato (2000) and Gimeneo and Ali (2007) In addition, Pozuelo and Gimeno (2010) state that studies have been carried out on Sahrawi youth in 2005 and the possible creation of a desert university in 2009, in addition to research on the reality of the Sahara (in 2008), the Vacations in Peace project for Sahrawi children (in 2006), labor market research (2007), studies interested in Saharawi oral poetry (2009) and the scientific recovery of Sahrawi graduates in Cuba in 2010 (Pozuelo and Gimeno, 2010, p. 2).

For their part, Aranda, Arias and González (2012) described the Saharawi teacher training project in the camps; Jiménez (2015), in his doctoral thesis studied the profile, context, competences, needs and interests of teachers who teach Spanish; Calero, Cruz and Campos (2016) and Abdala (2017) presented studies on the training of health promoters and on inclusive educational practices in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

Investments into Pacifist Empowerment

Both pacifist empowerment and the paradigm of imperfect peace are conceptual categories of recent appearance and study. The most outstanding investigations in Colombia are those carried out by Anacona (2019), Fernández (2018), Hernández, (2014, 2015).

Anacona (2019) proposed the dialogue between the perspective of imperfect peace and the decolonial paradigm to explain the process of pacifist empowerment of the women of the Yanakuna Indigenous Council of Cali, Colombia. In her work, the researcher epistemologically and methodologically triangulated

the worldview of the Chakana or Cruz del Sur, with research-action-participation and decolonial community feminism. Thanks to this, she found conceptions of peace as a principle that mobilizes and integrates her people and nonviolent actions, expressed, for example, through weaving, "women point out that the construction of peace is a constant reflection that implies unraveling whenever possible. It is necessary to always look for the best fabric" (Anacona, 2019, p. 452).

Fernández (2018) studied the pacifist empowerment of Afro-descendant women from La Toma, in Suárez, Cauca (Colombia). It concluded that they chose to use nonviolent mechanisms such as mobilizations, solidarity scenarios for territorial planning, and legal mechanisms for the protection of their rights, despite living in a context with expressions of violence. Thus, they manage to resignify power with the implementation of "their potentialities and capacities for dialogue, agreement and mobilization of processes with which they share worldviews typical of black communities" (p. 97), that is to say, those typical of their collective identity.

For his part, Hernández (2015) explained the peace process between the Colombian government and the Farc-Ep as an attempt at pacifist empowerment. He highlighted the transformation generated by this empowerment: the meeting of divergent ideological and military shores, the dialogue between enemies, the definition of a negotiation roadmap, the overcoming of deadlocks and saboteurs, and the reaching of agreements in general and in part, which allow the configuration of a new reality. Pacifist empowerment is defined here, firstly, as the awareness of the capacities that exist for the peaceful transformation of conflicts and, secondly, as "the processes in which peace, the peaceful transformation of conflicts, the satisfaction of needs or the development of capacities occupy the largest possible personal, public and political space" (Hernández, 2015, p. 183). [Own translation]

In his doctoral thesis "Pacifist empowerment of local community experiences in Colombia (1971-2013)", Hernández (2014) addressed the experiences of civil resistance as an expression of pacifist empowerment because there is generation and appropriation of nonviolent power. So, those who resist, in this case: the Cauca Regional Indigenous Council (CRIC) and the Carare Peasant Workers Association (ATCC), recognize their power and potential for change and action, coupled with the ability to oppose the dominant power. In addition, he defined pacifist empowerment as:

> Perfectible processes that allow the development of capacities and competences, individual, community or collective, to build imperfect or unfinished peace; they recognize and position experiences of the same nature; they appropriate and promote a concept of nonviolent power in their own organizational forms, their social and political participation, when designing a more democratic and peaceful future; and they create spaces for interaction and dialogue for the peaceful transformation of conflicts. For all these reasons, they give power to peace (Hernández, 2014, p. 22). [Own translation]

Regarding pacifist empowerment as a concept and its developments in Latin America and Mexico, Sandoval (2015) concluded that it is based on thinking, feeling, acting differently, so that conditions are socially transformed in a nonviolent manner "based on the knowledge, respect and application of human rights, the search for social justice and freedom in the society of which he is a part "(p. 93). [Own translation]

Concerning the involvement of children, adolescents and young people in peacebuilding processes, the investigations are diverse and dispersed, since they are enunciated and interpreted from a wide categorical spectrum; they are approached from the collective action, political agency, subjectivities and territorialities that make up the conceptual repertoire in which these investigations are framed. The truth is that a good part of them highlight the situated nature of the experiences they analyze, being a determining factor for their understanding, as is the case in this article. In Colombia, the work of Posada et al. (2018); Salas, Valenzuela and Prada (2019); Parra (2014) and Alvarado, Patiño and Loaiza (2012) is highlighted.

In relation to the experiences of peacebuilding in a refugee situation, the works of Romariz (2012) stand out, "You have your Lebanon and I have mine: conflict-induced displacement and identity", there he explained how fundamental it has been the transmission of historical memory to Lebanese adults who have had to grow up abroad, after their parents were forced into migration and forced exile during the war that took place in Lebanon between 1975 and 1990. AND Valdivia (2013), who analyzed the experience of the musical group Sierra Leone's Refugee All Stars as refugees in the Kalia and Sembakounya camps, in Guinea after the civil war in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2001.

Imperfect Peace, Historical Memory and Identity of Resistance

Fisas (1998), clarified that peace is something more than the absence of armed conflict; it has to do with overcoming, reducing or avoiding all types of violence and with the ability that citizens may have to transform these conflicts into creative opportunities for meeting, communication, change, adaptation and exchange, which will allow the construction of a culture of peace. However, this process is not straightforward. For Mayor (1994), going from war to peace includes the transformation of a society dominated by the State, as the sole guarantor of security in a world at risk, to a civil society, "in which people work, create and they develop the fabric of their existence in communities freed from the fears inherent in a culture of war"(p. 16). [Own translation]

The approach of understanding peace from a complex and conflictual perspective, recognizing the ways in which human beings, in the face of extreme violence situations, act cooperatively and in solidarity, opens the scientific dialogue within the framework of peace research to a new paradigm, which Muñoz (2001) called imperfect or unfinished peace.

Muñoz (2001) poses a break from the conceptions of a perfect and utopian peace, and on the other hand, he recognizes peaceful practices where they occur, helping to plan for future conflict. This perspective has become an instrument for peace research, since it incorporates the debate and construction of new paradigms to understand and build more peaceful, just and durable worlds over time, with greater equity between genders and ethnic groups (Muñoz, 2001).

Thus, imperfect peace could be understood as:

> ... all these experiences and stages in which conflicts have been peacefully regulated, that is, in which individuals and/or human groups have chosen to facilitate the satisfaction of the needs of others, without any cause beyond their will preventing this (Muñoz, 2001, p. 14). [Own translation]

Since *imperfect peace* is present in life on a daily basis and all human beings have enormous potential for building peace, a new challenge for the social researcher is to identify spaces and situations in different contexts where human beings build, foster and enhance relationships.

Muñoz (2001) proposes the generation of a connection between past, present and future, where the processes of construction, recreation and feeding of collective identities, in this case of refugees, can be constituted as key factors for the recognition of the exercise of their citizenship, of their human rights and the recovery of their human dignity, as well as in a form of pacifist empowerment and mediations between conflicts and pacifist practices.

Muñoz and Martínez (2011) understand power as an intrinsic aspect of human relationships, therefore, all people and groups have power and exercise it in different ways and intensities.

At this point, it can be said that all human conditions (capacities, potentialities, projects, needs and conflicts) and social formations (cultures, religions, migrations, peace, violence) Muñoz and Martínez (2011), as well as circumstances, experiences and context are part of the construction of our identity, and the use of power or empowerment must contribute to the recognition and maintenance of said identity, whether individual or collective, strengthening the capacity to understand and transform social dynamics and changes (as necessary and possible). Empowering oneself, as Muñoz (2001) expresses, supposes a negotiation with the various organizations and institutions in the environment.

Hence the importance of appropriating a pacifist conception of power and the ability to exercise it either individually or in a group, where the fight for the guarantee of their rights has a nonviolent strategy as an ethical and rational decision since violence is renounced, "Because they are convinced of it or because in their analysis of the advantages and disadvantages they come to the conclusion that nonviolence will bring more benefits to avoid a negative escalation of the conflict" (Girela, 2016, p.125). [Own translation]. Thus, the efforts and processes are directed towards the construction of a more peaceful reality, recognizing all those capacities, practices and actions that contribute to the strengthening of a peaceful environment and a social fabric, in which the actors are interested in promoting and maintenance of this environment.

In the case of the Sahrawis, these processes of resistance and pacifist empowerment have been developing in recent years after the signing of the peace accords in 1991, strengthened in a physical space such as the camp. According to Castillejo (2000), in the camp, the conception of transience is transformed and configured in an environment. It is there, where it begins, despite the lack of certainty in the future. The camp is constituted in a place of experiences and experiences of empowerment where "people negotiate their existence, their spaces of meaning and their identity" (Valdivia, 2013, p. 136). [Own translation]. Thus, refugee camps are assumed as liminal spaces where meanings and relationships are configured. The latter germinate in memory, understood as a process that grants meaning and significance, an "intersubjective process, of dialogue between individuals and society, all this framed in a system of values and beliefs and materialized in experiences and representations (Carrizosa, 2011, p. 38). [Own translation].

Thus, the past does not invade the present, but rather informs it, strengthening the sense of belonging of the individual and the communities. For this reason, if the social and collective character is recognized, memory is constituted as an element of identity (both individual and collective), since it is decisive in the way in which subjectivity is apprehended and constructed. For all these reasons,

> Memory, apart from the constructions that each individual produces and shares, is rooted and situated where spaces, ties of belonging, solidarity and sociability are shared. The community is the setting where the language games that are part of a way of life take place and are sustained, it is there where the expressions and actions with which the subjects face adversity are built and, in this case, they build memory (Carrizosa, 2011, p. 38). [Own translation].

Identity in the framework of this study was approached from a sociological and anthropological approach, establishing a direct relationship with the subjects' discourse (their personal experience) and social interaction, Giménez (2000). The "we" that results from this, serves to advance in the constitution of a common action, necessary to conform the social patrimony. Berger and Luckmann (1999) affirm that it is through the socialization processes that a person constitutes their identity, and this is a function of the social group in which this process is historically carried out, that is, a dialectical relationship is configured between the individual and their social context.

Thus posed the question, it is pertinent to introduce the concept of collective identities (Giménez, 2009) focused on the development of the concept of identity of resistance in the framework of studies for peace; the importance of shaping the identities of refugees is recognized, rescuing the existing diversity and, above all, valuing differences and contributions in light of the need to achieve peaceful coexistence among human beings.

Castells (1999), argues that the identity of resistance is conceived by those actors who find themselves in some conditions of undervaluation, stigmatization, social exclusion and/or domination (politics), a description that is considerably close to the reality of the Saharawi refugee camp. In these contexts, identity is appealed to as defense of the community and spaces of resistance, opposition, alternative and survival are built as forms of self-identification, based on various cultural or material elements of their territorial, national, ethnic history, among others. In this way, social groups or marginalized communities,

continuing with Castells's (1999) approach, resist with what they have because they cannot do it as citizens, because as citizens they are minorities who do not have their rights represented.

The Historical Context and the Reality of the Protagonists of this Research

The history of the Saharawi people is scattered, therefore, the present approach to the origin of the conflict and its evolution was based on primary sources (interviews with social and political actors in the camp) and the Saharawi website, relating this information to that offered by the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

After having been under the colonial control of Spain until 1958, during the 1960s, they tried to access their right to self-determination and achieve their independence by holding a referendum like the majority of the African peoples who were under the dominion of some European power. However, in view of the difficulties in successfully completing this process, they decided to organize militarily, giving birth, in 1975, to the Movement for the Liberation of Western Sahara, called the Polisario Front, being protagonists of the struggle for their independence at the popular, military, political and diplomatic level.

Spain did not grant sovereignty and allowed the intervention of Morocco and Mauritania who assumed a new power. Despite this, on February 27, 1976, the same day that the last Spanish soldier left the territory, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) was born, officially proclaimed in Bir Lehlu.

In 1979, Mauritania signed a peace agreement with the Polisario Front, withdrawing and renouncing any intention over the territory, a situation that the Moroccan government takes advantage of, thanks to the military, political and economic support of some powers, maintains the illegal occupation of the territory and the war against the Polisario Front, promoting the migration and exile of a large part of the Saharawi population. Between 1980 and 1984, Morocco built a set of seven defensive walls (with a length greater than 2,720 km.) With the aim of creating a dividing line between the territories invaded by them and the territories liberated by the Polisario Front. These walls guarded by approximately 100,000 soldiers and where more than 7 million anti-personnel mines were planted around them, consolidated into a military zone that made it difficult for the Sahrawi refugees to return to their legitimate territory, presenting different human rights violations in the framework of a war that lasted until the end of 1989.

In September 1991, they signed the peace accords through resolution 690 of the UN Security Council, initiating a ceasefire in order to resolve the sovereignty of the SADR, promoting the holding of a referendum on self-determination. It is important to note that, since the signing of the peace accords, the Saharawi people decided not to keep political prisoners and to carry out any armed attack or violations of international humanitarian law, strengthening the idea of civil resistance in search of a final resolution to the conflict by peaceful and nonviolent means.

At present, more than 200 thousand Sahrawis continue to live in exile somewhere in the Algerian Sahara Desert. In the oldest camp in the world, its inhabitants symbolically evoke the memory of their country of origin, through the administrative distribution of space in five wilayas (provinces), which bear the same names as the cities of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. In each Wilaya, precariousness is experienced daily, water, electricity and food are increasingly scarce, a situation that worsens due to the difficult climatic conditions of the territory where they are settled.

Methodology

This is a qualitative research based on the reality of 9 adolescents between 11 and 16 years old who voluntarily agreed to participate in the activities[1], residents in the Tindouf refugee camp, selected through a non-probabilistic convenience sampling by Hartani Buseif, director of the Jalil Sidi Mohamed middle school located in the Wilaya de Bojador. They are: Tislem (14 years old), Embarka (13 years old), Bichu (13 years old), Mariam (16 years old), Nayat (15 years old), Mohamed (14 years old), Nafi (13 years old), Chej (12 years old) and Elhga (15 years old), who shared the necessary profile for the present study: they had been born and lived all their lives in the camp, they recognize themselves as Saharawi, they were in school at the time of the research and they understood and spoke Spanish fluently, they constitute the skeleton and above all heart of this study.

The methodological focus of the research is social constructionism, based on Berger and Luckmann (1995), to understand how adolescents self-produce

---

1. Regarding informed consent, the endorsement was obtained with the director of the educational institution who selected and consented to the participation of adolescents, framing the research proposal as an activity of the educational institution. In addition to this, there was the endorsement, support and evaluation of the Association of Friendship with the Saharawi People of Seville, Spain (AAPSS).

socially, and at the same time they create and resignify the symbolic frameworks of culture and the world of social relations. from the language, allowing to approach in a reliable way and their own narratives, to their conceptions in relation to their context and the way in which they have constructed their reality from their situation of refuge, trying to understand their lived experience and social reality through of the interpretation of what is expressed (verbal, written and graphic). In this way, it was possible to understand the importance of the transmission of historical memory, not only with respect to a present reality, but also in light of their beliefs, political formation and identities, as well as recognizing adolescents as valid interlocutors and constant producers of knowledge.

The field work was developed in four phases:

1. Contact with leaders, teachers and significant adults through informal conversations to create relationships of trust with the community, as well as with the group of adolescents with whom the information gathering would be carried out. After explaining to the participants, the artistic intervention proposal, framed in the focus group technique, social cartography, creative writing workshops and photo-elicitation were carried out. With this, it was possible to observe and specify the perceptions that the participants have about their context in the camp and what they know about the history of the conflict and the forced migration of the Saharawi people.

2. Development of collective audiovisual creation workshops for filming films facilitated the relational understanding between the historical memory transmitted by adults to adolescents and the configuration of their collective identities framed in their past, present and future.

3. Application of semi-structured individual in-depth interviews, which, based on the analysis of narratives, provided detailed information on their knowledge and perceptions of their environment and history (their own and of their people) that allowed to detect common elements related to the configuration of their collective identities, as well as in the construction of their discourse regarding the struggle of their people and processes of pacifist empowerment. To finalize the fieldwork, the photographs and filmstrips were screened, so that the participants knew the audiovisual products created by themselves, and recognized their creative capacity as bearers and generators of individual and collective knowledge.

4. In a transversal and continuous way, thanks to the support and accompaniment of the Association of Friendship with the Saharawi People of Seville (AAPSS), visits and interviews were carried out with members of different organizations and public institutions such as the Polisario Front delegation in Andalusia, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Human Rights Council, Association

of Relatives of Saharawi Prisoners and Disappeared (AFAPREDESA), Ministry of Education, the organization of Sahrawi women, Nova Sahara Occidental, Ministry of Justice and the Bojador hospital, which allowed access to complementary information on the social and political dynamics of the Saharawi people.

It is important to note that the audiovisual material produced by the adolescents was presented to significant adults in the community, allowing them to recognize their creative capacity as bearers and generators of individual and collective knowledge.

To analyze the information, the induction process proposed by Bartolomé (1990) was used. The defined categories are: refugee status, identity of resistance, transmission of historical memory and processes of pacifist empowerment.

As an analysis technique, the critical analysis of discourse was used where discourse is defined as a social practice (Santander, 2011) with a socio-cognitive approach, highlighting that discourses are practices that generate social realities, in the present analysis it was possible to reveal the forms of domination that adolescents conceive in the face of the past of their people, as well as the forms of resistance developed in adolescents based on the configuration of their collective identities and on the transmission of historical memory and the power relations between discourses and the attributed meanings. At this point, discursive practices emerged that were put into circulation based on the proposed categories.

Results

Experiences of (up) Rooting of Sahrawi Adolescents: Between Refuge and Return

The knowledge that adolescents have about the conflict and the forced migration of their people is based on the actors that initiated the conflict and the role of other States in the forced migration and resettlement process.

When it was inquired about what they knew in relation to the actors in the conflict and the reasons for the migration of their people, the adolescents identified Morocco as the main cause of the conflict due to the dispute over territory, apparently due to the domination and exploitation of natural resources such as oil, phosphate and fish from the Sahara. In addition to this, they expressed that the Moroccan government has used intimidation techniques and human rights violations against the Sahrawis at the time of the occupation of the territory,

such as the poisoning of water, the planting of antipersonnel mines, imprisonment and assassinations. Two of the adolescents interviewed said they knew of cases in their close family circle of victims of this conflict: an aunt was murdered in the area occupied by the Moroccan army and a brother was also imprisoned in the occupied area for carrying the Saharawi flag.

Algeria is perceived by the participants as the State that has provided them with a "temporary" solution to be able to resettle and Mauritania as another actor in the dispute over territory and natural resources.

Spain appears in the discourse less frequently, however, there is an imaginary of Spain as a *good* actor or as a colonizing State, compared to the dichotomy of being perceived by some participants as the State that sold the Sahara to Morocco "for having many beautiful things" (Mohamed, creative writing exercise, May 4, 2017). Likewise, France appears with a negative connotation in the interviews for being an actor interested in oil that has supported Morocco.

Despite the clear recognition of those interviewed about Morocco's role in the entire conflict and how its actions have affected the lives of its people, none of the participants expressed feelings of resentment or anger. This is partly due to the fact that adults are continuously transmitting to adolescents the need to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict and to keep alive the desire to return.

With the elaboration of the social cartography, an approach to his present and life in the camps was achieved. In the first instance, the participants made known the places that they considered most representative of their wilaya. In this aspect, an approach to the collective dimension was observed, determined by cultural practices such as religious and cultural celebrations, as well as by community life.

Figure 1. Representative places of Wilaya, according to participants

Source: prepared by the participants Tislem, Nayat, Nafi, Chej and Embarka

When it was inquired about significant people in the daily community dynamics, the group highlighted the work of the teachers and women, considering a recognition of the role of women in the organizational dynamics of the camp. However, it should be noted that some of the participants emphasized the importance of the role of women in the family environment (domestic), presenting conflicting perceptions regarding the freedoms of women, due to their religious beliefs. In the script of the film made by three adolescent women, they relate:

The Sahrawi woman is a strong, independent woman, confident in herself and her ability, she makes a good contribution to the camp (…) Women, we have a very important role and that is to maintain order, not only in the haimas, but in everything in the camp. Our struggle helps us to stay on our feet and dream of a better future (Embarka, Nayat and Tislem, audiovisual creation workshop, May 10, 2017).

Although there are problems, the participants stated that they feel safe in the camps, a perception that is directly linked to the fact that there is no Moroccan presence in the camp that could harm them.

It is therefore convenient to clarify the importance of the idea of return and its future in the discourse of the participants. Expressions such as: "it is my country, when I live there, I feel rather good, because I see my land, as long as there is no presence of Moroccans" (Bichu, focus group, May 6, 2017), show their desire to live in the occupied zone. However, a participant who stated that: "I would like to know it because it is our country from before, to know it and so on", but that she would not like to live there because "I am used to here, I don't like that there is so much fighting there" (Nayat, focal group, May 6, 2017), from which we can deduce the lack of possibilities that she sees in the face of the end of the conflict or the return to her land in the short or medium term.

For them, *the Sahrawi struggle* focuses on the recovery of their territory and the return of all the people, which is linked to their idea of the future, for this reason, in the event of return, the participants agree on the importance of recognition of the sovereignty of their country at the international level and that they can walk through the streets of their people carrying their flag freely without being attacked or restricted.

The Construction of the Identity of Resistance

If the territory is configured as a meeting space where behaviors converge and emerge, as well as individual and collective practices, in the case of the participants, this concept can be associated with the idea of physical territory related to the refugee camp, or symbolic when they refer to the occupied territories.

With reference to the current physical space they inhabit, this can be considered as a liminal space, in accordance with Valdivia (2013). There they have developed survival strategies, established a daily life as well as social and community dynamics, strengthened by the cultural practices of their people and their relationship with the inhabited space, which is evident for example, in the importance for adolescents of the celebration and active participation in the country festivities such as May 20th, which is day of the struggle for the cause of the Saharawi people and February 27th where they commemorate the proclamation of independence of the Saharawi Democratic Arab Republic.

In the focal group and the participants *narrated* on the matter *of these celebrations:* "On May 20th all the children in charge of decorating, we will meet from all the wilayas and we are going to have those May 20th parties, we go to

Awswert (wilaya) there all. There are many foreigners and many people" (Embarka, focus group, May 6, 2017).

> There's a (party) that takes place on February 27th, it's the big party where all the people dress their top in white and the bottom in a black skirt we put on one thing that we put in our hair. We go dressed up in a black melffe on top and from here you dress a few things like a skirt, it's a melfa but it's a white skirt and you put one thing in your hair, what you put on your hair is just for women. (...) In the February 27th party all the people go to the square, they hold up a man and say things, they sing (Tislem, focus group, 6 May 2017).

Here, the sense of a temporary stay in the camp is visible and in turn, the desire and the idea to return to their country, despite having lived in this place all their life and not being sure how much longer they will be there.

In this context, the group as a whole denoted an optimistic attitude towards the camp as a place of residence, because they feel free and safe, and not least because there are their family and friendship networks, which, in this context is especially significant, both individual (interpersonal and family links) and collectively (woven and social ties in the community), situations that are associated with the resistance with which they have endured, exiled in the camps.

This is evident in expressions like "we've fought for that, but well we've put up with a lot, (...) they are always together, to be able to return" (Tislem, semi-structured individual interview, May 13, 2017) and that "they are good people, for me they are the best people" (Mariam, semi-structured individual interview, May 16, 2017). These manifestations of solidarity, unity, resistance and empowerment that have been strengthened in adversity are the result of the ability to adapt to the environment, the camps and interaction with the other, in this case, the other refugee, which refers again to Castillejo's approach (2000) with regard to how the camp space is reconfigured from and according to those encounters with others.

In the face of symbolic space, i.e. the occupied area, it was possible to show an allegorical bond based on the roots and a form of idealization based primarily on what adults have told them (stories) and transmitted (feelings), evidenced by the way they maintain their cultural practices (dance, music, clothing, food, tea), the conception of animals such as goats and dromedaries, as they conceive of the organization of their community, religious and national celebrations and the name of the wilayas referencing the cities of SADR. This is evident in the responses that participants expressed in the focus group when a comparison was made between the camp and the occupied area:

"Well, like the beach because they have a beach and there are houses, flats (apartment buildings) that we don't have here" (Nafi, focus group, May 6, 2017).

"That it is very nice that it has nice houses and such. There are trees that we don't have here in the camp. Here in the camp it's hot, it's not hot there, it's another country" (Elhga, focus group, May 6, 2017).

In this way, the identity adscriptions and collective discourse regarding the history of the Saharawi people associated with Spanish decolonization, the conflict with Morocco, forced migration and arrival at the camp, events that participants did not live, in accordance with Osorio (2004), are a direct consequence of the use of cultural practices and the transmission of the historical memory of adults; this led to an interaction between past and present that has allowed those who were not there to have a version of what happened despite the physical separation, in this case, of the occupied territories. Mariam (focus group, 6 May 2017) states:

"There are trees, here there are no trees, there are many things that here (camp) there are not. There are beaches there which we don't have here, they have schools for the elderly that are not here (...) Everything's nice over there. I have been told of the occupied area, my father told me that before there were houses and haimas, and lands that have herbs" (Mariam, 2017).

While memory is built subjectively, it is always through collective narratives within the framework of a social context. Thus, one might consider that memory is the meeting point of the Saharawi people; this allows us to talk about the construction of a collective memory linked to the idea of return, which also guides their life project.

In the case of the Saharawi people, it could be suggested that in the face of their history of forced migration and refuge, as well as the response of the international community and absence of a response of a lasting and satisfactory solution to their exile, they have begun to build an identity of resistance, deciding to act collectively in the face of their situation (initially through armed life, currently through politics and pacifist empowerment) recognizing themselves as subjects protagonists of their own stories with the feasibility of voluntary intervention in all social and political processes that concern their community.

It is important to emphasize that refugees do not lose their identity after forced migration or resettlement in a new territory, but, from their memories and historical memory, together with reintegration into an unknown space, generate new nuclei of meaning in relation to their present and sense of the

world, which leads to the (re)configuration of their individual and collective identity processes through cultural, political and social processes, in a context determined by plurality. All this becomes an opportunity to re-register their projects and senses of life, as well as to update the past (what was before the event) in the conditions that the present allows, in order to project in its future, redefining its reality within the camp.

Community organizational experiences demonstrate how community actors have turned to identity as a defense of their social and political structure; the camp has been constituted as a symbolic space of resistance where numerous meeting points are established, either from their situation of oppression or vulnerability, or from their empowerment and articulation of common interests to overcome these situations creating their own discourse in this particular context, while they can return to the place they consider their legitimate territory. Thus, in line with Alvarado, Patiño and Loaiza (2012) the territory allows the emergence of the political subject, where it is acted to transform it.

According to the information collected, especially in the films and the photo-elicitation exercise, for participating Saharawi adolescents, the transmission of historical memory has become a tool to build their realities and configure their collective identities. The Saharawis, in the face of conflict and direct violence, have fully developed their capacity as an agency, not only reorganizing in an unfavourable context but at a symbolic level in the social and political sphere. All this is recognized by the participating adolescents, where no intention is perceived to be revictimized, but on the contrary, agents of change are recognized as subjects with the capacity to contribute to return, as well as in the recognition of their country as a sovereign state.

This is supported by the position of Jelin (2002) who points out that the past does not invade the present, but informs it, strengthening the sense of belonging of the individual and communities, which is increased in oppressed, violated and discriminated groups. In this way, adolescents are clear and present their refugee status linked to the idea of territory and return, as explained by one of participants *"because I live in a village that is not mine"* (Embarka, focus group, 6 May 2017).

The most interesting thing that was detected in the speeches exposed by the adolescents is what they consider right to materialize the return of their people. In their entirety, they agreed that the best form is the peaceful way, de-legitimizing any violent actions that may have occurred in the conflict. In this regard, one participant expressed not wanting to be part of the Saharawi struggle (which for her has a military connotation), but manifests how she would resolve the conflict:

> It would resolve the conflict, by joining all the towns who go with Sahara to win the fight, I would invite Spain, Algeria and many (...) I would tell them you can help me because my lands are occupied and I want to win the war. But I don't want to kill anyone, I just want to ask them to get out of my village, because I want to live happily" (Tislem, semi-structured individual interview, May 13, 2017).

In the focus group, two participants established a relationship between the Saharawi struggle and their participation in it through ideas and their academic training: "I feel part of the Sahrawi struggle and would contribute to it with ideas" (Mohamed, focus group, 6 May 2017), "I have to study to help my people and so I am helping them", (Mariam, focus group, 6 May 2017). Finally, one participant stated, "It is my country, when I live there I feel better, because I see my land, as long as there is no presence of Moroccans" (Bichu, focus group, 6 May 2017), where the genuine desire to return to the occupied area is perceived as long as its compatriots do not have violent clashes with the Moroccans again.

Despite the recognition of the actors responsible for their refugee situation, there are no feelings of anger, revenge or hatred towards them in their speeches, on the contrary, one perceives what Jelin (2002) calls a political and educational purpose through the transmission of political struggle, which gives an account of the repressive acts of which their people have been victimized , showing other alternative paths that make it possible to not repeat violent acts.

In the case of the Saharawi people, it could be suggested that in the face of their history of forced migration and refuge, as well as the response of the international community and absence of response of a lasting and satisfactory solution to their exile, they have begun to build an identity of resistance, deciding to act collectively in the face of their situation (initially through armed life, currently through politics and pacifist empowerment) recognizing themselves as subjects and protagonists of their own stories with the feasibility of voluntary intervention in all social and political processes that concern their community. In this way numerous meeting points are established, either from their situation of oppression or vulnerability, or from their empowerment and articulation of common interests to overcome these situations creating their own discourse in this context.

These actions, evidenced in their discursive practices in relation to the context and history of the Saharawi people, can be recognized from the paradigm of imperfect peace and framed as processes of pacifist empowerment, fuelled by the configuration of collective identities, in this case of resistance. The Saharawi people through their community, social and political organization exercise power in a non-violent manner to transform their reality in a positive way, deci-

ding to act collectively in the face of their situation (initially through armed life, currently through the political path and pacifist empowerment), guarantee their rights and prevent their continued violation, as well as, to have greater political and public impact, not only by making their situation visible but by transmitting this discourse to the new generations, as Muñoz (2001) proposes, with intent and interest in promoting peace.

Conclusions

Understanding refuge from a perspective of peace implies, as a primary step, recognizing the empowerment of the leading subjects, which is strengthened by different identity processes both on a personal level enhancing their own subjectivity (internal process of self-dignification and recognition), as a social group that collectively and prominently legitimizes and surrenders its history and place in society. It could be said that the experience of this camp is an example of materializing the analytical category of imperfect peace in practice, as a space and experience where the different actors of the community have decided to regulate and peacefully transform the conflict, emphasizing the need to recognize the non-violent contributions of each.

In this process of making peace framed in the Saharawi struggle, the transfer of the historical memory of adults to younger generations has become the central axis for the configuration of a collective identity of resistance and the consolidation of processes of pacifist empowerment in this group of adolescents. This has not only enabled knowledge of the history of the conflict of the Saharawi people and of the repressive acts and violation of their rights, but has built a connection between present and past of not repeating these acts of violence, based on a system of values and principles related to their identity, together with the development of clear and consistent discursive practices of resistance in the face of forms of domination in relation to their future, which is directly linked to their return.

The construction of the reality of adolescents in their immediate environment, in dialogue with space and social relationships and dynamics, is mediated by their culture, beliefs and transmission of memory, which has strengthened the symbolic link with their territory of origin (occupied area) and has allowed

the redefinition of the current settlement territory (camp). In this way the spectrum is opened to recognize the uniqueness of the processes of each refugee community, in this case The Saharawi, with an identity approach, as well as the plurality of the narratives and social processes of empowerment, which will allow to break with the homogenization of the experience of refuge coupled with the classification of victims.

For this reason, the importance of recognizing the process of pacifist empowerment of the Saharawi community as an action typical of the paradigm of imperfect peace, as well as the visibility of these experiences of peace of a historically excluded and violent community, is reiterated to contribute to their social recognition, generating hope, cultural change and mobilizing the other to participate in these practices. Thus, the history of resistance of the Saharawi people is an example of building world peace, a people that is recognized and built daily from local perspectives and peaceful community and cultural practices, as well as in the transfer and strengthening of their social fabric based on values such as cooperation and solidarity. Therefore, the Saharawi people have demonstrated the possibility and capacity of all people and social groups to be continuous, momentary or conjunctural actors in the construction of peace.

In the case of participating adolescents, it was identified as thanks to the transmission of historical memory they have assumed their reality from cultural values and enhancing their capacities, building discursive practices strengthened in a political decision based on nonviolent responses, and in a pacifist power approach, setting themselves up in an experience within the framework of the imperfect peace paradigm, where still unfinished peace is built day by day, from below and horizontally.

References

Abdala, S. (2017). *Prácticas educativas inclusivas en la República Árabe Saharaui Democrática (RASD)* (Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad Central "Marta Abreu" de Las Villas, Cuba.

Anacona, A. (2019). *Memoria del proceso de empoderamiento pacifista de las mujeres del cabildo indígena Yanakuna Santiago de Cali 1999 a 2014* (Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Granada, España.

Alvarado, S.; Patiño, J.; Loaiza, J. (2012). Sujetos y subjetividades políticas: El caso del movimiento juvenil Álvaro Ulcué. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud, 10*(2), 855-869. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/773/77323978006.pdf

Aranda, R.; Arias, S.; González, L. (2012). La formación del profesorado saharaui en los campamentos de refugiados de Tindouf (Argelia). *Tendencias Pedagógicas, 20,* 140-159. https://revistas.uam.es/tendenciaspedagogicas/article/view/2019

Bartolomé, M. (1990). La investigación cooperativa. In M. Bartolomé y M. Anguera. *La investigación cooperativa una vía para la innovación en la Universidad.* PPU.

Berger, P.; Luckmann, T. (1995). *Modernidad, plurarismo y crisis de sentido. La orientación del hombre moderno.* Ediciones Paidós Ibérica.

Berger, P.; Luckmann, T. (1999). *La construcción social de la realidad.* Talleres Gráficos Color Efe.

Boulding, K. (1993). *Las tres caras del poder.* Editorial Paidós.

Calero, M., Cruz, A.; Campos, A. (2016). La mejora de la salud de la población saharaui a través de la innovación docente en educación: Un proyecto de formación en cascada. *Index de enfermería, 25*(3), 198-202. https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/La-mejora-de-la-salud-de-la-poblaci%C3%B3n-saharaui-a-de-Garc%C3%ADa-Lend%C3%ADnez/bd46dc8fc9cf54561565e6012678de22e96ced87

Canales, D. (2009). Imaginación y reacción en los Campamentos de refugiados saharauis. construcción de la cotidianeidad e identidad frente al otro extranjero (nasrani) en el contexto de la diáspora. *Perifèria: Revista de investigación y formación en antropología, 10,* 1-24. http://dx.doi.org/10.5565/rev/periferia.523

Carrizosa, C. (2011). El trabajo de la memoria como vehículo de empoderamiento político: La experiencia del Salón del Nunca Más. *Boletín de Antropología, 25,* 33-56. https://revistas.udea.edu.co/index.php/boletin/article/view/11224/10290

Castells, M. (1999). *La era de la información. Economía, sociedad y cultura. El poder de la identidad*. Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

Castillejo, A. (2000). *Poética de lo otro. Antropología de la guerra, la soledad y el exilio interno en Colombia*. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia-ICANH, Ministerio de Cultura y Colciencias.

Colangelo, M. (2014). La crianza como proceso sociocultural. Posibles aportes de la antropología al abordaje médico de la niñez. *Primeras Jornadas Diversidad en la Niñez*, 1-12. https://www.aacademica.org/000-098/6.pdf

Egea, C.; Soledad, J. (2011). Los desplazados ambientales, más allá del cambio climático. Un debate abierto. *Cuadernos Geográficos, 49*, 201-215. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/171/17122051008.pdf

Fisas, V. (1998). Una Cultura de Paz. In V. Fisas, *Cultura de paz y gestión de conflictos* (pp. 349-350). Icaria/NESCO.

Gimeneo, J.; Ali, M. (2007). Transformaciones socioculturales en los campamentos de refugiados Saharauis al sur de Argelia, 1975-2005. In J. Gimeneo, O. Mancha, A. Toledo (Eds.). *Conocimiento, Desarrollo y Transformaciones Sociales*. Sepha.

Giménez, G. (2000). Identidades étnicas: estado de la cuestión. In L. Reina. *Los retos de la etnicidad en los Estados–nación del siglo XXI* (pp. 61-64). Instituto Nacional Indigenista, M.A. Porrúa Grupo Editorial.

Giménez, G. (2009). Cultura, identidad y memoria. Materiales para una sociología de los procesos culturales en las franjas fronterizas. *Frontera Norte, 21*(41), 7-32. http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/fn/v21n41/v21n41a1.pdf

Girela, B. (2016). Procesos de mediación y empoderamiento pacifista en el barrio Candeal de Salvador de Bahía (Brasil) *Revista de Paz y Conflictos, 9*(1), 115-131. Universidad de Granada.

Hernández, E. (2014). *Empoderamiento pacifista de experiencias comunitarias locales en Colombia (1971-2013)* (Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Granada. España. https://hera.ugr.es/tesisugr/24287106.pdf

Hernández, E. (2015). Empoderamiento Pacifista del actual proceso de paz en Colombia: 2012-2015. *Revista de Paz y Conflictos, 8*(2), 179-202. Universidad de Granada. España. http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=205043417008

Hodges, T. (1984). *The Western Saharans.* Minority Rights Group. http://www.pensamientocritico.org/tonhod1114.pdf

Jelin, E. (2002). *Los trabajos de la memoria.* Siglo Veintiuno de España editores.

Jiménez, A. (2015). *El español en los campamentos de refugiados Saharauis de Tinduf: práctica docente* (Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Granada, España.

Loaiza, J. (2016). *Niños, niñas y jóvenes constructores-as de paz. Una experiencia de Paz Imperfecta desde la potenciación de subjetividades políticas* (Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Manizales – CINDE, Manizales, Colombia.

López, M. (2011). Reflexiones sobre las desigualdades en el contexto de los estudios de paz. *Revista Paz y Conflictos, 4,* 1-15. https://www.ugr.es/~revpaz/tesinas/rpc_n4_2011_dea2.pdf

Mato, D. (2000). Not "Studying the Subaltern", but Studing with "subaltern" social Groups, or, at least, Studying the Hegemonic Articulation of Power. *Nepantla: Views from teh South, 3*(3), 479-502. http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0124-40352014000100008

Mayor, F. (1994). *La nueva página.* UNESCO/Círculo de Lectores.

Muñoz, F. (2001). *La paz imperfecta.* Editorial Universidad de Granada.

Muñoz, F.; Martínez, C. (2011). Los habitus de la paz imperfecta. In F. Muñoz & M. Bolaños. *Los habitus de la Paz: Teorías y prácticas de la paz imperfecta* (pp. 37-64). Granada, España: Universidad de Granada. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=476911

Osorio, F. (2004). Recomenzar vidas, redefinir identidades: algunas reflexiones en torno a la recomposición identitaria en medio de la guerra y del desplazamiento forzado. In M. Bello, *Desplazamiento forzado. Dinámicas de guerra, exclusión y desarraigo* (pp. 175-186). Acnur - Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Parra, L. (2014). Prácticas y experiencias colectivas ante la guerra y para la construcción de paz: Iniciativa sociales de paz en Colombia. *El Ágora USB, 14*(2), 311- 703. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/agor/v14n2/v14n2a02.pdf

Portillo, L. (2014). *Los Saharauis (The Western Saharans).* http://www.pensamientocritico.org/tonhod1114.pdf

Posada, J.; Briceño, P.; Munar, Y.; Corredor, N.; Rossi, J. (2018). Subjetividades políticas de paz en jóvenes de Colombia. *Revista Aletheia, 10*(1), 148-173. http://dx.doi.org/10.11600/21450366.10.1aletheia.148.173

Pozuelo, L.; Gimeno, J. (2010). Expectativas y desafíos para la transformación social de refugiados saharauis: Expectativas y desafíos para la transformación social. *VII Congreso Ibérico de Estudios Africanos,* (pp. 1-21). https://repositorio.iscte-iul.pt/bitstream/10071/2284/1/CIEA7_8_MART%C3%8DN%26GIMENO_Renovaci%C3%B3n%20del%20Plan%20de%20Formaci%C3%B3n%20Profesional.pdf

Refworld (1984). *Declaración de Cartagena sobre los Refugiados. Adoptada por el "Coloquio Sobre la Protección Internacional de los Refugiados en América Central, México y Panamá: Problemas Jurídicos y Humanitarios.* https://www.refworld.org.es/docid/50ac93722.html

Romariz, Y. (2012). Renunciar a la herencia del pasado. *Revista Migraciones Forzadas (RMF), 40,* 1-6. https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/es/pdf/RMF40/RMF40%20Jovenes%20y%20fuera%20de%20lugar.pdf

Salas, W.; Valenzuela, E.; Prada, A. (2019). Experiencias significativas en procesos de construcción de paz en tres municipios del Magdalena Medio afectados por la violencia. *El Ágora USB, 19*(2), 323-342. http://dx.doi.org/10.21500/16578031.3944

Sandoval, E. (2009). Ciudadanía universal, derechos políticos y paz en la migración. In V. Martínez y E. Sandoval, *Migraciones, conflictos y cultura de paz* (pp. 19-44). Bonobos Editores.

Sandoval, E. (2015). Empoderamiento pacifista para otros mundos posibles. *Revista de Paz y Conflictos, 8*(2), 75-95. https://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/revpaz/article/view/3312

Santander, P. (2011). Por qué y cómo hacer Análisis de Discurso. *Cinta moebio 41*, 207-224. www.moebio.uchile.cl/41/santander.html

Valdivia, O. (2013). Espacio e identidad en campamentos de refugiados: Experiencia del grupo musical Sierra Leone's Refugee All Stars. *Migraciones Internacionales*, *7*(2), 127-155. http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1

Peace-building Women Leaders in Medellín's *Comuna* 1: A Grassroots Approach to Establishing Daily Peace*

[English Version]

Mujeres lideresas constructoras de paz en la comuna 1 de Medellín: una aproximación a las paces cotidianas construidas desde abajo

Mulheres líderes construtoras de paz no setor 1 de Medellín: uma aproximação aos passos diários construídos a partir de abaixo

Juan-Pablo Acosta-Navas**
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1350-0795
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: to analyze the contributions of peace-building women leaders from Medellín's *Comuna* 1 in the exercise of their community leadership, which contributes to the consolidation of a grassroots peace-building concept and a critical and relational perspective of human rights. **Methodology:** research of a socio-legal nature with a qualitative approach, developed from a case study with peace-building women leaders of Medellín's *Comuna* 1. In the execution of the research, documentary (analysis of concepts and specialized literature), conversational (semi-structured interviews) and interactive techniques (field work in

---

the territory) were combined. **Results:** regular, i.e. daily evidence of peace at the territorial level by women leaders were found, in addition to various expressions of resistance and re-existence aimed at reaffirming human dignity and collective action through ethical-political stakes in building peace in *Comuna* 1. **Conclusions:** women leaders who build peace in the studied territory are one step ahead of the hegemonic theory of human rights and the postulates of liberal peace, their understanding and interpretation of society and its conflicts is advanced. This exemplifies very well how one can continue to fight in the socio-political sphere for a more just and peaceful society from a grassroots perspective, to materialize continued peace in their neighborhood and community contexts.

Keywords: Grassroots peace-building; Peace-building women leaders; Everyday peace; Female peace; Research on peace; Consolidation of peace.

Resumen

Objetivo: analizar las contribuciones de las mujeres lideresas constructoras de paz de la Comuna 1 de Medellín en el ejercicio de su liderazgo comunitario, que aporta a la consolidación de un concepto de construcción de paz desde abajo y desde una perspectiva crítica y relacional de los derechos humanos. **Metodología:** investigación de carácter socio jurídico con enfoque cualitativo, desarrollada a partir de un estudio de caso con las mujeres lideresas constructoras de paz de la Comuna 1 de Medellín. En la ejecución de la investigación se combinaron técnicas documentales (análisis de conceptos y de literatura especializada), conversacionales (entrevistas semiestructuradas) e interactivas (trabajo de campo en territorio). **Resultados:** se encontraron manifestaciones de las paces cotidianas a nivel territorial por parte de las mujeres lideresas, además de diversas expresiones de resistencia y re-existencia encaminadas a resignificar la dignidad humana y la acción colectiva a través de apuestas ético-políticas en la construcción de paces en la Comuna 1. **Conclusiones:** las mujeres lideresas constructoras de paz en el territorio estudiado van un paso adelante de la teoría hegemónica de los derechos humanos y de los postulados de la paz liberal, su comprensión e interpretación de la sociedad y sus conflictos resulta de avanzada; esto ejemplifica muy bien cómo se puede continuar luchando en el ámbito sociopolítico por una sociedad más justa y en paz con una perspectiva *desde abajo*, para materializar esas paces cotidianas en sus contextos barriales y comunitarios.

Palabras clave: Construcción de paz desde abajo; Mujeres lideresas constructoras de paz; Paces cotidianas; Paz femenina; Investigación sobre la paz; Consolidación de la paz.

Resumo

Objetivo: para analisar as contribuições das mulheres líderes construtoras de paz do Setor 1 de Medellín no exercício de sua liderança comunitária, o que contribui para a consolidação de um conceito de construção da paz desde abaixo e de uma perspectiva crítica e relacional dos direitos humanos. **Metodologia:** pesquisa de natureza sócio-jurídica com abordagem qualitativa, desenvolvida a partir de um estudo de caso com as principais mulheres construtoras da paz do Setor 1 de Medellín. Técnicas documentais (análise de conceitos e literatura especializada), conversacional (entrevistas semiestrusas) e interativa (trabalho de campo em território) foram combinadas na execução da pesquisa. **Resultados:** se encontraram manifestações de ritmo diário no nível territorial por mulheres líderes, bem como várias expressões de resistência e re-existência destinadas a ressignificar a dignidade humana e a ação coletiva através de apostas ético-políticas na construção da paz no setor 1. **Conclusões:** as mulheres líderes construtoras de paz no território estudado estão um passo à frente da teoria hegemônica dos direitos humanos e dos postulados da paz liberal, sua compreensão e interpretação da sociedade e seus conflitos estão avançados; isso exemplifica muito bem como podemos continuar a lutar na esfera sociopolítica por uma sociedade mais justa e pacífica com uma perspectiva *desde abaixo*, para materializar esses passos diários em seus contextos de bairro e comunitário.

Palavras-chave: Construção de paz desde abaixo; Mulheres líderes construtoras de paz; Passos diários; Paz feminina; Pesquisa da Paz; Construção da paz.

Introduction

This article was derived from the Master's research focused on what is called peace; an ambivalent concept around which discourses can also be built to justify violence and conflicts, paradoxical as it may seem.

Peace has multiple manifestations, dimensions, expressions and fields of study: education and pedagogy (for peace), culture and construction (of peace), peace as a right and as a duty, peace studies, pacifism, antimilitarism and non-violence are some examples, but everything mentioned suggests a fundamental human need: to put at the center of academic, political and societal discussions what we call peace.

The history of the last decades in Colombia has as one of its crudest faces violence in its multiple manifestations, or rather, violence in the plural in the terms of Galtung (2016), who proposes three typologies: direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence. These concepts will be addressed later. In the Colombian context, it is imperative to ask why peace seems so elusive when it is constituted in the longing and clamoring of many.

Methodology

The methodology developed in this research is of a socio-legal nature and is located in the qualitative method, which must be understood beyond a simple set of information gathering techniques. In this sense, Galeano-Marín (2011) affirms that it is a way of facing the world based on social subjects among them and their relationships with their contexts. Therefore, it is considered that the qualitative method addresses subjective and intersubjective realities, focuses on the actors, seeks to understand from different perspectives and subjects, is based on the everyday to understand that reality and emphasizes the local, the micro, and the regional (Galeano-Marín, 2011, pp. 16-24). That micro and regional look (or territorial in this case) was the course for the field work.

Thus, this text was articulated from theoretical reflections on the concept of human rights (condensed in other products derived from the aforementioned research) hand in hand with a case study with peace-building women leaders (MLCP) of Medellín's *Comuna* 1 from Medellín. In the execution of the research, documentary techniques (analysis of concepts and specialized literature), conversational (semi-structured interviews) and interactive (field work in the territory) were combined.

Regarding the focus on legal research, Villabella (2015) mentions that it can be classified as theoretical, empirical and mixed (p. 926). In that order of concepts, this research was carried out from a mixed approach, because it combined a robust theoretical component with the empirical dimension derived from the interaction with women in the territory to, later, contrast said theoretical proposal of daily peace with the form in which it is related, stressed and experienced by the community.

Now, in general, this article develops, at first, a succinct contextualization of the armed conflict in Colombia and Medellín. Then, it addresses the concept of peace-building women leaders (MLCP) and its relationship with female peace. Subsequently, it articulates the theoretical reflections with the fieldwork developed in Medellín's *Comuna* 1 with the MLCP. For this purpose, peace is analyzed beyond the mere absence of war, peace from the symbolic and peace from community organization. Finally, it presents a section of final considerations, which, rather than reaching conclusions, aims to generate questions and possible lines of research for the future.

Results

The main findings are condensed into the following ideas: first, it is necessary *to de-legalize* and *to de-state* human rights[1] to the extent that these are made and undone every day as sociocultural products that they are, despite the influence legal-norms, on which they rest.

Second, the reconceptualization of peacebuilding in a critical human rights aspect must assume a double dimension, since the collective action and peace-building women leaders agency are not enough in themselves, however laudable they may be. Therefore, their proposals and particular experiences should influence and impact the institutional designs of public policies, which allow, for example, the full guarantee, specifically, of the rights of women leaders and of vulnerable and victimized populations in general.

And thirdly, the construction of daily peace in a critical human rights key, combining the previous elements, will allow a shift toward a relational vision (Sánchez-Rubio, 2018a), in which the normative instruments that enshrine hu-

---

1. Another product of the research referred to here deals in a particular way with the review of International Human Rights Law instruments from a socio-critical perspective. The article will be published in the next few days under the title: *"Los derechos humanos en disputa: una lectura crítica en clave relacional"*

man rights or commit peace as a right and duty, but rather focus on the subjects who build these human relationships day after day.

Context and Generalities of the Armed Conflict in Colombia and Medellín

On the War, that Bleeds a Suffering Society.

According to the Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, CNMH, (2018), in Colombia between 1958 and September 2018 the armed confrontation left 261,619 fatalities, of which 214,584 were civilian victims and 46,675 people who participated directly in the hostilities[2] (CNMH, 2018, p.1). The foregoing indicates that only 17.8% of the fatal victims had taken part in hostilities in the armed conflict, while 82% of the victims were civilians who did not participate directly in it. According to the preceding lines, it is a fact that in the military confrontation in Colombia more than 8 out of 10 fatalities have been civilians.

Betting on peace from all possible scenarios, be it in the family sphere, in social relations or, even more broadly, supporting organizational and community processes, articulating with political movements that defend said flag or joining efforts in the academic context to build an intellectual gamble linked to an investigative agenda. These are necessary steps to consolidate the construction of peace in the country and must operate with synergy and not as ethical and political projects isolated from each other.

On Peace in the Post-Agreement and an Armed Conflict that Persists.

Restrepo (2016) recalls that peace in Colombia is not a military victory for any party or government, but simply the recognition of the human right that has already been achieved that belongs to all the country's inhabitants to live in peace and with dignity; Thus, "Peace is not a concept that is accommodated with a decree, or the signing of the agreement, nor is it resolved by voting yes" (Restrepo, 2016, p. 59). In other words, peace cannot be imposed as a rule, since it is evident that its consolidation implies a greater and substantial complexity.

---

2. The Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, CNMH, (2018), calls them "combatants," however, in strict legal rigor, the combatant category, according to IHL, is only applicable to International Armed Conflicts (CAI), Therefore, it was decided to use the term of direct participation in hostilities set forth in Article 3 Common to the Four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and in its Additional Protocol II of 1977, relating to Non-International Armed Conflicts (CANI).

For this reason, groups of women, young people, victims, displaced people, ethnic populations and, of course, the academic community, must bet on the consolidation of that long-awaited peace, since, as Lederach (2008) states, "The difficulties of achieving a lasting peace in processes of prolonged violence indicate that we know a little more about how to put an end to something painful and harmful for everyone, but we know much less about how to build something desired" (p. 80).

Despite the horizon of peace derived from the signing of the Final Agreement, the obstacles to the consolidation of a complete peace, with social justice and equity for Colombians, suggests that such a purpose will be a long-term task. From 2016 to August 2020, more than 224 homicides were counted against peace signatories, formerly members of the defunct FARC-EP (records that are systematized by the same Political Party).

Meanwhile, from the signing of the Final Agreement until August 21, 2020, there already have been 1,000 women leaders and social leaders assassinated (Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz [Indepaz], 2020). Leaders such as those who participated in this research, men and women whose lives extinguish by the bullets of the armed actors, while they put all their efforts into building a better country, in peace, and to defend the causes of their families, their communities and their territories. Lives cut short by violence in a paradoxical way, by crying out for peace.

Female Peace and Peace-building Women Leaders (MLCP)

Before developing these two fundamental concepts, it is worth noting that the United Nations (2000) at the head of its Security Council[3] issued Resolution 1325 of 2000, approved in session 4213 on October 31 of the same year. Said Resolution on "Women, Peace and Security" recognizes that women and girls are subjects of special affectation in the framework of armed conflicts, but at the same time urges the member states of the UN (of which Colombia is a party) to adopt decisions and institutional mechanisms that prevent aggression and gender-based violence, as well as allow the participation of women and girls in

---

3. The United Nations Security Council is one of the six main organs of the Organization, and its fundamental purposes are to guarantee international peace and security, which in turn constitute the pillars of the Charter of San Francisco of 1945, instrument by which the Organization is constituted. In recent decades the discussion in the area of International Law on the binding nature of the Resolutions issued by this Body has gained relevance, which is considered a fact if articles 39-45 of the Charter of San Francisco are taken into account.

the resolution of conflicts and the peace processes derived from them (United Nations Organization, 2000, pp. 2-3).

The above is a relevant international precedent insofar as the Resolutions of the Security Council are considered mandatory for the States belonging to the UN. However, in the framework of negotiations with the defunct FARC-EP and the national government, the plenipotentiaries appointed by the Presidency of the Republic were all men; In this sense, the government in power denied that women had experienced the armed conflict in their daily lives, their bodies being a territory in which a part of that conflict had developed (Fernández-Matos, 2019, p. 116).

Faced with this deliberate exclusion of women in the negotiation, at the National Meeting of Women for Peace held in Bogotá in 2012, the women gathered there published on December 4th of that year a Manifesto called: Peace without women does not work! (Mujeres por la Paz, 2012), the Manifesto opened with the following sentence:

> In these two days of debates, meetings and sharing experiences, we reaffirm our ethical and political commitment to building peace and a political solution to the social and armed conflict; We declare ourselves insubordinate to patriarchy and capitalism and we refuse to continue being those agreed upon by patriarchal culture, we want to be covenants of the new social contract derived from the dialogue process (Mujeres por la Paz, 2012, para. 2). [Own translation]

And later on they broaden the discussion on the content of the human right to peace in a relational and not exclusively legal context, since they point out that it is not enough to silence the rifles or pacify the zones of armed conflict, but that "Peace means demilitarizing the territories, the minds and the word" (Mujeres por la Paz, 2012), which was sentenced by women in this Manifesto:

> Peace is not the silencing of rifles in public and private matters. Peace implies making social justice a reality for all without distinction of ethnicity, sex, religion, political position or economic condition; it means guaranteeing the rights to truth, justice and reparation for all victims; eradicate violence as an exercise of politics and the denial of the other as a daily practice (Mujeres por la Paz, 2012, para. 5). [Own translation]

However, in the workshops carried out within the framework of this research it was evidenced that the participation of women in local and neighborhood peacebuilding scenarios is greater than that of men. Such a statement is made from the particular experience in the field work and in the community

interactions that supported this project (this will be expanded in the following lines).

This level of participation of women in community spaces related to peace was one of the early findings of the research, which is consistent with the experiences mentioned in the preceding lines to the extent that during negotiations of the Final Agreement and at the deliberate exclusion that had been made regarding the role of women in these spaces was evident, this precipitated their demands for greater possibilities of real participation and fueled their interest in the coming years (2012 - present) to take the voice in the different processes of construction of daily and territorial peace that somehow have an echo and contribute to the peacebuilding project on a national scale.

Leading Women as *Theoretical Referents* in Themselves

Based on the above, women leaders became the center of the investigation and, to that extent, an ethical, political, academic, epistemological and methodological commitment was made, considering such participation of women not as an accidental element within the investigation, but as the *theoretical referents* of the project in and of themselves. Women, from their places of enunciation and from their accumulated popular, community and ancestral knowledge, offer a lesson to the academy about the validity, and transcendence of their reflections, which have been elaborated from the role they play in their communities and could well suppose a break or an imbalance with the formulations about peace that are erected from universities and research centers due to the evident distance between the theory of peace studies and related areas with respect to what happens in the territories.

Those leading women are an authorized voice in their neighborhoods for taking the initiative and leading the processes of claiming rights before different institutional and non-institutional actors; also, by replicating the successful experiences of their formation and training processes as leaders with other women and members of the community, serving as true multipliers of popular knowledge and articulators of the organizational processes.

To exemplify the above, the Leader Woman (hereinafter ML) 2 pointed out:

"The academy has its discourse for academics, I have been very resistant to the universities that bring their discourse, here I handle the discourse of the territory, that what you are telling me is the reality of what is happening in the

territory (...) In the role of women, participation [is] very important, because a swallow does not make a summer. If women unite, we leave that selfishness and we unite to build peace, [is] through dialogue and agreement in the territory" (Interview with a Leading Woman 2, 2019).

The leading women who coexist, and resist and re-exist in *Comuna* 1, were the protagonists of this research that sought to make visible how they, from the collective, bet on the construction of scenarios of daily peace. And despite the fact that the research, when developed within the framework of a Master's program, followed a conventional academic logic regarding the formulation of the project, its execution sought to place women in the center not for instrumental or exclusively methodological purposes, but as an acknowledgment of their exercise and their role as crucial political protagonists for the peace-building processes that are beginning to take hold in the city.

To conclude this section, it is pertinent to approach the concept of re-existence that will be worked on in later text and that has been developed, among others, by professors Adolfo Albán and José Rosero (2016), who understand the concept as an expression of dignity itself, as the communal way of recreating life, which

> has to give us the basis so that what is culturally sustainable is the conception of life itself in conditions of dignity, not negotiable with capital, but that definitely the conception of the world does not correspond to the extreme benefit of nature and is constituted in a long-term guarantee enabler of all living species, including humans (Albán and Rosero, 2016, p. 39). [Own translation]

Hence, the existence, resistance and re-existence of peace-building women leaders participating in this research is a political commitment not only for peace, but also for a life in dignified conditions.

Female Peace

The authors Díez and Mirón (2004) mention that the way of naming people, things and situations can entail different prejudices and stereotypes. In this sense, the study of the category of women reveals a vast semantic field that even begins with the denomination in the singular (woman) and in the plural (women); in the first case, it involves talking about an ideal prototype or a general and abstract idea, while the use of women is intended to highlight their uniqueness as individual subjects, the authors also mention the classic association

between women and peace and between men and war, which allows us to think about the ancient relationship between war and peace, but without falling into reductionism or biological determinism:

> Traditionally, Peace has been associated with and demanded by women. The reason for the association of women with Peace is found in the idea of abundance and fertility that will remain a constant throughout history, both for Peace and for women. Peace is fertile, it generates abundance, in the same way that the role that has stood out for women has focused on their fertility and on being a generator of life (Díez and Mirón, 2004, p. 72). [Own translation]

Inés Sánchez-Díaz (2017), who reviews and recovers the investigations of the authors cited above and incorporates other female voices into her reflections agrees with the above; thus, Sánchez-Díaz (2017) states that:

> Peace, therefore, is not a specific domain of the female gender, nor do women have a natural predisposition for it, but its construction is a task that concerns both sexes equally. However, it is undeniable that women's mobilizations have very often included peace among their demands, as evidenced by the alliance between suffragism and pacifism first, and the recurring unions between feminism and pacifism later (p. 269). [Own translation]

There is something very interesting that emerges in the joint and harmonious reading of the authors or researchers that we could name, academic with respect to the authors or popular and community researchers; in other words, women leaders who are peace builders and central participants in this research.

This emergency indicates a relationship and almost a correspondence between the concerns or reflections of the academic researchers and those of the leaders or popular women of Medellín's *Comuna* 1, the female peace – or feminist peace – agendas seem not to vary substantially, since the demands and flags for inclusion, equity, opportunities and, in a broader sense, that women are heard and their voices resonate and are taken into account when making decisions in the public interest, it is a coincidence that it is accidental. This correspondence or dialogue between academic researchers and female feminist activists and leaders points to a particular harmony between women's agendas despite the differences between the academic field and community activism.

The northeastern zone, in which *Comuna* 1 is located, represents a particular territory of Medellín due to the high levels of violence that were experienced at certain times; thus, these women leaders exercise their roles in highly conflictive contexts. To illustrate this, figure 1 lists the selective murders associated with

the armed conflict, which were mainly concentrated in three *Comuna*s: *Comuna*
1: Popular; *Comuna* 13: San Javier; and *Comuna* 3: Manrique, registering these
3 *Comunas* between 900 and 1,600 homicides between 1980 and 2014 (Centro
Nacional de Memoria Histórica [CNMH], *et al.*, 2017), it should be noted that
both *Comuna* 1 (Popular) and *Comuna* 3 (Manrique) are part of the northeastern
zone in the administrative division of Medellín.

Figure 1. Selective Murders by *Comunas* of Medellín, 1980-2014
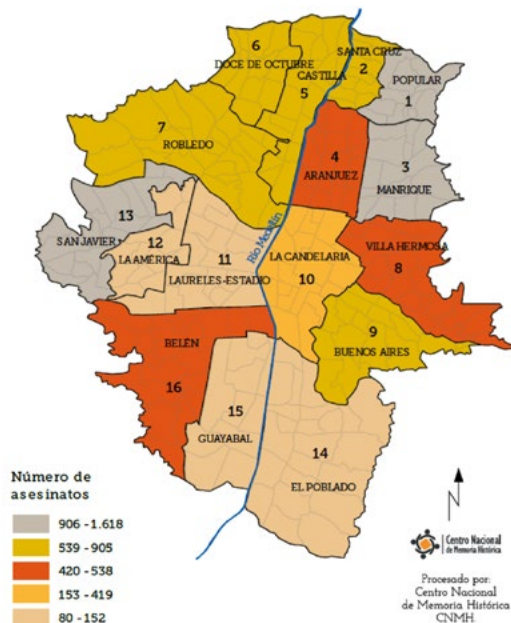
Source: CNMH, et al. (2017)

Returning to the discussion, the reference to the *academic* authors cited
above connects precisely with the reflections of the Leading Woman 2, who
commented that "It is women who lead [us] the initiative in these [peace] pro-
cesses, it is our maternal instinct, we have more instinct to defend life, and not
only mine, but also that of the people around" (Interview with Leading Woman
2, 2019, p. 2). [Own translation]

Of course, women leaders may view with certain skepticism the role of
academia in general, and in particular, of researchers who are interested in their
community processes within research. In the same interview, LW2 notes that:

> The academy has its discourse for academics, I have been very resistant to the universities that bring their discourse, here I handle the discourse of the territory, that what you are telling me is the reality of what is happening in the territory (...) In the role of women, participation [is] very important, because a swallow does not make a summer." (Interview with Leading Woman 2, 2019, p. 3). [Own translation]

Beyond this kind of distrust or skepticism – extremely legitimate due to the instrumentalization of communities by researchers for decades – LW2 accepts that sometimes the behavior of the same women leads to divisions or tensions within community spaces in which they participate and, therefore, advocates for a more united women's movement in Medellín to achieve peace in the territories, a peace that has a feminine stamp and that responds to the particular needs of women in convulsive and complex realities such as that of Medellin:

> "In the role of women, [participation is] very important, because a swallow does not make a summer. If women unite, we leave that selfishness and we unite to build peace, [is] through dialogue and agreement in the territory" (Interview with a Leading Woman 2, 2019). [Own translation]

LW10 also recognizes the crucial role of women as agents and builders of peace, taking into account that before building peace, it is necessary to analyze the conflict and seek its transformation:

> "Women have always stood out in mass in the resolution of conflicts, but we still need a lot of preparation. It is very positive that women are mobilizing and leaving the house for the public stage [but] the issue of empowerment takes time" (Interview with Leading Woman 10, 2019, p. 5). [Own translation]

Rather than revive a biological determinism that reduces the equation to women equal to peace and men equal to war, what must be strengthened is the "feminization of peace," which goes in two ways: first, society must internalize the traditional practices and peaceful feminine attitudes incorporating women in this exercise of active peace building. This is what Ivonne Wilches affirms in her research for UNIFEM and UNDP called "Peace with female gender":

> The inclusion of women in peace processes points directly to a requirement of justice, a feminine right and the possibility that the equality demanded by

the gender approach supports a process of building social democracy (Wilches, 2010, p . 91). [Own translation]

Second, it must be understood that structural peace - where men and women participate in similar degrees of freedom and equality to build a true culture of peace - is only possible if there is gender peace; In short, the traditional men-war and women-peace pairing must be transformed into a culture of peace in which everyone participates (Díez and Mirón, 2004, pp. 88-90). The concept of feminine peace gives way to the approach to the category of Leading Woman Builders of Peace (MLCP).

Female Peace and Peace-building Women Leaders (MLCP)

In the documentary analysis, it was evidenced that the concept of a Leading Woman Builder of Peace (MLCP) does not appear expressly in the literature consulted, although there are other similar formulas such as a peace builder woman. However, in fieldwork and in community interactions, the concept of MLCP emerges implicitly in the dialogue with women, since their feminist, community and political agenda is framed in their leadership to build territorial peace. To this extent, the women participating in this research not only contribute to the construction of peace or daily and territorial peace, but also claim their role as women leaders as articulators of these peace processes.

Even concepts such as peacebuilding (as action) have been profusely approached by the literature as verb or action (to build peace), but the same volume of information is not identified in front of the subject who builds it; in other words, it has been a concern in the academic world during the last decades to ask: how is peace built? But to the question, who is the subject that builds that peace? It lacks further development.

Today women are the architects of multiple organizational and community advocacy and peace-building processes; but one should not be lost sight of the fact that their corporality has historically been a disputed territory and a spoil of war. In this vein, the Argentine feminist Rita Segato (2013) refers to the corporality of women as a zone of dispute and as a war strategy in itself, recalling the atrocities that occurred in the armed conflicts in Rwanda (1994) and Yugoslavia (1992-1995) where sexual violence appears no longer as mere incidental damage, but as a weapon whose lethal damage is simultaneously material and moral: "The impression that emerges from this new war action is that aggression, domination and sexual prey are no longer, as they were before, complements to war, collateral damage, but have acquired centrality in the war strategy" (Segato, 2013, p. 19). [Own translation]

Anabel Garrido, for her part, expresses how even after the signing of a ceasefire or a peace agreement, thinking about the Colombian context, it is possible that violence – or violence in the plural – will endure against women, she expresses this by stating:

> The territory is found as a dispute over the conflict by armed actors, where women are shown as part of the territory of conquest, which is possessed, in both cases, by men. This violence is one of the key elements in the Colombian conflict, and shows dynamics that can remain after peace agreements (Garrido, 2019, p. 119). [Own translation]

At this point it is relevant to approach the category of social leader, appealing to the professor of the Universidad de Antioquia James Granada, who points out that "the definition of social leader [or woman leader] gives it the same activism and not so much the leadership that is exercised within an institution" (Granada, 2019, p. 9). This is clearly evident in this research, as participating women leaders have an empirical accumulator given by the territory and not by bureaucracy or exclusive participation in institutional spaces. Professor Granada complements his definition of leader or social leader arguing that:

It is anyone who exercises leadership in the field of an organization, a community or movements of various kinds: social, political and even religious. This is commonly found in neighborhoods and towns, where the base work makes them leaders. Sometimes these are highly visible activists, who exercise their leadership away from certain centralities and are therefore more exposed to threats and attacks (Granada, 2019, p. 9). [Own translation]

This approach is closed, thus proposing a formulation of this concept of a leading peace-building woman, which is constituted as that woman who in the exercise of her neighborhood or community leadership works to regenerate the social fabric and heal the physical and psychological consequences of armed conflict, to stop being appointed exclusively as a victim of that confrontation and transform that condition into actions aimed at becoming an active part in the search and peacebuilding, building it in the different dimensions of the territory.

The Role of Peace-building Women Leaders

Think of Human Rights and Peace-building Beyond the Liberal Register.

In order to think and re-think about peace-building as proposed in the research from which this article is derived, it is essential to overcome the paradigm of liberalism in which human rights or peace are possible only to the extent that private property is privileged and the free market prevails. This beneficiary subject of rights in the modern Eurocentric liberal tradition must be overcome in order to achieve *other* approximations to the struggles for dignity, that because of the Western heritage received in Westernized countries such as Colombia, they are expressed under the formula (or suit) of human rights, on the basis of this, it is pertinent to think of human rights and peace beyond that recipe of liberalism as advised by the jurist Ratna Kapur (2018) in the most recent work: *Gender, Alterity and Human Rights: Freedom in a Fishbowl*; Professor Swethaa Ballakrishnen writes in her outline of the text:

> If meaningful freedom is what we are after, she counsels, we need to look past the language of human rights towards the transformative potential of other, non-liberal registers. Extending her own metaphor, it is not just about changing the water or the container, reward lies beyond the fishbowl altogether (Ballakrishnen, 2019, p. 2). [Own translation]

Indeed, thinking beyond the liberal register makes it possible to fight for dignity, even in languages other than human rights or liberal peace, because these but powerful concepts represent the historical process of the West and the victories achieved by eurocentrated male elites, so without changing the vessel (the fish tank of human rights and peace) , we must go beyond the fish tank to achieve dignity, maximum, in contexts of societies not industrialized and impoverished by the processes of colonial domination of the past such as Colombian, and in the case of the common woman of those societies considered inferior.

In this particular case, these are women leaders who on a daily basis must deal with stigmatization, persecution and the multiple forms of violence (direct, structural and symbolic), that the exercise of their leadership causes in those political and armed sectors that live by and for war, and that as soon as their interests are compromised, they resort to direct violence generating threats, intimidation, displacement and even, are able to extinguish the lives of those whose purpose is nothing more than to contribute to the construction of peace in the country.

This woman leader builds in the different dimensions of the territory: the spatial dimension in her neighborhood, her commune and her city, the relational dimension that evokes the way that woman leader interacts with acquaintances and strangers, neighbors and family nucleus, in short, in her relationship with others, and finally the body and personal dimension, understanding that the female body again punished and violent by war, is the first territory in which the woman leader must build peace so that she can reproduce and multiply it in the relational and spatial dimensions.

Max Yuri Gil (cited by Rendón, 2019) coordinator of the Antioquia and Coffee Axis macro-region of the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Cohabitation and Non-Repetition, mentions: "Antioquia is a zone where the war happened and continues happening, continues being the department with the greatest number of assassinated leaders, with serious problems of threats and extrajudicial executions" (Rendón, 2019, p. 1). [Own translation]

Indeed, the department of Antioquia and its capital Medellin have been the epicenter of some of the most degrading, aberrant and dehumanizing manifestations of armed conflict, the conflict happened, continues to happen and will continue to happen as long as peace does not become the priority point on the agendas of institutions because peace-building women leaders, as well as other social movements and population groups – usually those most vulnerable, considered inferior, or those who have suffered directly from the conflict – cannot swim upstream to generate possible pace scenarios as long as local administrations and the national government continue to turn their backs on peace, not only with a passive or improper attitude, as there are also clear manifestations of hostility that prevent achieving this longed-for full peace.

Peace: Beyond the Absence of War

With all of the above, something seems to emerge that literature may not have sufficiency addressed. While negative peace has been associated and studied from the perspective of the absence of war, the silence of rifles and the overcoming of violent deaths associated with direct violence; positive peace holistically understands all the basic needs that must be met in order to achieve peace, since in addition to the cessation of armed confrontation, this positive peace will also require achieving, in the terms of Galtung (2016) previously explored, a structural peace in which no human being is exploited and is guaranteed the material conditions of existence and in turn , a cultural peace shall be required in which symbolic violence is not exercised by any member of society establishing hierarchies of gender, class, nationality or race.

This complex theoretical and practical fabric of the relationship between direct peace (such as negative peace) added to positive peace (such as structural peace and cultural peace) exposes that unmet basic needs are a first factor that does not allow this society to achieve complete peace.

Overcoming direct violence and making people no longer die as a result of gunfire would certainly be a great achievement for Colombian society, however, remembering something said by LW2, "What's the point of talking about peace when you have an empty stomach?" Peace, in that order of ideas, begins with something simpler and probably easier to eradicate than direct violence itself.

Ensuring that no Colombian and no Colombians go hungry is a first step toward overcoming violence and achieving true, complete and integral peace, that is just what it mentions between LW2 lines (LW2, Field Diary: April 29, 2019, p. 17): "Peace is felt from the stomach, from our womb."

Peace from the Symbolic

Figure 2 shows bracelets made with mustards, which have woven the word *PAZ* (peace) with various colors. The bracelets were handed over to the women leading the research participants in the form of gratitude and recognition of their leadership work, and also, as a way to seal our commitment between academy and community to defend and build territorial peace, for which, as mentioned above, the active role of women to such laborious enterprise is crucial.

Figure 2. the Bracelets of Peace

Source: Author's

Peace from Community Organization and its Drive for Leading Women

Peace is not just an abstract or theoretical concept despite the abundant literature that is existing. Peace is lived, done and remade daily by social actors, peace requires and specifies women, but it is also necessary to abandon the idea of masculinity associated with the warrior because it is absurd to maintain that vision. For this reason, both men and women in a society, such as ours, must strongly support peace-building processes at the territorial, city and national levels. To paraphrase an expression spread by feminist groups throughout the world, *peace will be feminist or not be.*

Human rights and peace, beyond their legal-normative dimension as rights, have a high political content that is not exhausted in the mere formal recognition of their existence. On the contrary, their permanent reconstruction and reformulation in the political scenario is what endows them with value, because it must be the social actors, representatives of this abstract idea of

civil society that can influence the construction of an idea of non-state peace, localized and that is nourished by the permanent fluctuations that we have as a society.

For this reason, peace is not a given fact or right, its content is constantly at issue and, for that reason, social actors, from their life experiences, their daily struggles and their victories in the socio-political sphere can contribute greatly to de-legislating the right to peace to begin to recognize that as a right, it is civil society that must and can establish its scope with the aim of building peace scenarios in a country bloodied by war.

The role of the MLCP demonstrates that these women have an ethical and political vocation for the construction of territorial peace scenarios in their neighborhoods and communes; however, this peace for which they advocate is characterized by being much more complex than the mere equation of macro-conflict: absence of armed conflict equals peace. This conception of peace from women leaders understands that there are priorities for existing and coexisting, inhabiting and cohabiting their territories to re-exist; silencing rifles is necessary, but not enough.

To paraphrase LW2 again, how can I talk about peace if I am hungry? This simple, every day and at the same time heartbreaking expression exhibits the manifest inequalities of a society like Colombia. Indeed, with hunger there can be no peace, let alone in a scenario like that of some peripheral districts of Medellin in which armed violence does not cease. These manifestations of micro-conflict go unnoticed in the great media where it matters more who dies from direct violence than the survival of those who resist it and advocate for complete peace.

Now, weapons may be put down, bullets destroyed, and the violent ones reincorporated into life in the political community, but as long as the material conditions of existence for the majority of society that today suffers the dire consequences of raw capitalism that governs the country as unquestionable sovereign are not guaranteed, that peace will be nothing more than fictional.

The mustard bracelets drawn with the word peace in the center is a simple and at the same time profound expression, of how peace goes beyond an agreement between the confronting parties, the persecution of armed groups or the capture and disarticulation of gangs in the city. Peace that is longed for is part of a concrete assumption: peace begins with ourselves and that bracelet is a symbolic expression of how women leaders, as they navigate all the daily adversities that this society imposes on them, are working from being and doing for their families, communities and territories by building peace, by building another possible and better world.

Conclusions

As announced, the research from which this article is derived sought to weave a relationship between the accumulated academic knowledge on peace-building, with the popular and local knowledge of peace-building women leaders who from their particular place of enunciation as articulators of the territories in which they inhabit or exercise their leadership, work for and promote a society at peace. The sayings, knowledge, expressions and analysis of the women leaders expressed throughout the workshops, community interactions, spontaneous conversations and interviews, show in practice that these women leaders are taken into account within the research as *theoretical references* in themselves.

Likewise, the idea that peace exists only to the extent guaranteed by the State, must be detached, because while it plays a fundamental role in creating peace scenarios, it is only one of the actors that must add to the equation because peace-building is at the forefront of a greater extent of subjects both male and female, whose particular and community experiences can lead to ways toward peace and consolidate it in the territories.

In both domestic and international law, the claims regarding the guarantee and consolidation of peace and human rights are vast; however, translating these consecrations or demands for social justice, equity and respect for life will only be possible if society is aware of its role as a political actor in materializing this catalogue of rights, since:

> The creation of [national or international] standards does not solve the structural problems of a society that is afraid of difference and repudiates otherness; for this reason, the processes of political, institutional and citizen transformation have been slow to address the legal and cultural obstacles posed by the realization of rights of vulnerable population groups. While [the issuance of legal rules] is a relevant tool for achieving these claims, it is not sufficient as long as mobilization processes do not occur to convert consecrations of abstract standards into [political] transformations of particular realities (Acosta-Navas, 2019, p. 57). [Own translation]

The relationship between human rights in critical aspects, peace as a human right and the construction of grassroots peace driven by social movements and, in this case, by the leading women of the *Comuna* 1 participants in this research, becomes evident after the above. A hegemonic theory of human rights based on Eurocentric provincialism to justify the existence, elements or conditions

of (liberal) peacebuilding leaves out other epistemologies, understandings and conceptual constructs of what peace means.

Wolfgang Dietrich categorically mentions that "Peace cannot be produced or exported, peace that does not relate to specific places will never have any social power and will remain an abstraction in the minds of peace researchers" (Dietrich, 2006, p. 454). [Own translation]

The Leading Women of Medellin who participated in this research are the best evidence of the need for a rereading of peace in the context of human rights, as well as outside the liberal recipe book and the colonial matrix in which the historical origin of the Western concept of human rights is embedded. Leading women in northeastern Medellin build peace from what can be called the microphysics of emancipation (Sánchez-Rubio, 2018b). [Own translation]

To that extent, they are small actions in actuality, but gigantic in scope and in the political gamble they represent. Peace is not built with the signing of documents or ratification of international instruments; peace is built by walking the territories, mediating in community conflicts, respecting and listening to each other, exercising empathy and building trust in communities, remembering the words of Eduardo Galeano (2015): "Many small people, in small places, doing small things, can change the world" (p. 1). [Own translation]

Peace-building women leaders in *Comuna* 1 are one step ahead of hegemonic theory of human rights and liberal peace. They consciously or unconsciously implement the postulates of critical theory by placing human beings at the center of the discussion without the legal norms that claim to protect these subjects. The academy, like the social elite it represents, still has much to learn from junior political subjects like these leading women; the exercise of their community leadership is probably not based on an endless list of authors, philosophies and political theories, critical currents or specialized legal literature, but its understanding and interpretation of advanced society well exemplifies how one can continue to fight in the socio-political sphere for a fairer and more peaceful society.

The reconceptonalization of peace-building in critical human rights is summarized in the following elements: first, *delegalizing* and *deescalating* human rights, understanding that human rights emerge, consolidate and reform day by day and on a small scale, heterogeneous communities across the globe set their agendas for fighting for fairer societies in terms where their particular socio-political contexts, religious or economic demands it. This involves thinking of a human rights agenda beyond the state formula and the international legal system at the head of this fiction called the "international community" and international organizations such as the UN at the global level, or the OAS at the regional level (and the respective bodies of both).

Secondly, the reconceptaization of peace-building in critical human rights, particularly in societies with long-standing conflicts such as Colombia, begins by recognizing the exercise of collective action by communities as a real and legitimate way of exercising democracy outside the state structure, but which may and should well translate those demands or fighting flags into the language of public policy and enter the bureaucratic game to achieve them and make them effective before the political subjects who claim them.

Third, human-rights-critical peace-building can only be reconceptualized when those human rights as liberal discourse that the West has flown (stronger since 1948) recognize the previous two elements as a starting point for turning the state-ist vision to the truly relational human rights view (Sanchez-Rubio , 2018a). This recognition of relational vision as the basis of non-particularistic human rights with emancipatory possibilities allows us to understand a concept of peace-building seen from the needs and interests of communities that have suffered or become potential victims of armed conflict as members of the civilian population.

The leading women who participated in this investigation made it clear how peace as a human right must be reconceptualized so that increasingly the positions that make peace from a militaristic approach to the ultimate end to show state sovereignty through a monopoly on the use of force and the hegemony of the state in the various territories that are disputed with organized or criminal armed groups.

It is precisely this militaristic approach that was intended to detach the concept of human rights and peace in this investigation; participating peace-building women leaders made it clear that there are "other possible worlds" when peace emanates from a territorial, local and contextual perspective. When working for peace-building and the guarantee of human rights from an evoking point and are not intended to impose an unequivocal vision of peace or human rights by state institutions and, on the contrary, it is based on other accounts and discourses that allow democracy to be expanded and nurtured with the recognition of other actors, which from collective action and popular mobilization can give *other meanings*, to such concepts as peace and human rights that have historically been servile to hegemonic power in local, national and global contexts.

Being a woman in a country like Colombia embodies many challenges in multiple dimensions; however, being a woman leader, who inhabits a conflicting territory, who exercises her community leadership in these scenarios and who works tirelessly to achieve peace, resizes the mere challenges of existence in an unequal society like this and places them in a context of resistance and re-existence.

To be a woman leader in this convulsed Colombian socio-political reality is to exist, to resist, but in particular to re-exist, as this implies that:

> (...) the devices of knowledge, making, thinking, feeling and acting from differentiated historical experiences, to ensure living conditions dignified by self-knowledge, [should] creatively address devaluation, cover-up and silence in order to position political, ethical and epistemic places through the unpacking of an "other-agency" (Albán and Rosero, 2016, p. 37). [Own translation]

In this area, struggles for the dignity of women leaders cannot be reduced to mere existence, their role is crucial for the consolidation of a solid, robust and lasting peace. Peace is built from these small scenarios invisible to institutionality and the media; the practice of liberation begins in the embodiment of these women as the first territory of pacification, and extends to family, social and community settings like other fields of peace-building.

Indeed, peace (in its liberal sense) has been elusive for decades, but it is clear that this complete peace is not the Final Agreement between the State and the defunct FARC, nor is it the demobilization or subjugation of members of organized armed groups. Peace is also expressed in these small daily manifestations of listening to each other and generating empathy. Peace is a call to action more than the outcome of a negotiation. To be a leading peace-building woman in Medellin means putting one's own interests before and prioritizing collectives, because that *common good* that is peace cannot under any circumstances endanger those women who are convinced that another world, better of course, is possible. Therefore, it is worth concluding with an idea that radiates through this investigation: peace without women is a nonstarter!

References

Acosta-Navas, J. P. (2019). Derechos humanos de los pueblos indígenas en clave de pluralismo jurídico e interculturalidad. *Anfora, 26*(47), 37-60. https://doi.org/10.30854/anf.v26.n47.2019.632

Albán, A.; Rosero, J. (2016). Colonialidad de la naturaleza: ¿imposición tecnológica y usurpación epistémica? Interculturalidad, desarrollo y re-existencia. *Nómadas, 45*, 27-41. http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=105149483004

Ballakrishnen, S. S. (2019). Review of Gender, Alterity and Human Rights, by Ratna Kapur. *Irvine School of Law Research Paper, 3,* 1-6. https://ssrn.com/abstract=3353543

Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, Corporación Región; Ministerio del Interior, Alcaldía de Medellín, Universidad EAFIT; Universidad de Antioquia. (2017). *Medellín: memorias de una guerra urbana.* http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/informes/informes-2017/medellin-memorias-de-una-guerra-urbana

Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, CNMH. (2018). *Balance del Conflicto Armado.* https://acimedellin.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/medellin-memorias-de-una-guerra-urbana-baja.pdf

Dietrich, W. (2006). Una llamada a muchas paces. In W. Dietrich (Ed.). *Schluesseltexte der Friedenforschung* (pp. 435-455). https://www.friedensburg.at/uploads/files/wp7_97.pdf

Díez, M. E.; Mirón, M. D. (2004). Una Paz Femenina. In B. Molina Rueda & F. A. Muñoz Muñoz (Eds.). *Manual de Paz y Conflictos* (pp. 67-94). Universidad de Granada.

Fernández-Matos, D. C. (2019). La paz sin las mujeres ¡No va! El proceso de paz colombiano desde la perspectiva de género. *CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals, 121,* 113-133.https://www.cidob.org/es/articulos/revista_cidob_d_afers_internacionals/121/la_paz_sin_las_mujeres_no_va_el_proceso_de_paz_colombiano_desde_la_perspectiva_de_genero

Galeano, E. (2015). Luchando por un mundo mejor. *Cambio 16, 2217.* https://www.cambio16.com/reportajes_data/heroes/esp/

Galeano-Marín, M. E. (2011). *Diseño de proyectos en la investigación cualitativa.* Universidad EAFIT.

Galtung, J. (2016). La violencia: cultural, estructural y directa. *Cuadernos de Estrategia, 183,* 147-168. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5832797

Garrido, A. (2019). Narrativas de resistencia: análisis de tres organizaciones de mujeres in Colombia. *Política y Sociedad, 56*(1), 107-126. https://doi.org/10.5209/poso.60794

Granada, J. (2019). Un acercamiento conceptual a la definición del líder social. *Alma Mater*, 9 [Versión impresa].

Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz, Indepaz. (2020). *1.000 líderes y defensores de DDHH asesinados.* 1.000 líderes y defensores de DDHH asesinados. http://www.indepaz.org.co/1-000-lideres-y-defensores-de-ddhh/

Kapur, R. (2018). *Gender, Alterity and Human Rights: Freedom in a Fishbowl.* Edward Elgar.

Lederach, J. P. (2008). *La imaginación moral. El arte y el alma de la construcción de la paz.* Norma.

Mujeres por la Paz (2012). *La paz sin las mujeres ¡No va! Manifiesto de Mujeres por la Paz.* Manifiesto. https://www.rutapacifica.org.co/agenda-de-paz/178-la-paz-sin-las-mujeres-no-va-manifiesto-de-mujeres-por-la-paz

Organización de Naciones Unidas, Consejo de Seguridad (2000). *Resolución 1325 (2000) Aprobada por el Consejo de Seguridad en su sesión 4213ª, celebrada el 31 de octubre de 2000* (Vol. 1325). http://undocs.org/es/S/RES/1325(2000)

Rendón, O. P. (27 de mayo, 2019). La guerra sigue en Antioquia, dice la Comisión de la Verdad. *El Colombiano, p. 1.* https://www.elcolombiano.com/colombia/paz-y-derechos-humanos/la-guerra-sigue-en-antioquia-dice-la-comision-de-la-verdad-DK10833606

Restrepo, M. H. (2016). Paz que humaniza, fusiles que destruyen. En E. Rueda, S. V. Alvarado & P. Gentili (Eds.), *Paz en Colombia: perspectivas, desafíos, opciones* (pp. 55-60). CLACSO. http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/se/20160930124934/Paz_en_Colombia.pdf

Sánchez-Díaz, I. (2017). Mujeres por la paz. Metodologías noviolentas en movimientos pacifistas de mujeres: estudios de casos. *Revista de Paz y Conflictos, 10*(2), 265-282. https://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/revpaz/article/view/6477

Sánchez-Rubio, D. (2018a). *Derechos Humanos instituyentes, pensamiento crítico y praxis de liberación.* Akal.

Sánchez-Rubio, D. (2018b). Seminario: Teorías Críticas de los Derechos Humanos. *Conferencia en la Maestría en Derecho de la Universidad de Antioquia.*

Segato, R. L. (2013). *Las nuevas formas de la guerra y el cuerpo de las mujeres.* Pez en el Árbol.

Villabella, C. M. (2015). Los métodos en la investigación jurídica. Algunas precisiones. *Cuestiones constitucionales, Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional,* 921-953. https://archivos.juridicas.unam.mx/www/bjv/libros/8/3983/46.pdf

Wilches, I. (2010). *Paz con género femenino. Mujeres y construcción de paz.* Fondo de Desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas para la Mujer, UNIFEM. https://repositorio.unal.edu.co/handle/unal/57178

The Peacebuilding Teacher Profile: Emerging Concepts from the School in the Colombian Post-conflict*

[English Version]

El perfil docente constructor de paz: concepciones emergentes desde la escuela en el posconflicto colombiano

O perfil do professor construtor de paz: concepções emergentes da escola no pós-conflito colombiano

Jorge-Mario Ortega-Iglesias**
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6458-3650
Colombia
Víctor-Enrique Valencia-Espejo***
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2838-1218
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: to characterize the conceptions of the peacebuilding teacher profile of students and teachers in public schools located in Colombian post-conflict regions. **Methodology:** a non-experimental, descriptive, cross-sectional research design was

** Degree in Basic Education with an emphasis in Computer Science, PhD. in Education, University of Magdalena, Santa Marta, Colombia. E-mail: jortegai@unimagdalena.edu.co

*** Industrial Engineer, Specialist in Applied Statistics, University of Magdalena, Santa Marta, Colombia. E-mail: victorvalenciaee@unimagdalena.edu.co

103

Universidad Autónoma de Manizales. ISSN 0121-6538 / e-ISSN 2248-6941. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

considered, using the Modified Natural Semantic Networks (RSNM) technique. Two hundred thirty-three students and 36 teachers selected from a non-probabilistic convenience sampling participated in the study. They attend four official educational institutions in the rural sector (a zone prioritized by the post-conflict) located in the Troncal del Caribe zone of the city of Santa Marta, in the department of Magdalena. For the analysis and processing of the data, the RSNM technique categories were taken into account: Network Size (J), Frequency (F), Semantic Weight (M), SAM Group, Semantic Distance (FMG) and Density of the Network (G); they were complemented by the Importance Frequency (IF) method and the consensual analysis of the RSNM configured by the different population groups studied. **Results:** the defining characteristics Respectful and Tolerant were evidenced as the constitutive core concepts of the conception of the peacebuilding teacher profile from the voices of students and teachers belonging to these schools. **Conclusions:** the conception of the peacebuilding teacher profile in the voices of students and teachers of public schools in the Colombian Caribbean highlights universal and moral values such as respect and tolerance when thinking about configuring peace processes in populations that have historically been affected by the armed conflict.

Keywords: Peace; Education for peace; Public school; Peace culture.

Resumen

Objetivo: Caracterizar las concepciones del perfil docente constructor de paz de estudiantes y profesores en escuelas públicas ubicadas en zonas de posconflicto colombiano. **Metodología:** Se contempló un diseño de investigación no experimental, descriptivo, de corte transversal, mediante el uso de la técnica de Redes Semánticas Naturales Modificadas (RSNM). En el estudio participaron 233 estudiantes y 36 profesores seleccionados a partir de un muestreo no probabilístico por conveniencia, quienes asisten a cuatro instituciones educativas oficiales del sector rural (zona priorizada por el posconflicto) localizadas en la zona troncal del caribe de la ciudad de Santa Marta, en el departamento del Magdalena. Para el análisis y procesamiento de los datos se tuvieron en cuenta las categorías de la técnica RSNM: Tamaño de la Red (J), Frecuencia (F), Peso Semántico (M), Grupo SAM, Distancia Semántica (FMG) y Densidad de la Red (G); complementadas por el método Importancia Frecuencia (IF) y el análisis consensual de las RSNM configuradas por los diferentes grupos poblacionales estudiados. **Resultados:** las definidoras Respetuoso y Tolerante se evidenciaron como los conceptos nucleares constitutivos de la concepción del perfil docente constructor de paz desde las voces de estudiantes y profesores

pertenecientes a estas escuelas. **Conclusiones:** la concepción del perfil docente constructor de paz en voces de estudiantes y profesores de escuelas públicas del caribe colombiano, resalta valores universales y morales como el respeto y la tolerancia cuando se piensa en procesos configurativos de paz en poblaciones que históricamente han sido afectadas por el conflicto armado.

Palabras-clave: Paz; Educación para la paz; Escuela pública; Cultura de paz.

Resumo

Objetivo: caracterizar as concepções do perfil de professor construtor de paz de alunos e professores em escolas públicas localizadas em áreas de pós-conflito colombiano. **Metodologia:** Um projeto de pesquisa não experimental, descritivo e transversal foi contemplado através do uso da técnica de Redes Semánticas Naturais Modificadas (RSNM). O estudo envolveu 233 alunos e 36 professores selecionados a partir de uma amostragem não probabilística por conveniência, que atendem quatro instituições de ensino oficiais do setor rural (área prioritária pré-conflito) localizadas na área tronco do Caribe da cidade de Santa Marta, no departamento de Magdalena. Para a análise e processamento dos dados, foram tidas em conta as categorias da técnica RSNM: Tamanho da rede (J), Frequência (F), Peso Semântico (M), Grupo SAM, Distância Semântica (FMG) e Densidade de Rede (G); complementadas pelo método de Importância da Frequência (IF) e pela análise consensual das RSNM configuradas pelos diferentes grupos populacionais estudados. **Resultados:** Os definidores Respetuoso e Tolerante foram evidenciados como os conceitos nucleares que constituem a concepção do perfil de ensino de construção da paz a partir das vozes de alunos e professores pertencentes a essas escolas. **Conclusões:** a concepção do perfil de professor construtor de paz nas vozes de estudantes e professores de escolas públicas do Caribe colombiano, destaca valores universais e morais, como respeito e tolerância ao pensar em definir processos de paz em populações historicamente afetadas por conflitos armados.

Palavras-chave: Paz; Educação para a paz; Escola pública; Cultura de paz.

Introduction

During the last 60 years, Colombia has experienced historical events marked by violence (Center for Research in International Relations [CIDOB], 2019) with an imprint of pain and sadness in the collective memory of millions of people who have suffered the internal armed conflict first-hand.

However, an important step was recently taken in the construction and transition toward conditions of peace and social justice, with the cessation of one of the conflicts of greatest importance and history in the country. After so many years of violence, the implementation of a peace agreement between the Colombian Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) was signed and began. This brought an opportunity to transform the territories, generating more hope and less violence in the communities affected by the confrontation with this armed group.

Now, the department of Magdalena and its capital district Santa Marta, located on the north Colombian coast, have not been immune to the acts of violence generated by the armed conflict that the country has faced throughout its history. The geographical location of this department has given rise to numerous confrontations between different groups outside the law, due to its status as a corridor that connects the borders of countries such as Venezuela, Panama and, consequently, its direct communication with the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean (Salazar, 2016); this is a geostrategic point of preference for the armed actors.

Thus, through one of its main routes, such as the Troncal del Caribe Region, activities such as the production and transport of crops for illicit use have taken place. These have made this area of the department the epicenter of disputes to obtain control of this territory (Quinche, Perdomo and Vargas, 2018). However, the signing of the peace agreement with the FARC has enabled the creation of a legal and legislative framework such as CONPES documents 3850 and 3932 and Decree 893 of 2017 (National Planning Department [DNP], 2015, 2017a, 2017b , 2018), which foster the targeting of peace territories and the creation of programs and projects that aim to strengthen educational centers as protective spaces that promote peace and reconciliation. These spaces make the department of Magdalena and its capital district Santa Marta areas prioritized by the post-conflict.

According to Tassara (2017), the challenge for Colombia consists of monitoring compliance with these agreements and moving toward a process of peacebuilding and sustainable development, in which the National Government must lead to improve the political, social and economic causes that initially ge-

nerated the conflict, "starting with the strengthening of the State, the fight against poverty and inequality, the promotion of social inclusion, the access to land for poor peasants and the promotion of rural development" (Tassara, 2017, p 455). [Own translation]. In this sense, the Colombian Government is aware that the construction of peace, in addition to the end of an armed conflict, aims to promote the reduction of social, economic, territorial inequalities and access to justice, which are seen mainly faced by the inhabitants of the regions most affected by its incidence (DNP, 2018).

This way, an Implementation Framework Plan has been developed. This "guides the public policies required for the fulfillment of the peace agreement during the next 15 years and facilitates the necessary follow-up by the different entities designated for this purpose" (DNP, 2018, p.11). [Own translation]. However, this type of process can take time and require the investment of many resources in recovery and rehabilitation programs in the affected population (Lappin, 2018; Jones and Metzger, 2018; Baumgart-Ochse, 2014), which includes both victims of the State, as well as the victims of subversive groups.

These possibilities designed for all the actors in the conflict have led to the peace agreements between the government and the FARC, despite having generated great expectations among the Colombian people, to give rise to diverse confrontations of a political and social nature, which is evidenced by strong positions of both support and opposition to the peace process.

For this reason, the academy and the other communities that work around peace and the Colombian post-conflict must maintain an active and conciliatory role, which fosters the generation of spaces to study and understand the particularities of this armed conflict and its repercussions, the benefits of coexisting in a peaceful society, as well as the possibilities of contributing to the construction of peace from the various environments and positions in which citizens operate.

A better understanding of the conflict and its consequences brings peace closer (Muñoz, 2004; Hernández, Luna and Cadena, 2017), therefore, "educating in and for conflict turns out to be a challenge of education for peace that materializes in: discovering the positive perspective of the conflict" (Caireta and Barbeito, 2005, p. 23), [Own translation] . "learning to analyze conflicts, discovering their complexity (…) and finding solutions that allow facing conflicts without violence" (Cascón, 2001, p. 5). [Own translation].

Education for peace is constituted, then, as a powerful strategy for the social construction of peace in the communities and territories historically affected by violence (Acevedo and Báez, 2018). Its implementation implies, among other aspects, a paradigmatic transformation of the school that establishes the value for life as a privilege. It also implies the promotion of the formation of upright

citizens with multiple values, that contribute to the search for social justice, as well as the coexistence with the minimum of dignity and life standards from the development of their qualities as human beings and abilities to share in community and, in this way, promote a way of life that invites us to enjoy the beauty of living (Lira and Archivaldo, 2014; Garzón, 2017).

The Colombian State assumes peace, according to Article 22 of the Political Constitution of 1991, and assumes education, according to Article 67 (Presidency of the Republic, 1991), as fundamental rights; in this way, the social commitment to foster and encourage the development of skills, attitudes and values in children, youth and adolescents affected by the conflict that lead to social reconstruction and peaceful coexistence in the communities is manifested.

In this orientation, and within the framework of the configuration of new peace-promoting scenarios in the territories, the Colombian Government, based on Decree 1038 of the Ministry of National Education (MEN, 2015), assumes the chair of peace as an independent subject, compulsory in all public and private preschool, elementary and middle school educational institutions. The chair of peace is understood as a strategy that seeks to teach young people from schools to live in harmony, respect differences and resolve conflicts peacefully in their environments.

Educating for peace comprises a collective effort aimed at rebuilding the devastated social and emotional fabric in these communities, where from a humanistic approach schools promote a new cultural development generating alternative, diverse and inclusive proposals to learn to be and to exercise citizenship in a responsible and conscious way. Under this implementation framework, the responsibility of educating for peace in schools proposes the teacher as the protagonist who shares day by day with students and parents.

In this way, the conceptions and the role of a teacher, who builds peace based on his pedagogical actions in the classroom and in the community, are fundamental to fulfill the purpose of forming citizens capable of living peacefully in a society. Consequently, the knowledge, more than theoretical concepts, that peacebuilding teachers require refers to the fact of generating awareness about their own limits and "internalizing values such as respect, solidarity, cooperation or teamwork" (Mora, 2016, p. 78). [Own translation].

The challenges faced by the teaching staff as a key actor of peace in the territories and the school invite one to

> Continue questioning with deep reflection on: who is the teacher that educates in our schools? What are their training needs? Are our teachers prepared to contribute to the training of subjects in a coherent and correct way to face the needs of their environment? (Ortega, 2018, p. 8). [Own translation].

These questions require an opportune space to inquire about the profile of the teacher who contributes to the construction of peace in the Colombian territory, mainly from the conceptual system that the members of the educational community have been able to configure around the peacebuilder teacher. Conceptual system is understood as a "mental umbrella," that is, as a "general mental structure, which includes beliefs, meanings, concepts, propositions, rules, mental images and preferences and likes" (Thompson, 1992, p. 130). [Own translation]. Its constructs are as true frameworks and principles of subjects' action, permeating throughout, in the case of teachers, their didactic models, even guiding their practice as much or more than those scientific principles that support the profession and disciplinary knowledge (Pardo, 2006; Ortega, 2012, 2019).

For the purposes of this study, the conceptions about the recognition of cognitive and social constructs are addressed, that is, words, terms and other expressions that keep a specific representation and historical relationship on the profile of the teacher who builds peace; all of this, from the voices of school actors who have experienced the conflict directly.

Teachers have extensive possibilities to mediate in the main social subjects of the new generations that participate in the educational environment, particularly in students, parents, community and even their teaching colleagues (Lira and Archivaldo, 2014); because of this, they are called to lead the initiative in the education for peace strategy. In this sense, the teacher as a builder of peace in the classroom and in the community, must assume an active role for the formation of children's values, which allows them to learn to live together and have the capacity to develop reconciliation, repentance and negotiation processes, to solve the conflicts they face in a peaceful way (Hernández *et al.*, 2017).

In this vein, this study asks: What are the conceptions about the peacebuilding teacher profile that students and teachers of public schools located in the Troncal del Caribe zone have in the city of Santa Marta? In the case of the Colombian Caribbean, these schools have experienced the conflict in a different way. Thus, educating for peace and the orientation of the chair for peace in these populations deserve the recognition of the conceptual system concerning the profile of the peacebuilder teacher immersed in these local and situated realities, to gamble on a construction process with meaning and value for the people who live in the communities and are part of this school ecosystem.

The idea of characterizing the conceptions of the profile of the teacher who builds peace in this Colombian post-conflict region represents a contribution toward the generation of a culture of peace in these localities, fundamentally to the school context. This is a peace that cannot be thought of from foreign places but rather from the voices of the actors and victims of the conflict.

Now, peace is a concept that has evolved through history; today, its understanding has transcended the absence of war, violence and armed conflict to an essential need to exercise and enjoy human rights, starting from the demand for social justice between societies, and recognizing equality and dignity of all people and cultures (Arango, 2007; Fisas, 2011; Harto de Vera, 2017). In this way, peace is considered a universal value that the community longs for and that represents personal, group and species well-being that allows us to feel more human and provides meaning to our lives (Bouché, 2012; Molina and Muñoz, 2004).

However, the construction of peace is not an easy task for Colombia. This process has been a highly complex undertaking, since its implementation implies, among other high social and political elements, working for forgiveness and reconciliation between the armed actors of the conflict, the victims and the general population. This can be done by promoting a culture of peace to transform that culture of violence so prevalent in our societies (Fisas, 2011). Generating a culture of peace is "an individual, collective and institutional transformational process that arises from the beliefs and actions of the individuals themselves and evolves (...) within their own historical, sociocultural and economic context" (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1998, p. 4). [Own translation]. Therefore, characterizing the conceptions of students and teachers in schools located in environments historically affected by the armed conflict is essential to comprehend how it is understood. It also contributes, from the perspective of the social function of the teacher, to the construction of peace in the territories.

Methodology

In this study, a non-experimental, descriptive, cross-sectional research design was considered, with the participation of a group of 233 students and 36 teachers from the ninth, tenth and eleventh grades of four schools located in the Troncal del Caribe zone of the city of Santa Marta. The selection of the participants was made from a non-probabilistic convenience sampling (Otzen and Manterola, 2017), where their availability, receptivity and approval were defined as inclusion criteria (Ávila, 2006).

To approach the conception that students and teachers in these schools have manifested in cognitive constructs (expressions, words, concepts), the Semantic Networks technique was used (Hickman, et al., 2016). Also, the *Modified Natural Semantic Networks* (RSNM) technique was implemented as a data captu-

re device (Figueroa, González and Solís, 1981). This technique is considered as a graphical and mathematical reconstruction of the mental structure of a subject or group of subjects (Allan, 2008) defined as the set of words recovered from the "ideas and concepts that people build about any object, topic or situation of their daily life and that are expressed in colloquial terms" (Vargas-Garduño, Méndez-Puga and Vargas-Silva, 2014, p. 5). [Own translation]

Likewise, this technique made possible objectively establishing the natural meaning that the subjects give to an idea, concept or construct based on their own experience (Figueroa, González and Solís, 1981; Reyes, 1993; Valdez, 2000). This allowed the historical recovery of the meanings that students and teachers in these schools have configured on the peacebuilder teacher profile.

The data collection process included the design and application of a questionnaire for students and teachers, in order to inquire about those characteristics that define the peacebuilder teacher profile. For this, the following stimulus question was formulated: What are the defining characteristics of a peacebuilder teacher? The participants were asked to make a list of 10 words (nouns, adjectives and verbs) that describe a teacher who builds peace in their schools.

Finally, they were asked to rank the listed words, giving the number 1 to the defining characteristic that has a stronger relationship with the stimulus question, and number 10 to the defining one that has a weaker relationship. This questionnaire was applied in a group way and was developed in a space of five minutes. All the participants previously knew the purpose of the project, as well as the ethical aspects for the treatment of the data and signed the corresponding informed consent.

The data analysis considered the categories of the RSNM technique suggested by Figueroa, González and Solís (1981), Reyes (1993), Valdez (2000), and Valdez, González and Sánchez (2005):

- Network size (J): represents the total number of words used by the research subjects to describe the peacebuilder teacher profile.

- Frequency (F): indicates the number of times each word is mentioned to describe the stimulus concept.

- Semantic weight (M): represents the significant relevance that a population group gives to each defining characteristic and is obtained from the sum of the hierarchical values attributed by the individuals to each word.

- SAM Group: set of defining characteristics that have the greatest semantic weight within the network configured by the population group under study. It can be visualized when the semantic weights are plotted in descending order in a bar diagram and when the place where the curve tends to be asymptotic in relation to the abscissa axis is identified.

- Semantic distance (FMG): indicator expressed as a percentage (RSN) or in numerical values between 0 and 1 (RSNM) that allows identifying how close or distant a defining characteristic is from the core of the network. In RSN, it is obtained by dividing the semantic weight of each word in the SAM group into the semantic weight of the defining one with the greatest significant relevance for the research subjects. In RSNM, for its part, it is obtained by calculating the difference between the semantic distances (RSN) of the best weighted defining characteristic with respect to the semantic distance (RSN) of each word of the SAM group.

- Density (G): indicator that expresses the degree of closeness or dispersion existing between the words that are part of the SAM group. It is obtained by calculating the average of the differences between the semantic distances of the contiguous words belonging to the SAM group.

In addition, understanding that the *Frequency Importance* (IF) method and the *Modified Natural Semantic Networks* (RSNM) technique are coincident and complementary, the relationship of these methodological tools was taken into account to strengthen the data analysis and reinforce the conclusions of the project (González et al., 2018). Thus, relating the RSNM study with the IF method allowed classifying the defining characteristics that are part of the SAM group according to their frequency and degree of importance in quadrants called: a central zone, zones of potential change and a peripheral zone (Dany, Lo Monaco and Urdapilleta, 2015) (Table 1). The central zone is comprised of the group of defining ones that presented a high frequency and semantic weight, that is, those words that the research subjects related most strongly to the peacebuilder teacher profile.

In contrast, the peripheral zone is made up of those defining traits that had a low frequency and semantic weight, that is, those words that over time the research subjects may stop relating to the stimulus construct. Finally, considering that the relationship of the RSNM and the IF method allows us to compare the constitution of the defining traits between different population groups (González, *et al.*, 2018) in this study the relationship, similarities and differences found

between the RSNM configured by students, professors and the total of participants were analyzed from a consensus matrix.

Table 1. IF method

| Importance | High | Low |
Frequency		
High	Central zone or Core of the network: Defining traits with high importance and high frequency of appearance.	Zone of potential change or contrasting elements: Defining traits with low importance and high frequency of appearance.
Low	Zone of potential change or first periphery: Defining traits with high importance and low frequency of appearance.	Peripheral or Second Peripheral Zone: Defining traits with low importance and low frequency of appearance.

Source: Adapted from Dany et al. (2015)

In the IF method, the value that determines if a definer presents a high or low frequency is the average frequency of the SAM group; thus, the definer that presents a frequency lower than the average frequency of the SAM group is considered "definer with low frequency" and the one that presents a frequency higher than the average is considered "definer with high frequency." Likewise, the value that determines if a qualifier presents a high or low degree of importance is the average semantic distance (RSN), considering this way as "qualifier with high importance" those words with a semantic distance higher than the average, and as "qualifier with low importance" those words with a semantic distance lower than the average.

Results

Students' Conceptions

The students set up a RSNM of size J = 124, relating 124 words to the profile of the peacebuilding teacher. The set of defining words that have the most significant relevance (SAM group) for the students are listed in the following table:

Table 2. SAM Group of the RSNM configured by students

	No.	Defining Traits	Frequency	Semantic weight (M)	Semantic Distance (FMG)	
	1	Respectful	189	1429	100.00%	0
	2	Responsible	106	807	56.50%	0.44
	3	Tolerant	126	770	53.90%	0.46
	4	Honest	95	601	42.10%	0.58
	5	Patient	98	599	41.90%	0.58
SAM Group	6	Kind	97	590	41.30%	0.59
	7	Friendly	113	565	39.50%	0.6
	8	Understanding	73	423	29.60%	0.7
	9	Loving	60	346	24.20%	0.76
	10	Reliable	45	279	19.50%	0.8
	11	Humble	41	248	17.40%	0.83
	12	Caring	52	234	16.40%	0.84

Source: Author's

Respectful is the defining characteristic that presents the highest frequency of appearance (F) and significant relevance (M), showing an important semantic distance (FMG) with respect to the other defining characteristics belonging to the SAM group; thus, respect is considered by students as a transcendent universal value for the promotion of a culture of peace in schools (Arango, 2007) and as a fundamental characteristic when defining the profile of the teacher who builds peace in these environments.

This implies that a peacebuilding teacher should be primarily concerned with maintaining interpersonal relationships with their students in which respect and good manners are paramount, without exercising an authoritative relationship of domination-submission over them (Sanchez, 2011). In addition, it is important to note that in this RSNM defining traits such as *Responsible, Tolerant, Honest, Patient, Kind, Friendly, Understanding, Loving, Reliable, Humble and Caring* also have an important frequency of appearance and semantic weight, so it is significant to consider them in order to understand in a broader sense the conception that these subjects manifest. Figure 1 shows the semantic distance existing between the group of defining characteristics that conform the SAM group.

Figure 1. Semantic Distance Between Student-related Defining Traits
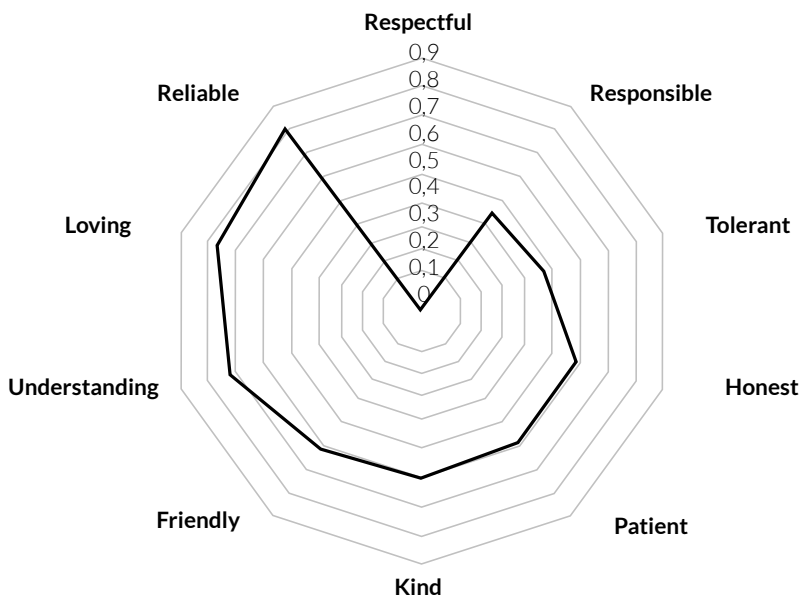
Because it presents the highest semantic weight (M) Respectful is located in the nucleus of the network, while the defining characteristics *Responsible, Tolerant, Honest, Patient, Kind, Friendly, Understanding, Loving, Reliable, Humble and Caring* are distanced from the nucleus in a proportional way with the decrease of the degree of significant relevance granted. The analysis of the semantic distance between the words contained in Figure 1 shows that this MNR presented a network density (G) corresponding to 7.6%. The application of the IF method allowed the identification of the group of words located in the central zone of the network, the zones of potential change and the periphery zone (Table 3).

Table 3. Classification by Importance and Frequency of the SAM Group (Students)

Importance / Frequency	High	Low
High	Respectful (F=189, M=1429, FMG=100%) Tolerant (F=126, M=770, FMG=54%) Honest (F=95, M=601, FMG=42%) Patient (F=98, M=599, FMG=42%) Kind (F=97, M=590, FMG=41%) Friendly (F=113, M=565, FMG=40%)	
Low		Understanding (F=73, M=423, FMG=30%) Loving (F=60, M=346, FMG=24%) Reliable (F=45, M=279, FMG=20%) Humble (F=41, M=248, FMG=17%) Caring (F=52, M=234, FMG=16%) Sincere (F=33, M=195, FMG=14%)

Source: Author's

It can be seen that the defining characteristics of *Respectful, Tolerant, Honest, Patient, Kind and Friendly* form the central zone or nucleus of the students' RSNM, indicating its relative stability in the collective memory of the subjects over time. In the case of the peripheral zone, the defining characteristics were *Understanding, Loving, Reliable, Humble, Caring and Sincere.*

The results associated with this RSNM highlight a particular behavior, observing the absence of defining characteristics located in the zones of potential change in the IF method matrix. It can be seen that in the group of words mentioned the greatest number of times always presented a high degree of significant relevance and the defining words mentioned few times, always presented a low degree of significant relevance.

In addition, this RSNM presents the lowest density (G) among the groups of analysis studied, which suggests, that the group of students presents a ho-

mogeneous, stable, coherent conception and that it is naturally related to the collective memory and the life history of the subjects (González, et al., 2018). Respect, tolerance, honesty, patience, kindness, and friendliness are exalted as the defining characteristics of the subject teacher who builds peace.

Teachers' Conceptions

The RSNM configured by the teachers allowed for the identification of a set of 71 characteristics associated with the conception of the peacebuilding teacher profile, of which 10 conform the SAM group (see Table 4).

Table 4. SAM Group of the RSNM Configured by Teachers

	No.	Defining characteristic	Frequency	Semantic weight (M)	Semantic distance (FMG)	
SAM Group	1	Tolerant	23	149	100.00%	0
	2	Respectful	17	114	76.50%	0.235
	3	Loving	16	105	70.50%	0.295
	4	Supportive	12	78	52.30%	0.477
	5	Understanding	9	55	36.90%	0.631
	6	Honest	10	55	36.90%	0.631
	7	Responsible	9	48	32.20%	0.678
	8	Friendly	11	47	31.50%	0.685
	9	Committed	8	45	30.20%	0.698
	10	Conciliator	5	45	30.20%	0.698

Source: Author's

The most relevant defining characteristics that the teachers express are *Tolerant, Respectful, Loving, Supportive, Understanding, Honest, Responsible, Friendly, Committed and Conciliator.* Among these, Tolerant stands out, which presents a greater significant relevance and frequency of appearance. Tolerance, as well as Respect (in the case of students), correspond to moral values that evidence the capacity of people to value themselves as equals, a fact that is assumed as the ethical basis of peace (Reardon, 1999). The identification of *Tolerance* in this RSNM helps to understand the need manifested by these subjects to be recog-

nized and valued as equals, in an environment that has historically promoted their victimization, paid for especially by state abandonment and the violence generated by the armed groups that have a presence in the area. Figure 2 graphically shows the distance between the words that make up the SAM group in this RSNM.

Figure 2. Semantic Distance between the Defining Characteristics Related by the Teachers
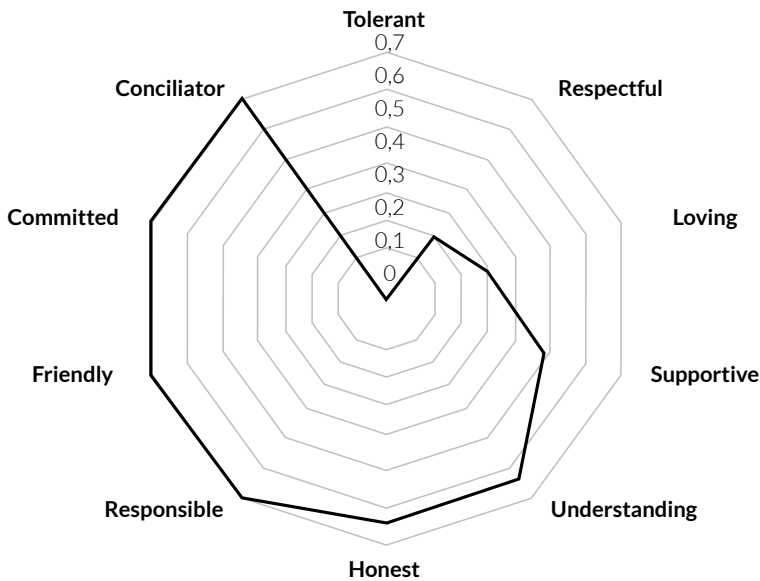
Source: Author's

The word *Tolerant* is located in the central zone of the network as the one that presents the highest degree of importance (M) and frequency of appearance (F) for teachers, as well as its conformation of the central nucleus of the RSNM. As for the semantic distance corresponding to each word in this SAM group, it could be determined that the density of the network (G) is 7.76%. As for the results obtained from the IF method, the following classification is observed (table 5).

Table 5. Classification by Importance and Frequency of the SAM Group (Teachers)

Importance / Frequency	High	Low
High	Tolerant (F=23, M=149, FMG=100%) Respectful (F=17, M=114, FMG=77%) Loving (F=16, M=105, FMG=70%) Supportive (F=12, M=78, FMG=52%)	
Baja		Understanding (F=9, M=55, FMG=37%) Honest (F=10, M=55, FMG=37%) Friendly (F=11, M=47, FMG=32%) Conciliator (F=5, M=45, FMG=30%) Peaceful (F=6, M=44, FMG=30%) Patient (F=8, M=38, FMG=26%)

Source: Author's

Tolerant, Respectful, Loving and Supportive are the core of this network. Likewise, in the peripheral zone are located the defining characteristics of *Understanding, Honest, Friendly, Conciliator, Peaceful* and *Patient*, which, despite being reiterative in the network, do not represent a significant relevance and high frequency of appearance. As in the case of the students, the RSNM configured by the teachers does not present defining characteristics located in the zones of potential change, which suggests a homogeneous and stable conception of the peacebuilding teaching profile.

Students' and Teachers' Conceptions

Students and teachers associated a total of 297 characteristics (RSNM size J=297) with the profile of the peacebuilding teacher. Table 6 shows the SAM group in this RSNM.

Table 6. SAM Group of the RSNM Configured by Students and Teachers

	No.	Defining characteristics	Frequency	Semantic weight (M)	Semantic distance (FMG)	
SAM Group	1	Respectful	206	1543	100%	0
	2	Tolerant	149	919	60%	0.4
	3	Responsible	115	855	55%	0.45
	4	Honest	105	656	43%	0.57
	5	Patient	106	637	41%	0.59
	6	Kind	104	620	40%	0.6
	7	Friendly	124	612	40%	0.6
	8	Understanding	82	478	31%	0.69
	9	Loving	76	451	29%	0.71
	10	Reliable	48	289	19%	0,81

Source: Author's

Distinguishing features are *Respectful, Tolerant, Responsible, Honest, Patient, Kind, Friendly, Understanding, Loving* and *Reliable.* Among this group of words, the defining word *Respectful* presents the highest semantic weight (M), frequency of appearance (F) and a significant semantic distance (FMG) with respect to the other defining words. In Figure 3, we can see graphically the semantic distance between each of the defining words that conform the SAM group of this RSNM.

Figure 3. Semantic Distance Between the Related Definitions by Students and Teachers
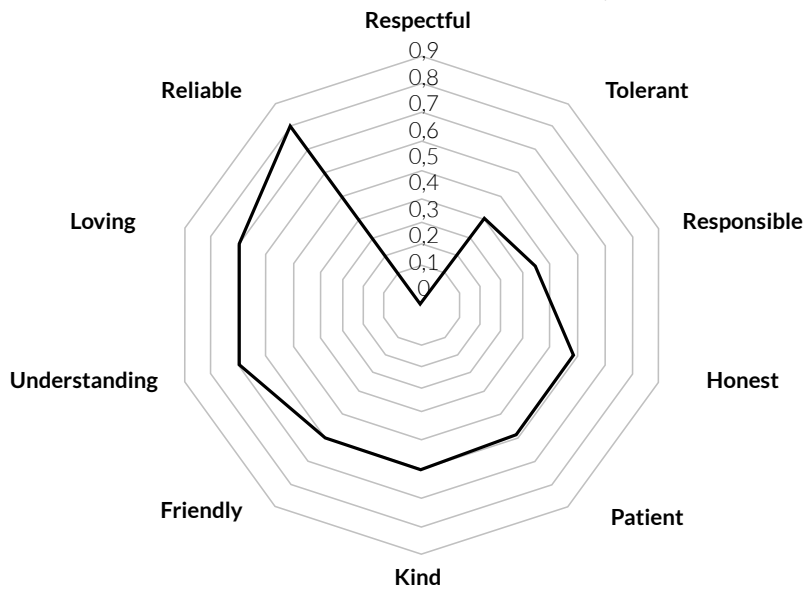
Source: Author's

Thus, the word *Respectful* is located in the core of the network presenting the highest degree of significant relevance. This RSNM presents the highest density G = 9.03% among the analyzed networks, evidencing a greater dispersion among the degrees of importance given to each of the definitions belonging to the SAM group. According to the IF method, the definers in this network are classified as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Classification by Importance and Frequency of the SAM Group (Students and Teachers)

Importance / Frequency	High	Low
High	Respectful (F=206, M=1543, FMG=100%) Tolerant (F=149, M=919, FMG=60%)	Patient (F=106, M=637, FMG=41%) Friendly (F=124, M=612, FMG=40%)
Low	Honest (F=105, M=656, FMG=43%)	Kind (F=104, M=620, FMG=40%) Understanding (F=82, M=478, FMG=31%) Loving (F=76, M=451, FMG=29%) Reliable (F=48, M=289, FMG=19%) Supportive (F=50, M=266, FMG=17%)

Source: Author's

The core of the network or central zone indicates that the *Respectful* and *Tolerant* defining characteristics are the most representative. It can also be seen that in the zones of potential change, the *Honest, Patient and Friendly* defining characteristics are located and in the peripheral zone, the *Friendly, Understanding, Loving, Reliable and Supportive* defining characteristics are located. This implies a close relationship between the definition of universal and moral values and the conception of the peacebuilding educational profile.

The conception of the peacebuilding teaching profile manifested by students and teachers privileges universal and moral values such as respect and tolerance when building peace in environments that have historically been affected by the conflict. This condition provides clues to understanding the social function that the school environment could offer, as a means of transformation and peacebuilding; thus, the school, under the visible leadership of teachers, is called to encourage a comprehensive education that promotes mainly the formation of values, constituting possible ethical, pedagogical and methodological bases for the effective construction of a stable and lasting peace.

Consensus between Students and Teachers

Table 8 shows the consensus matrix of the RSNM configured by the three groups under study.

Table 8. Consensus Matrix between Population Groups

Population group	Students	Teachers	Total
Students	Respectful Tolerant Honest Patient Kind Friendly		
Teachers	Respectful Tolerant	Respectful Tolerant Loving Supportive	
Total	Respectful Tolerant	Respectful Tolerant	Respectful Tolerant

Source: Author's

The diagonal of the matrix shows the defining characteristics that belong to the central zone of the RSNM configured by each population group (tables 3, 5 and 7) and the lower cells show the coincidences between the concepts of these population groups, where it can be identified that there is a general consensus among students, teachers and participants in general, when relating the defining characteristics *Respectful* and *Tolerant* with their conception of the profile of the peacebuilding teacher in their schools.

Conclusions

The comprehension of the concept of peace, as a third-generation human right of a collective nature (Arango, 2007) that is associated not only with the absence of war, but also with the development of social justice, equality and dialogue, allowed the emergence of peace research as an interdisciplinary field that

today brings together a large number of academics, researchers and activists from around the world. Thus, from the research for peace it is proposed that the ability of people to build peace when they cooperate, are recognized as equals and create emotional ties (Muñoz and Molina, 2010); links in which values such as equity, tolerance, solidarity, justice, dialogue, freedom, democracy and respect play a leading role in developing peacebuilding processes (Cabello *et al.*, 2016; Rodriguez and Hinojosa, 2017).

In this vein, it is necessary to give meaning and value to the configuration of the peacebuilding teacher profile, being coherent and exalting the local and situated realities of territories affected by the armed conflict; therefore, from this study, we asked about the conceptions that students and teachers have about the peacebuilding teacher profile in public schools located in the core of the zone of the Colombian Caribbean.

The characterization of the conceptions of students and teachers about the profile of the peacebuilder teacher coincide in pointing out Respectful (mentioned by 76% of the participants) and Tolerant (mentioned by 55% of the participants) as the key characteristics that define the teacher subject, mainly from its intentionality in the processes of pedagogical interaction for the formation of citizens and the configuration of peace scenarios in the schools and the territory. This reading coincides with the proposals of Rodríguez and Hinojosa (2017) in highlighting the importance of values such as respect and tolerance in the process of promoting and acquiring a culture of peace in the various territories. However, according to UNESCO (2017) the conceptions identified in these population groups about the competences and profile of the teacher's role in the peacebuilding processes can be seen as short term, since little relevance is given to basic principles such as freedom, justice, democracy, human rights and solidarity, key elements for the construction of a culture of peace at a universal level.

The culture of peace consists of values, attitudes, behaviors, knowledge and skills that help to peacefully resolve conflicts and create the necessary conditions for building peace (UNESCO, 2017; United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2015). In contrast, the conceptions of students and teachers evidenced in this study, privilege specific values (Respect and Tolerance) and fail to consider factors such as knowledge and skills that a teacher who builds peace should have. These types of considerations propose alternative readings for the training and professional development of teachers, given that they make visible the fundamental competencies that teachers require in order to work in communities affected by the armed conflict. Thus, the formulation of these competencies deserves a reading that goes through the realities and needs of the communities and territories that have been victims of the conflict. Similarly, the emergence of this profile of the peacebuilding teacher sets up a very interesting

debate about: what type of subject do we want to train in these communities, what are the competencies that these subjects should acquire, what will their evaluation processes be like, and to what extent does this evaluation contribute to the growth and development of their communities?

The fact that students and teachers ponder the recognition of values such as Respect and Tolerance, rather than the specific knowledge and skills of teachers, addresses the questions in the literature on teacher training in the attitudinal and conceptual field to strengthen education for peace and interculturality, because these notions are not taken into account during the development of educational practices and teaching knowledge (Torres, 2019). In light of this, it is important to consider the role of the life experiences of the members of the educational community who participated in this project in the face of the armed conflict, since they are school actors historically affected by situations of violence, aggressive behavior and permanent rivalry, where, moreover, "it is common to detect the formula of domination-submission among 'equals' who end up being unequal by the force of inertia" (Mateo et al., 2004, p. 9).

On the other hand, when analyzing the RSNM configured by the two population groups independently (students and teachers), it was identified that the defining characteristics of the Honest, Patient, Kind and Friendly are characteristics that the students consider important for the definition of the peacebuilding teaching profile; however, the teachers do not present this same conception and, instead, highlight the importance of the Loving and Supportive defining characteristics. In this way, it is evident that relative differences exist between the nucleus of the RSNM configured by the contrasting population groups (González et al., 2018), whose findings raise the need for a complementary and enriched vision when it comes to identifying the set of characteristics that constitute the peacebuilding teacher in these scenarios.

These differences evidenced in our study converge on a great challenge that invites us to develop research processes that investigate the historical sense that students and teachers of these educational institutions attribute to concepts such as honesty, patience, kindness, friendliness, love and solidarity. The above is indispensable in order to understand the meanings related to the conceptions of the peacebuilding teacher profile from the elaboration of meanings with greater specificity that take into account the cultural, historical and contextual richness of this community, thus allowing an analysis of the perception of reality that the members of these educational communities have and the interpretation they give to the concept of peace (Álvarez y Pérez, 2019).

Now, it is also important to mention some limitations that in the future will allow us to improve the research process and the characterization of this professional profile. For example, it is necessary to investigate the conceptions

of other actors belonging to the educational community such as parents, social leaders and even actors as perpetrators. The configuration of the semantic network in such a case could be much more complete and would include a greater diversity of concepts and definitions that would strengthen the network and its constitutive core. Additionally, it is convenient to complement this type of study with methodological designs that allow for the recovery of voices, stories and other components of the discursive order of these populations.

These elements presented here approximate a characterization of the concepts of the peacebuilding teaching profile, in a local and situated manner, which provide important findings to be analyzed, debated and reflected upon in greater depth through research. Similarly, there are other related and equally important aspects that are fundamental to building critical mass and advancing new research that addresses clues to formative aspects necessary for the reconstruction of the social fabric in these places, among them, it is necessary to continue to question aspects such as: why do the subjects of these communities consider respect and tolerance as the main characteristics that define the peacebuilding teacher, what meaning does respect and tolerance have in their life history for the students and teachers in these schools? Such questions are a kind of prelude that shows the capacity to reinvent ourselves as a society, especially from the school as a setting that shapes and promotes citizens.

References

Acevedo, A.; Báez, A. (2018). La educación en cultura de paz. Herramienta de construcción de paz en el posconflicto. *Reflexión Política, 20*(40), 69-80. https://revistas.unab.edu.co/index.php/reflexion/article/view/3455

Allan, V. (2008). *Medir el significado: las redes semánticas como método de investigación sociológica* (Monograph). Universidad de Chile.

Álvarez, A.; Pérez, C. (2019). Educación para la paz: aproximación teórica desde los imaginarios de paz. *Educación y Educadores, 22*(2) 277-296. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/eded/v22n2/0123-1294-eded-22-02-277.pdf

Arango, V. (2007). *Paz social y cultura de paz*. Panamá Viejo.

Ávila, H. (2006). *Introducción a la metodología de la investigación*. Instituto Tecnológico de CD.

Baumgart-Ochse, C. (2014). Opposed or Intertwined? Religious and Secular Conceptionsof NationalIdentityinIsraelandtheIsraeli-PalestinianConflict. *Politics, Religion & Ideology, 15*(3), 401-420. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21567689.2014.948531?scroll=top&needAccess=true

Bouché, J. (2012). La paz comienza por uno mismo. *Educación XXI, 6*(1). 25-43. http://revistas.uned.es/index.php/educacionXX1/article/view/351/304.

Cabello, P.; Carmona, S.; Gorjón, F.; Iglesias, E.; Sáenz, K.; Vásquez, R. (2016). *Cultura de paz.* Grupo Editorial Patria, S.A. de C.V.

Caireta, M.; Barbeito, C. (2005). *Introducción de conceptos: paz, violencia, conflicto.* Escola de Cultura de Pau.

Cascón, P. (2001). *Cátedra Unesco sobre paz y derechos humanos: Educar en y para el conflicto.* Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Centro de investigación en relaciones internacionales, CIDOB. (2019). *Conflicto en Colombia: antecedentes históricos y actores.* https://www.cidob.org/publicaciones/documentacion/dossiers/dossier_proceso_de_paz_en_colombia/dossier_proceso_de_paz_en_colombia/conflicto_en_colombia_antecedentes_historicos_y_actores

Dany, L.; Lo Mónaco, G.; Urdapilleta, I. (2015). Free Associations and Social Representations: Some Reflections on Rank-frequency and Importance-frequency Methods. *Quality & Quanty International Journal of Methodology, 49*(2), 489–507. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272202641_Free_associations_and_social_representations_Some_reflections_on_rank-frequency_and_importance-frequency_method

Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP. (2015). *Documento CONPES 3850.* https://colaboracion.dnp.gov.co/CDT/Conpes/Econ%C3%B3micos/3850.pdf

Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (2017a). *Documentos CONPES 3850.* https://colaboracion.dnp.gov.co/CDT/Conpes/Econ%C3%B3micos/3850.pdf

Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP. (2017b). *Plan Marco de Implementación: Acuerdo final para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera.* https://colaboracion.dnp.gov.co/CDT/Poltica%20de%20Vctimas/PAZ/3932_Anexo%20B_Plan%20Marco%20de%20Implementaci%C3%B3n%20(PMI).pdf

Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP. (2018). *Documento CONPES 3932.* https://colaboracion.dnp.gov.co/CDT/Conpes/Econ%C3%B3micos/3932.pdf

Fisas, V. (2011). Educar para una cultura de paz. *Quaderns de Construcción de Pau, 20.* https://escolapau.uab.cat/img/qcp/educar_cultura_paz.pdf

Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia, UNICEF. (2015). *Research Cosortium on Education and Peacebuilding. Literature Review: The Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding.* Amsterdam: UNICEF. https://educationanddevelopment.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/the-role-of-teachers-in-peacebuilding-at-a-glance-nov15.pdf

Garzón, F. (2017). ¿Educación para la paz? *Revista Educación y desarrollo social, 11*(2), 5-19. https://revistas.unimilitar.edu.co/index.php/reds/article/view/3249

González, A.; García, T.; Soltero, R.; Correa, F.; Reynoso, O. (2018). Una reflexión metodológica sobre el método de importancia frecuencia y las redes semánticas naturales en el estudio de las representaciones sociales. *Revista de Educación y Desarrollo, 46*(3), 23-32. http://www.smip.udg.mx/sites/default/files/10._una_reflexion_metodologica_sobre_el_metodo_importancia-frecuencia_y_las_redes_semanticas.pdf

Harto de Vera, F. (2017). La construcción del concepto de paz: Paz negativa, Paz positiva y Paz imperfecta. *Cuadernos de estrategia, 183*, 119-146. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5832796

Hernández, I.; Luna, J.; Cadena, M. (2017). Cultura de paz: una construcción desde la educación. *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana, 19*(28), 149-172. http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S0122-72382017000100009&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=es

Hickman, H.; Alarcón, M.; Cepeda, M.; Cabrera, R.; Torres, X. (2016). Significado de buen profesor y de evaluación docente por estudiantes y maestros universitarios. La técnica de redes semánticas. *Sinéctica*, *47*. http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-109X2016000200009&lng=es&tlng=es

Jones, B.; Metzger, S. (2018). Evaluating Conflict Dynamics: A Novel Empirical Approach to Stage Conceptions. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *62*(4), 819-847. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0022002716656448

Lappin, R. (2018). Bridging the Capabilities-Expectations Gap: Lessons Learned from Post-Conflict Democracy Assistance to Liberia. *Democracy and Security*, *15*(3), 248-270.

Lira, Y.; Archivaldo, H. (2014). La educación para la paz como competencia docente: aportes al sistema educativo. *Innovación Educativa*, *14*(64), 123-144. http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/ie/v14n64/v14n64a10.pdf

Mateo, P.; Ayala, A.; Pérez, L.; Gutiérrez, R. (2004). *Educar en relación: Hacia la convivencia y el respeto.* Educrea.

Ministerio de Agricultura y Desarrollo Rural (2017). *Decreto 893 (28 de Mayo). Por el cual se crean los Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial – PDET.* http://es.presidencia.gov.co/normativa/normativa/DECRETO%20893%20DEL%2028%20DE%20MAYO%20DE%202017.pdf Bogotá: MADR.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional Colombia, MEN. (2015). *Decreto 1038 (25 de Mayo). Por el cual se reglamenta la Cátedra de la Paz.* https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=61735

Molina, B.; Muñoz, F. (2004). *Manual de Paz y Conflictos.* Instituto de la Paz y los Conflictos, Granada.

Mora, P. (2016). Conocimientos, habilidades y actitudes de los docentes constructores de paz. *Mundo Fesc*, *6*(11), 72-79. https://www.fesc.edu.co/Revistas/OJS/index.php/mundofesc/article/view/84

Muñoz, F. (2004). La paz. In Molina, B. y Muñoz, F. *Manual de Paz y Conflictos* (pp. 21-41). Instituto de la Paz y los Conflictos, Granada.

Muñoz, F.; Molina, B. (2010). Una cultura de paz compleja y conflictiva: La búsqueda de equilibrios dinámicos. *Revista Paz y Conflictos, 3,* 44-61. https://www.ugr.es/~revpaz/articulos/rpc_n3_2010_art3.pdf

Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia, UNESCO. (1998). *Informe preliminar de síntesis a las Naciones Unidas acerca de la cultura de paz.* París: UNESDOC. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000111280_spa?posInSet=1&queryId=af418daf-7e4b-4672-8f9b-a5b92a61a90b

Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia, UNESCO. (2017). *Transformative Pedagogy for Peacebuilding: A Guide for Teachers.* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000261349

Ortega, J. (2018). Hacia una resignificación del perfil profesional del profesor en la escuela colombiana. *Revista Praxis, 14*(1), 7-8. https://revistas.unimagdalena.edu.co/index.php/praxis/article/download/2713/2240?inline=1

Ortega, J. (2019). *El concepto de tecnología escolar: una mirada alternativa.* Editorial Unimagdalena.

Ortega, J.; Perafán, A. (2012). Algunas tendencias en la investigación sobre el conocimiento profesional docente: antecedentes y estados de la cuestión. *Revista EDUCyT, 6,* 17-29. https://1library.co/document/zlgp4eoy-tendencias-investigacion-conocimiento-profesional-docente-antecedentes-actual-cuestion.html

Otzen, T.; Materola, C. (2017). Técnicas de muestreo sobre una población a Estudio. *International Journal of Morphology, 35*(1), 227–232. https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0717-95022017000100037

Pardo, A. (2006). Creencias de profesores y estudiantes acerca de la clase académica. *Revista de investigación Universidad de la Salle, 6*(2), 308-318. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237043048_Creencias_de_profesores_y_estudiantes_acerca_de_la_clase_academica

Presidencia de la República (1991). *Constitución Política de Colombia.* Ed. Legis.

Quinche, J.; Perdomo, P.; Vargas, J. (2018). *Despojo paramilitar en el Magdalena: El papel de las élites económicas y políticas.* Observatorio de Restitución y Regulación de Derechos de Propiedad Agraria, Colombia.

Reardon, B. (1999). *La tolerancia: umbral para la paz.* UNESCO.

Reyes, L. (1993). Las redes semánticas naturales, su conceptualización y su utilización en la construcción de instrumentos. *Revista de Psicología Social y Personalidad, 9*(1), 83-99. http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_nlinks&ref=000164&pid=S1657-926720130002000190029&lng=en

Rodríguez, K.; Hinojosa, M. (2017). Respeto y tolerancia como valores promotores de la Cultura de Paz en padres de niños en edad de preescolar en el municipio de San Nicolás de los Garza, Nuevo León México. *Pensamiento Americano, 10*(18), 96-114. http://publicaciones.americana.edu.co/index.php/pensamientoamericano/article/view/47

Salazar, G. (2016). El conflicto armado y su incidencia en la configuración territorial: Reflexiones desde la ciencia geográfica para la consolidación de un periodo de pos-negociación del conflicto armado en Colombia. *Bitácora Urbano Territorial, 26*(2), 45-57. https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/bitacora/article/view/57605

Sánchez, M. (2011). La cultura para la paz en Colombia: retos y opciones desde una perspectiva psico-jurídica. *Pensamiento Jurídico, 30,* 63-101. https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/peju/article/view/36711

Solís, V. (1981). Una aproximación al problema del significado: las redes semánticas. *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología, 13*(3), 447-458. http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_nlinks&ref=000165&pid=S1794-99982015000100009000012&lng=es

Tassara, C. (2017). Posconflicto y políticas públicas en Colombia: una mirada internacional a un reto nacional. In E. Tremolada. *Desafíos del multilateralismo y de la paz* (pp. 453-503). Universidad Externado de Colombia.

Thompson, A. (1992). Teachers´ Beliefs and Conceptions: A Synthesis of the Research. In D. Graws, (Ed.). *Handbook of Research on Mathematics Teaching*

and Learning: A Project of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (pp.127-143). Macmillan.

Torres, M. (2019). Educación para la paz y formación profesional: Aproximación desde la investigación documental. *Praxis & Saber, 10*(2), 143-167. https://revistas.uptc.edu.co/index.php/praxis_saber/article/view/7424

Valdez, J. (2000). *Las redes semánticas naturales, usos y aplicaciones en psicología social.* Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México.

Valdez, J.; Gonzáles, N.; Sánchez, Z. (2005). Elección de pareja en universitarios mexicanos. *Enseñanza e investigación en psicología, 10*(2), 355-367. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/292/29210210.pdf

Vargas-Garduño, M.; Méndez-Puga, A.; Vargas-Silva, A. (2014). *La técnica de las redes semánticas naturales modificadas y su utilidad en la investigación cualitativa.* Memoria Académica IV Encuentro Latinoamericano de Metodología de las Ciencias Sociales, 27 al 29 de agosto de 2014, Heredia, Costa Rica. http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.8204/ev.8204.pdf

Psycho-social Intervention Characteristics in the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme as a Peace Construction Scene in Colombia*

⎡English Version⎤

Características de la intervención psicosocial en el Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio como escenario de construcción de paz en Colombia

Características da intervenção psicossocial no Programa de Desenvolvimento e Paz do Magdalena Medio como cenário de construção da paz na Colômbia

Francy-Lorena Jaramillo-Grajales**
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4829-2001
Colombia
Luisa-Fernanda Cárdenas-Vásquez***
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5814-8935
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: the article seeks to analyze the psychosocial intervention characteristics of the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme (PDPMM) founded in 1995 and highlight it as an experience developed from grassroots groups,

---

* The content of the present article is product of the investigation in the Specialization of Communitarian Social Psychology and Psycho-social Action of Universidad Católica de Pereira. Date: July 2018 to March 2019. the authors declare that there was no conflict of interests in the execution of the investigation project.

** Specialist in Community Social Psychology and Psychosocial Action. Degree in Ethno-education and Community Development. Master in Cultural Studies. E-mail: francis3482@hotmail.com

*** Specialist in Community Social Psychology and Psychosocial Action. Master in Cultural Studies. Degree in Ethno-education and Community Development. Email: luferk90@gmail.com

revealing manners of citizen participation and social organization. **Methodology:** the research was structured under a qualitative approach, using the content analysis method, through a documentary matrix instrument. This methodological process yielded an analysis of three moments: first, the characterization of the Program foundation; second, the theoretical perspective of the psychosocial and, third, the analysis of the characteristics of psychosocial intervention of the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme (PDPMM). **Results:** it was found that one of the main elements of the PDPMM was to define itself from its beginnings as a social process in permanent construction, changing, dynamic and subject to a recomposition of itself. On the other hand, it was evidenced that it is vitally important to know and validate the experiences of peacebuilding in Colombia, in this particular case the PDPMM, which proposes, from a participatory methodology, an alternative to assume and live a territory, thinking about the regional and assign a new meaning to the processes generated with the actors of civil society. **Conclusions:** it is concluded that with the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme, the community processes strengthened elements such as, participation, the political subject, the social fabric, and the construction of the public for the sake of collective well-being.

Keywords: Peace and Development Programme; Magdalena Medio; Methodology, Psychosocial Intervention; Peacebuilding.

Resumen

Objetivo: el artículo busca analizar las características de intervención psicosocial del Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio (PDPMM) fundado en 1995 y resaltarlo como una experiencia gestada desde los grupos de base, develando las formas de participación ciudadana y de organización social. **Metodología:** la investigación se estructuró bajo un enfoque cualitativo, empleando el método de análisis de contenido, a través del instrumento de la matriz documental. Este proceso metodológico arrojó un análisis en tres momentos: el primero, la caracterización de la fundación del Programa; el segundo, la perspectiva teórica de lo psicosocial y, el tercero, el análisis de las características de intervención psicosocial del Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio (PDPMM). **Resultados:** se encontró que uno de los elementos principales del PDPMM fue definirse desde sus inicios como un proceso social en permanente construcción, cambiante, dinámico y sujeto a una

recomposición de sí mismo. Por otro lado, se evidenció que es de vital importancia conocer y validar las experiencias de construcción de paz en Colombia, en este caso particular el PDPMM, que propone desde una metodología participativa, una alternativa para asumir y vivir un territorio, pensando lo regional y resignificando los procesos generados con los actores de la sociedad civil. **Conclusiones:** se concluye que con el Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio los procesos comunitarios fortalecieron la participación, el sujeto político, el tejido social y la construcción de lo público en aras de un bienestar colectivo.

Palabras-clave: Programa de Desarrollo y Paz; Magdalena Medio; Metodología; Intervención psicosocial; Construcción de paz.

Resumo

Objetivo: o artigo busca analisar as características de intervenção psicossocial do Programa de Desenvolvimento e Paz do Magdalena Medio (PDPMM) fundado em 1995 e destacá-lo como uma experiência desenvolvida a partir dos grupos de base, revelando as formas de participação cidadã e organização social. **Metodologia:** a pesquisa foi estruturada sob uma abordagem qualitativa, utilizando o método de análise de conteúdo, através do instrumento da matriz documental. Esse processo metodológico rendeu uma análise em três momentos: o primeiro, a caracterização da fundação do Programa; a segunda, a perspectiva teórica do psicossocial e, em terceiro lugar, a análise das características de intervenção psicossocial do Programa de Desenvolvimento e Paz do Magdalena Medio (PDPMM). **Resultados:** verificou-se que um dos principais elementos do PDPMM deveria ser definido desde o início como um processo social em constante construção, mudança, dinâmica e sujeita a uma recomposição de si mesmo. Por outro lado, mostrou-se que é de vital importância conhecer e validar as experiências de construção da paz na Colômbia, neste caso específico o PDPMM, que propõe a partir de uma metodologia participativa, uma alternativa para assumir e viver um território, pensando no regional e resignando os processos gerados com os atores da sociedade civil. **Conclusões:** conclui que com o Programa de Desenvolvimento e Paz do Magdalena Medio os processos comunitários fortaleceram objetos tais como a participação, o tema político, o tecido social e a construção do público em prol do bem-estar coletivo.

Palavras-chave: Programa de Desenvolvimento e Paz; Magdalena Medio; Metodologia; Intervenção Psicossocial; Construção da paz.

Introduction

This article addresses the psychosocial characteristics underlying the intervention of the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme (PDPMM) that was founded in 1995 and considered the first peace laboratory in Colombia. These characteristics are also recognized because they manage to convene the community, public, private, religious and academic entities around the community transformation from the economic, social, political, environmental and cultural development.

In the current political situation of the post-peace agreement in Colombia, it is pertinent to recognize the multiple trajectories of peace-building processes in communities that, amid complex socio-political conditions, generate a commitment to rebuilding the social fabric, assuming as agents mobilizing local and regional decisions and articulating community and institutional interests. Therefore, the purpose of this article is framed in recognizing the psychosocial interventions in contexts of an armed conflict that manages to articulate with national and international, public and private institutions, making a contribution to peace-building processes and, in turn, positioning itself as a means to strengthen and problematize the realities in contexts violated by violence.

The analysis seeks to answer the question: what are the characteristics of psychosocial intervention in the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme? It would help to recognize the importance of psychosocial interventions as a means to strengthen and transform the realities in territories affected by violence. To address this question, the main objective was the analysis of the characteristics of psychosocial intervention underlying the PDPMM proposal. In order to fulfill this objective, it was necessary to propose the following specific objectives: identify the foundations of the Program and describe the characteristics of psychosocial intervention that underlie its methodology during its creation.

Context of Magdalena Medio from the Geographical Point of View, Organizations, Social Movements and Political Violence

The Magdalena Medio region is located between the Eastern and Central Cordillera, in the departments of Antioquia, Bolívar, Boyacá, Cesar and Santander and, to a lesser extent, in Caldas, Cundinamarca and Tolima. For its strate-

gic geography of Andean cities, it is considered a corridor to the Caribbean, Venezuela and the valleys of the South, allowing regional and interdepartmental development. In addition, it is recognized for its natural riches such as gold, oil, fauna, flora and water sources, characteristics that allowed for the establishment of an extractive economy, giving rise to the first settlements, which generated an excessive environmental use, creating scenarios of continuous dispute and inequity for the area (Observatory of Integral Peace, 2014).

The geopolitical importance of the Magdalena Medio region has made it one of the main focuses of sociopolitical violence. This scenario was unable to meet the basic needs of all migrants and villagers, thus shaping the first social protests that used the absence of the State to resolve conflicts and seek social welfare.

The above, configured a territory with acute social, political, economic and environmental conflicts, giving rise to the settlement of guerrilla movements of the time such as the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN) (National Liberation Army), *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (*FARC) (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) in the 60s, M-19 movements and the *Ejército Popular de Liberación* (EPL) (Popular Liberation Army) in the 70s, drug trafficking groups in the 80s and the emergence of the paramilitaries in the 90s, making Magdalena Medio one of the most violent regions in Colombia. Such situations, for years, have directly affected the population, violating their human rights and affecting the social and community work processes of social leaders and organizations, trade union movements, among others.

In the 1990s, several civil society initiatives were present in Magdalena Medio, giving an account of the assemblage of communities in their capacities to recognize and understand the conflict, as well as to work collaboratively with non-governmental organizations, national political movements and Catholic churches. Among the organizations present in this dynamic are those of the inhabitants, which are characterized by being informal groupings for the distribution of the workspace and associative forms of production, in which the communication relationships are horizontal, which implies the organization and distribution of the territory through agreements. This type of base organization of miners, fishermen or farmers depends on values such as equity, solidarity, word value and purpose unit (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2008, p. 99). [Own translation]

Likewise, there are organizations for the claimant struggle that identify as movements aimed at defending the possession of the land, demanding respect for life and improving its conditions. An example of this type of grouping in the region is the Peasant Bureau of Exodus, which in 1998 mobilized thousands of peasants to denounce paramilitary onslaught and human rights violations by

the State (UNDP, 2008, p. 99). There are also organizations for direct assistance in which collective actions provide targeted care to particularly vulnerable groups, such as the elderly, head-of-household mothers, male and female children, youth populations, among others, based on regional or national funding and initiatives that, while fulfilling a complementary role, sometimes cover State responsibilities.

For this territory, the history of social movements and organizations shows a significant, diverse and solid dynamic that has managed through its collective interests to generate actions that promote other realities from interaction of actors both public and private. The presence of the *Pastoral Social de la Iglesia Católica, la Corporación Regional de Derechos Humanos* (CREDHOS) (Corporation for the Defense of Human Rights), *la Organización Femenina Popular de Barrancabermeja* (Popular Women's Organization of Barrancabermeja), *Asociación Campesina del Valle del Río Cimitarra* (ACVC) (Association of Peasant Workers of Carare), *Asociación Campesina del Valle del Río Cimitarra* (ACVC) (Peasant Association of the Cimitarra *Valle del Río Cimitarra), Federación Agrominera del Sur de Bolívar* (FEDEAGROMISBOL (Agrominera Federation of Southern Bolivar) and *Unión Sindical Obrera* (USO) (Workers' Union) (UNDP, 2008, p.17) is highlighted.

After recognizing the characteristics of the territory of Magdalena Medio and highlighting the tensions that have historically engulfed it, it is necessary to understand the initial foundations on which the Development and Peace Program was built, recognizing its lines of intervention against human rights, social and productive processes as the scenario of psychosocial intervention on which this research was carried out.

Emergence of the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme

In Magdalena Medio in Colombia, Jesuit leaders such as Priest Francisco de Roux gambled on building a more equitable, just and rights-guaranteed society. Thus, on October 17, 1995, *Consorcio Centro de investigación y Educación Popular-Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (CINEP-SEAP) (Consortium Centre for Research and Education for Popular Research and Education-Economic Society of Friends of the Country) was established to carry out regional diagnoses with the Diocese of Barrancabermeja and proposed the creation of the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme (PDPMM), as an instrument capable to insert into the life of the territory and to generate dynamics in favor of development and peace (National Network of Regional Development and Peace Programmes) [Redprodepaz], 2016).

This initiative recognized the potentialities of communities and the guarantee of dignity for all the people. After a diagnosis of the De Roux region (1999), the program set as goals that: a) Economic development must be in line with an improvement in dignity and quality of life, b) Ecological, economic and social sustainability as central elements of the strategy must be propeled, c) Participatory democracy and public space consolidation must be built (p. 20).

The deep analysis that underscored this route was based on two questions: the first, how is it possible that a region as rich as Magdalena Medio (its inhabitants, oil, gold mines, biodiversity) can exist with municipalities and villages where poverty reaches very high levels? And the second, how is it possible for a cheerful, hard-working, aspiring people to experience such a violent situation? Therefore, among the guiding criteria that prioritized the actions and projects of PDPMM were expressed the following: "Life first" respect for human dignity, the construction of regions among all people, development of sustainable peace, solidarity with victims and vulnerable populations, recognition and appreciation of the differentiation and promotion of social and public subject (Vargas *et al.*, 2011, p. 5). [Own translation]

In terms of Colombian reality, peacebuilding became a field of participation for many actors with multiple experiences and understandings who have strengthened an epistemic framework from which realities are involved in peace and transitional scenarios. However, the particular and contextual ways of surviving in the midst of armed conflict can broaden the view of how complex it is to enunciate and make peace an experience, a view that is taken from now on as actions aimed primarily at enabling political and democratic participation. It provides justice for those responsible for the facts and establishes reconciliation supports from structural changes that establish non-repetition guarantees (Rodriguez, 2017).

Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme Strategic Axes in Colombia

PDPMM fosters values such as peace, life, productivity, acceptance of difference, solidarity and aims to strengthen capacities in its inhabitants such as partnership, organizational creation, decision-making, among others. Throughout its history it has oriented its work on three strategic axes[1], PDPMM promotes values such as those that interactive and inter-woven, are interdependent and integral in the territory based on the development of actions with communities, organizations and people in the region. They are: 1. Human Rights, Dialogue

---

1. This link expands the information http://www.pdpmm.org.co/index.php/el-programa

and Peacebuilding, 2. Social, Cultural and Democratic Governance Processes, 3. Productive and environmental processes for Equity and Sustainable Development.

PDPMM positioned as the first new and differential regional process in which, beyond political and cultural movements, growing groups of inhabitants of the territory has moved toward peace since the protection of life within its complex political and social reality, (De Roux, 1999, p. 15). [Own translation]. This regional proposal was consolidated as the first Peace Laboratory in Colombia, through a methodological process flexible and adaptable to territorial needs. It reported what happened as a pool of experiences, meanings and dynamics.

Within this context, the interventions made in Colombia to accompany the armed conflict victim populations are framed both from state institutions, and from grassroots organizations. It impacts the population groups involved differently but, at the same time, mobilizes the creation of reconciliation spaces. Therefore, the interventions that have been made must be rooted in forms of grouping and dialogue without separating them from individual unraveling that form and demand new production cores of that social subjectivity at the institutional level, that is, within the family, school, labor organization and community (González Rey, 2004, p. 24). [Own translation]

In this sense, it is necessary to highlight that over the past three decades the reference frameworks and interpretation of peacebuilding in the country have been strengthened in different sectors, making peace laboratories visible as their own contextual response and process to violence to their person and territories.

In this regard Barreto (2015), in the article titled *El Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio, ¿Un modelo de construcción de paz para el postconflicto en Colombia?*, recognizes that the PDPMM "is configured as a consolidated and valid, positive peace-building model at the regional level, from which various lessons and 'good practices' can be extracted for the construction of a sustainable and lasting peace in Colombia" (p. 462). [Own translation]

From this perspective, agencies with local and regional stakes are shown as a construction that transits, surpasses difficulties on alternatives of transformation that guarantee life in the territories. This makes the searches that go beyond the simple absence of conflict visible, it rescues daily life, particularities, strategies and alliances between subjects, organizations and localities as a significant area to problematize this conjunctural scenario in our reality.

Another contribution by Saavedra (2006) in the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme *y la Red Prodepaz* article shows how PDPMM has sought to establish links and actions based on complex reading of actors, interests, conflicts, identities, and differences, from critical positioning and intentions. It has allowed the building of synergies between public and private

sectors as it reconfigures and highlights the porosity that represents institutionality and expands the subjects' public positioning. They are readings that invite understandings, positioning and methodologies that have meant PDPMM is a construction that for decades has sought to reconfigure the lines of social and political intervention in vulnerable contexts.

Now in a particular way, it is reviewed from where the theoretical perspective of the psychosocial is assumed as the basis for this research. It recognizes the impact that psychosocial interventions have as gambles to thinking of the relationship of the individual and the collective in community transformation.

Psychosocial Theoretical Perspective

Social, cultural and political changes that emerge in today's societies lead to creating new ways of taking on and addressing challenges, conflicts and possibilities, something that cannot be seen by adapting European or American models of intervention to intervene in Latin American social phenomena. Therefore, it is necessary to implement contextualized social interventions to allow for the creation of new realities from and for a specific community.

The importance of the discussion around these psychosocial aspects must lead to the recognition of a category in the middle of an academic tradition, which enunciates the multiple possibilities of analysis in which the description only transcends the individual and social matters, since the human condition is not only resolved from this reduction but also affected by power structures, both endogenously and exogenously. The human being must be analyzed from the psychological point of view but linked to its socio-historical and contextual reality, since it is not necessary to see it in a single dimension; being a social character, a person is immersed in a symbolic interaction: individual, family-group and community (Corporación Juan Bosco, 2007).

The psychosocial perspective aims to understand and intervene in reality without reducing it to mutually exclusive psychic or social processes. In the contributions of Díaz and Díaz (2015), an approach to the actual person is suggested, to detail the individual and group characteristics of a specific context, allowing for the comprehensive addressing of possible alternatives for change (p. 63). [Own translation]

Public institutions consider the psychosocial perspective as "a way of understanding the responses and behaviors of people in a specific cultural, political, economic, religious and social context" (Bello, 2004, p. 192). [Own translation] The key is how to understand these processes that emerge and are in

motion, which is why they are a new condition of reality, given that it addresses both individual subjectivities and collective identities.

Human beings are created with others and from others, in search of social, communicative and symbolic skills, which implies the emergence of their own personal subjectivity and the construction or reconstruction of the community (Carmona, 2009, p. 53). [Own translation] For his part, Villa (2012) affirms that talking about "the psychosocial implies, therefore, a position that crosses not only the theoretical and the intervention itself, but an ontological, ethical-political, epistemological and methodological place" (p. 353). [Own translation]

Thus, the psychosocial perspective is a way of analyzing social problems and phenomena, having as its object the interactions that occur in a social environment. Although no particular discipline has been dedicated to making a rigorous study of this category. Some Latin American intellectuals agree that it is not possible to speak of the human being without taking into account this context, this being a symbolic and physical space, which creates meanings in the subjects that inhabit it, developing competencies and skills that recognize the diversity of scenarios and thoughts, which configure and rebuild the social fabric; the latter only occurs through personal and collective experiences and in everyday relationships.

Recognizing the psychosocial perspective, it is necessary to account for these three Latin American theories: community social psychology, critical social psychology, and liberation psychology, which have allowed for the creation of approaches on which psychosocial intervention is assumed to problematize the realities, subjects and forms of institutional intervention.

Theoretical Perspective of the Relationship Between Community Social Psychology, Critical Psychology and Liberation Psychology

According to Montero (2004a), "what to do, how to do it and psychological thinking developed in the Latin American social field at the end of the 20th century, and so far in the 21st century, have been configured as an alternative and innovative response to the needs of the context, making their contributions to the multiple changes of thoughts, gestated before the crises of the traditional models in the field of Social Sciences" (p. 17). [Own translation] Within these fields, there are Community Social Psychology, Liberation Psychology and Critical Social Psychology, currents of knowledge that have relationships, similarities and differences among themselves, although they maintain their interest in the study of the sociocultural dynamics of the Latin American continent where they have assumed their identity and roots.

Community psychology was defined in its beginnings as the study of psychosocial factors that allow for the development, promotion and maintenance of the control and power that individuals can exercise over their natural and social environment, to solve problems that afflict them and achieve changes in those environments (Montero, 1984, p. 390). In this, participation is configured from the mobilization of communities, groups or people in their actions, in their recognition as social characters that reconstruct their particular realities.

For its part, the critical current is assumed in a political discourse that, from the conscious analysis of positivist exercises, shows the socioeconomic conditions and their effect on the field of science and the ways of assuming social phenomena. Likewise, it seeks to generate reflection and commitment to the other, realizing the complexity that realities imply and generating possibilities for change.

Criticism subverts the way of seeing things; it dislodges the mechanisms of power that sustain established positions and opens new perspectives to knowledge. It is part of the complexity of the world, usually too difficult to accept (Montero 2004a, p. 19). [Own translation]. Its importance lies in the fact that it is a tool to find different ways of assuming the social; prioritizing the diversity of social characters and the relationship between the phenomena and the context in which they develop, taking the complexity of said construction scenario and inviting its study from a holistic perspective.

For its part, liberation psychology defines its actions when working with the victims of oppression; these being the subjects who have been excluded from social goods and public decision-making. Liberation is, then, the re-signification of the capacities and potentialities that these subjects have and that have been denied in historical, cultural and social frameworks of power and segregation, assuming them as active subjects in their transfer to other realities. For Martin Baró (1986), "the function of psychology would not be, therefore, to predict and control behavior, much less to try to offer easy solutions to the dilemmas of existence, but rather to "liberate" the human being, giving them greater autonomy and real possibilities of choice, overcoming alienated patterns of behavior" (Dobles, 2009, p. 7). [Own translation]

These three trends shape a particular path of conducting psychology, expressing their valuable findings in the complexity and dynamism of the social, demonstrating that the social fabrics that are built in a community, transform the environment of both the intervention subjects and the role played by the interventions of professionals.

This research highlights some elements of analysis on how a context is transformed from the interactions between grassroots organizations, public institutions, academia and the Catholic Church, in the midst of a historically vio-

lated context and in which they confront ideals, particular interests and intervention methodologies to signify the construction of the collective as a model of regional development.

Methodology

This research was structured under a qualitative approach that, as stated by Rodríguez, Gil and García (1996), "studies reality in a context as it happens, taking as a central axis the meanings and senses that are constructed through relationships between people" (p.10). [Own translation]. Content analysis was used as a method, which from the perspective of Abela (2002) "is defined as the interpretation of texts, whether they are written … or recorded differently where there may be all kinds of data records (…) based on the reading (textual or visual) as an instrument for collecting information" (p. 2). [Own translation]

For this content analysis, a document analysis matrix was used as an instrument that consists of, according to Finol and Nava (1999), organizing the conceptual data necessary for the analysis, from which categories and subcategories are derived that support the theoretical discussion.

The methodological process consists of three stages and they are broken down into seven steps, namely as follows:

Stage I. Identification of Documentary Sources

Step 1: Virtual Bibliographic Consultations.

Virtual and face-to-face bibliographic consultations were carried out, that yielded referred documents and systematizations. A great variety were found such as: books 5, web pages 6, articles 12, systematizations 5, management and evaluation reports 5; this made it possible to make a selection of documents relevant to the investigation, among which several documents can be mentioned, such as the "Central document for diagnosis, conclusions and recommendations, Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme, PDPMM" (De Roux, 1996), "The methodological process of the PDPMM" (Katz, 1999b). "The Magdalena Medio in the midst of conflict and hope" (De Roux, 1996), "Routes and experiences of our people. Systematization of experiences in the processes of the settlers of Magdalena Medio" (UNDP, 2008), "The construction of the public in the current scenario of Magdalena Medio" (Katz, 1999a), "The projects of the PDPMM, a laboratory of peace" (Moncayo, 1999).

Step 2: Library Search.

A direct search was necessary in the libraries of the Banco de la República and Biblioteca Pública Román Correa Mejía in the city of Pereira, the Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP) and the Redprodepaz (Bogotá), which have been systematizing and accompanying the peacebuilding processes in Colombia.

Step 3: CINEP-REPRODEPAZ Focus.

An approach was formulated using CINEP and Redprodepaz virtual catalogs, in the search for access to vital foundational texts to identify the bases, methodologies and results of the PDPMM.

Stage II. Elaboration of Instruments and Data Collection

Step 4: Review of Texts with an In-depth Look.

It allowed for the recognition of the discourses of the community, professionals, as well as public and private institutions that participated in the Program construction.

Step 5: Elaboration of Documentary Analysis Matrix.

To systematize the information, a document analysis matrix structured in seven columns was elaborated (type of text, text title, author, year, ideas of social intervention from PDPMM, characteristic ideas psychosocial intervention, emerging categories).

Step 6: Analysis of Texts and Emerging Categories.

The in-depth reading allowed the convergence of the theoretical references assumed in the research with the empirical findings from the analysis of the texts. From this analysis, categories and subcategories that aim at positioning and enunciating the characteristics of the psychosocial intervention found in the PDPMM emerged. A table that allows us to observe the categories and subcategories, which were grouped based on the four sections of the analysis of this research, is shown below.

Table 1. Categories and Subcategories that Emerge from This Research

CATEGORÍA	SUBCATEGORÍAS
Community intervention	- Socio-political conflict - Participatory diagnosis - Citizen strengthening (political subject)
Local and regional construction	- Subregional project strategies - Community participation - Social fabric
Psychosocial intervention in the PDPMM	- Institutional strengthening - Construction of the public - Community transformation

Source: Author's

Stage III. Information Analysis

Step 7: Information Interpretation.

The process that was carried out, as a situated exercise, allowed for dialogue between the specificity generated in the interventions of the years of existence of the PDPMM, the conceptual readings and the agencies of the investigating subjects. This relationship generated the analysis and theoretical discussion. With all this, contributing to the creation of meanings and senses in the construction of peace from the psychosocial perspective was sought. The aim was to achieve that the information not only be collected, but that it also allow for the creation and querying of places of enunciation which are mobilized in this reality (Díaz, González-Rey and Arias, 2017).

The next theoretical discussion will focus on the characteristics of psychosocial intervention that underlie the Development and Peace Program. Such characteristics will be addressed through three lines of analysis that integrate the categories and subcategories.

Results

Community Intervention

Magdalena Medio is a region historically affected by the armed conflict, in which different insurgent groups with particular interests have imposed their presence (via illicit drugs, mining extraction, control of strategic corridors). They have negatively impacted communities with attacks, kidnappings, displacements, homicides, and infiltrations, among others; this has increased the levels of poverty and exclusion, preventing the development of community processes with social justice. However, the Program was consolidated in its beginnings as "a commitment from civil society, the territory and its inhabitants; despite their limitations, they have managed to convene historically opposed and excluded sectors to put their interests in the public agenda" (Guerrero et al., 2011, p. 14). [Own translation]

Given this context, the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme constitutes a Humanitarian Space (HS) in Magdalena Medio, since, as a social process, it has declared autonomy from the actors of the armed conflict, with the purpose of remaining in its territory and forging a scenario of common welfare and peace building. This HS is supported by International Humanitarian Law (IHL) that protects the non-combatant population in designated areas to safeguard it from the effects of war or internal armed conflicts.

From a psychosocial approach, the fact that communities, over time, make organizational decisions and make their weaknesses and strengths visible by understanding the conflict to take advantage of the support of governmental and non-governmental organizations is a strategic step in which to think about how dynamic and contextual interventions should be. The idea is not about removing responsibilities from the State, but rather recognizing its role in articulation with the rights of populations. In this sense, Vargas (2010) makes reference to the fact that "civil society strengthens human rights, disseminates them, re-signifies the issue of citizenship, that is, the inhabitants as subjects of rights summon armed groups, reaching agreements humanitarian, local and conjunctural" (p. 11). [Own translation]

Such aspects enable a construction mediated by the interests of all sectors of society, in order to create spaces for local and regional development; with that in mind, intervening in multi-problematic contexts implies a commitment to social problems and to particular subjects where it is necessary to take risks and mediate in different realities, since there are many social actors that are present in the same territory. Thence, the construction of citizenship is a challenge, as it

seeks to mobilize new subjectivities to create processes of justice, equity, healthy coexistence and peace.

In this research, participation is taken as a key element for community intervention, highlighting its political effect in relation to the formation of citizens for the strengthening of civil society and through this, an empowerment is generated for the construction of the political subject. According to Montero (2004a), "community participation is an organized, collective, free, inclusive process in which there are a variety of actors, activities and degrees of commitment that are guided by shared values and objectives, in which constitution, community and individual transformations are produced" (p. 109) [Own translation].

In this sense, when participating in said processes, all the actors are included, recognizing its internal and external agents; for this reason, it is taken as a point of departure the PDPMM scenario as a process of collective participation that reveals the common efforts established under a comprehensive perspective that included its inhabitants, on the basis of the motto that makes reference to the protection of life and regional development. "The work was devised from the family, the farm, the countryside and the organizations, integrating and sharing points of view with history and their memories, in order to support the configuration of the collective project" (UNDP, 2008, p. 84). [Own translation]

However, the foregoing is marked by tensions, disputed knowledge and individual interests, which configure various representations of what is considered collective. It also allows for the understanding that psychosocial intervention is not a perfect action, but a dynamic one that includes agreements and disagreements, seen as an opportunity to be redirected again.

Meanwhile, the PDPMM diagnostic process included more than two thousand people and different institutions that were involved in different ways, as well as a significant group of organizations such as: the *Coordinadora Regional de Derechos Humanos Regional* CREDHOS (Corporation for the Defense of Human Rights), the *Organización Femenina Popular* OFP (Popular Women's Organization), the *Coordinadora Popular de Barrancabermeja* (Popular Coordinator of Barrancabermeja), the Chambers of Commerce, the Trade Union Committee, the *Uso Regional y Nacional* (Regional and National Use), the Fishermen Associations, the Petroleum Port Management Group, the Ecopetrol External Relations Team, *Asociación de Campesinos de la Cuenca del Río Cimitarra*, the *Asociación de Frijoleros de Santa Rosa* ASOCALIMA (Association of Beans of Santa Rosa ASOCALIMA), the *Centro CLEBER de Simití*, CORMAGDALENA (Regional Autonomous Corporation of the Río Grande de la Magdalena), FUNDESMAG (Foundation for the Development of Magdalena Medio), the local universities INUPAZ (University Institute of Peace), UCC (Universidad Cooperativa of Colombia) and UIS (Universidad Industrial of Santander), the Peace Brigade and

the International Red Cross, the *Pastoral Social de la Diócesis y el Servicio Jesuita de Desplazados* (Social Pastoral of the Diocese and the Jesuit Refugee Service).

The diagnosis was carried out with the inhabitants between 1995 and 1996 in different municipalities of the region. The aim was to make visible the individual and collective experiences, difficulties and strengths of the territory, in order to consolidate a flexible and adjustable methodological approach. According to de Roux (1999) "the methodological process of the Program accounts for some fundamental variables to think about integral development: region, settlement, culture, rural and urban economy, oil, institutions, local politics, education and environment" (p. 19). [Own translation]. From a psychosocial perspective, the diverse interactions between residents, associations and government institutions not only account for common objectives, but also for places of mediation, which reveal that times and spaces are essential to reach community agreements and not welfare decisions in psychosocial intervention.

This gave way to the Program objective that emphasized the coexistence of citizens for a culture of peace that would lay the foundations for the construction of public space, where no one is excluded, in the words of De Roux (1999),

The aim was to set up a sustainable economy, developed and controlled by the inhabitants, peasant organizations and local entrepreneurs, which would make the quality of life in the region the first objective of productive activity, and by a State and a society that would forge the social and natural capital indispensable for the coexistence and the initiatives of the groups (p. 20) [Own translation].

This underscores the importance of building bridges of work and cooperation between the State, institutions and academic unions, since it is precisely the processes generated by civil society in its struggle for a dignified life that build and transform the practices exercised in its territories. In the midst of the socio-political situation in which the Program was conceived, it was based on the needs of the community to prioritize the victims of the armed conflict toward the empowerment of children, youth, women, and communities, as fundamental social and political actors for the strengthening of citizens.

The community processes of the PDPMM are understood as a community process that emphasizes the construction of the collective, where the base groups are mobilized that, in articulation with other public and private institutions, surpass the welfare and momentary practices to which some Colombian communities are accustomed and outlined. The approach to the Program shows how the processes of community intervention require time and space; in this way, since 1995, a cultural, socio-political and economic transformation is being built not only under a government plan but as a regional project to forge territories of peace.

Thus, the methodological process presents an exercise that particularizes and positions the municipality as the first planning scenario, from participation and agreement, but that is systematically included in a regional dynamic projected to a collective future, as will be seen in the following section.

Local and Regional Construction

Assuming and sustaining an integrating methodological process in the broad context of the Magdalena Medio region was always one of the Program's main challenges, so it was considered necessary to work under decentralized but linked logics, thus constituting a regional meeting point in Barrancabermeja and six territorial delegations, representing the sub-regions, made up of the 29 participating municipalities.

The creation of contextualized proposals in each sub-region was guided by an integrative logic for the Magdalena Medio, which sought institutional support and legitimacy through municipal pacts. In the midst of their development and as a result of their permanent evaluation, it was demonstrated that these sub-regional projects, initially constructed, did not fit the reality of the assessment carried out, but rather proposals within the institutional framework established by academic experts and that did not evidence a social construction for regional development, since they had to reflect the ideas of the inhabitants; according to De Roux (1999), "it had to be something proposed by the people themselves and in coherence with their socio-political dynamics, something that they presented to the larger society and the State, to external or internal financing" (p. 24) [own translation].

This led to the abandonment of the sub-regional projects and a proposal of regional character and association of municipalities, which would give the Program the status of a development model. These proposals, created from May 1997 to May 1998, constituted shared visions about the possibilities to ensure coexistence and the overcoming of poverty in a sustainable way; therefore, and as future references, they were projected out to ten years seeking sustainability and relevance for the contexts and their realities, supported by social, collective and humanitarian considerations.

This aspect is fundamental, because it also allows us to understand how professionals who carry out psychosocial interventions must have an ethical political position, which implies reflecting on the objectives established from the institutional framework (plan, program or project) in order to mitigate the action with damage that it may generate and, from the contextual practices, to identify links and actors who become guides to mobilize actions created by and for themselves.

In the social transformation, the participation of the people that conform a community is an indispensable element, because they are the ones that must lead, execute and evaluate the impacts, with the accompaniment of the psychosocial professionals, as De Roux (1999) mentions "the participative element in the PDPMM, makes the aspiration formulated as a possible future and as a commitment of people, groups and institutions, go out from the inhabitants and from the beginning involve the people in its maturation and execution" (p. 24) [own translation].

Thus, from a psychosocial intervention perspective, three actions are considered that make psychosocial intervention possible. The first is the reading of the context, in which it is necessary to participate in order to recognize the dynamics that characterize it and give it meaning. The second, is the joint creation of strategies with the community, generating possibilities of change from collective participation, leaving capacities installed in the contexts. The third is the generation of institutional bridges, providing access to government services as guarantors and promoters of citizen and public rights. Thus, those who intervene have the task of seeing themselves as a subject in permanent formation, where the subject-matter relationship will provide the possibility of generating a spiral learning process that allows critical awareness as political subjects that transform their realities and strengthen the social fabric.

The construction of the local to the regional gives account of a complex and dynamic exercise, which gave solidity to the concrete efforts of municipalities and sub-regions, joining efforts to build a socially, culturally and politically inclusive region. In the field of Social Psychology, these efforts are assumed as an opening for its political resignification and for its understanding from an interdisciplinary perspective, since these construction scenarios demonstrate the creation, not only of an organizational framework for the benefit of all, but also the appropriation of discourses and alternative practices that dignify life.

These community initiatives mobilize collective resources, through participation for the achievement of objectives, from the methodological process of the PDPMM that wishes to impact, according to Katz (1999a), in "the construction of the social fabric, in the measure that it promotes a basis of consensus among the inhabitants, around the definition of a future that responds in an equitable manner to the needs and interests present in the life of the region" (p. 77) [own translation].

The proposed methodology of the PDPMM makes visible exercises that seek to transform the counterproductive dynamics and propose points of negotiation with the actors in the region, assuming the difference as a potential element for the consolidation of dynamics that contribute to integral development. For this reason, below we highlight some strategic contributions in the

methodological construction of the Program, making visible its psychosocial intervention approach and that are a gamble for territorial and institutional strengthening, human and economic development in the way of rebuilding the social fabric.

Psychosocial Intervention in PDPMM

In its founding years, the PDPMM proposed a model of social intervention that would respond to two possible scenarios for achieving integral development, according to Katz (1999a) the first, the institutional strengthening of the State from the active participation of civil society; and the second, an integral human and economic development in which the knowledge, interests and life experiences of the inhabitants are recognized (p. 77). Comprehensiveness also implies economic development aimed at sustainable construction, which recognizes the contributions of the productive practices of the people, as mentioned by Vargas (2010),

The proposal seeks to demonstrate that it is possible for a peasant enterprise to maintain food security, protect and reproduce cultural traditions, roots in the land and peasant organization and, at the same time, acquire the capacity to link to the world of the market, creating development alternatives to the extractive and enclave model (village economy, food security, peasant farm projects) (p. 6) [own translation].

Although the importance of economic productivity for the region is realized, community social capital is prioritized as a transversal element to think about participatory and equitable processes at individual and collective levels. In this sense, Montero (1984) points out, "that some psychosocial factors make visible the power that individuals have to create solutions to the difficulties of their contexts" (p. 390). Thus, those who assume the possibilities of change also establish a commitment to their contextual realities, giving greater validity to collective participation and organization so that it is sustainable and relevant over time. Moncayo (1999) states that,

The PDPMM has made its greatest investment in the development of social capital. Learning by doing means that inhabitants identify their problems from the beginning, they suggest solutions, take on challenges, establish commitments, carry out actions, design and apply the instruments to evaluate and adjust procedures (p. 90). [Own translation].

It is worth mentioning the making of a public sphere as a setting where social ties are strengthened and alternatives are thought for the achievement of a dignified peace to guarantee livable regions, where communities can recognize

their strengths and invest on reducing socioeconomic inequalities. In this regard Katz (1999b) states that "the PDPMM processes result in a model of the making of the public in which the individual is ratified as a privileged historical subject, as a form of territorial organization" (p. 98). [Own translation] From this theoretical perspective, the development of a collective social consciousness led to the emergence of new positions of the inhabitants concerning political, economic, social and cultural decisions, and thus they became actors who are capable of creating a regional movement for peace in the midst of conflicts and successes.

A charteristic aspect in the Program process is the permanent relationship with public institutions seeking to construct lasting relationships between the society and the State and co-responsible in the defense of rights. Thus, the proposals had to be technically feasible and politically possible and involve the social powers in their negotiation. Permanent relationships with their ruptures and repairs on the proposed strategies make the collective aspect not only a harmonious place, but a place of challenges, setbacks, and intentional relationships, which do not always include all the individuals living in the territory.

Community strengthening has been imbued with the reconstruction of story, memory, the ability to listen, dialogue, negotiation, management, and the mediation of conflicts and interests that allow the making of a collective life project. "Strengthening emphasizes the collective aspect, the liberating character, the control and centered power on the community and on its organized members as social actors who are aware of their reality and its changes." (Montero, 2003, pp. 69-70). [Own translation]

PDPMM comprised four approaches of psychosocial intervention 1. Individual dimension 2. From the individual dimension to collective dimension. 3. The collective individuals recognizing themselves as social actors. 4. The making of the political subject to the extent that there is a collective will to exercise power (UNDP, 2008). This intervention process has its origin, on the one hand, in the human nature of individual subjects and, on the other, in the collective conditions: social, historical, political and economic that compose their context. This shows that the processes of the Program surpassed the state exclusion for many years, arriving at the self-management of a regional proposal, with guiding principles such as organization, participation, empowerment and agreement.

From a psychosocial intervention approach, the aforementioned conditions demand an accompaniment of repair and construction of a peace scenario from and for the community. This commitment implies that the psychosocial work recognizes particular characteristics of the subjects and, at the same time, their collective psychic, physical and social impacts. It is important to recognize that

communities have a relationship between state institutions with diverse interests, although it is paramount the visibility of grassroots organizations that have a better understanding of social reality. In accordance with the contributions of Baró (1986) "it is not a matter of us thinking for them, that we transmit our scheme to them or that we solve their problems; it is about our thinking and theorizing with and from them" (p. 297). [Own translation]

From the psychosocial intervention perspective, the theories are built from the reflected practice, recognizing the psychosocial intervention itself as an approach to the subjects in their individual, and collective capacities as well as their historical context, in which social, cultural, political and economic dynamics are arranged to create participatory actions aimed at reflecting on and mobilizing the needs of the communities.

Finally, subjects are understood as capable and when interacting with their peers and other actors can foster processes of change, since the community is dynamic and requires people to steer their development toward the collective well-being. This, to a large extent, can be achieved if they are assumed as political subjects, capable of understanding reality for a social transformation.

Conclusions

Through approaching the Magdalena Medio Peace and Development Programme, some key elements of the psychosocial intervention were highlighted, starting from its founding archives and some academic voices that participated in the making of the community. This revealed that the founding methodology of the Program is framed in integrality, insofar as it includes the forms of economic, political and social exclusion of Magdalena Medio, linking the knowledge and interests of each of the areas where this reality is important.

In this way, some psychosocial characteristics were evidenced that emerge within the proposal and that were developed in the midst of a context of armed conflict; thus, understanding that community processes should strengthen the participation, the political subject, the social fabric and the making of the public for the sake of collective interests. The PDPMM can be defined from its distinctive features as a social process in constant construction, changing, dynamic and subjected to be recomposed.

The importance of the relationship of the Program with public and private institutions was reflected in the strengthening of the local and regional administration, as it led the residents to think about their context with respect to an economic and social planning and resulting in the mobilization of the citizen participation and the negotiation of internal and external interests as the

greatest challenge. The claim of the population toward the weak presence of the State, led to agreements between different unions to develop solid structures that would help to minimize different social problems, in addition, it managed an idea of belonging to a political system and a social group.

The conclusion is that it is of utmost importance to know and validate the experiences of peace building in Colombia, in this particular case the PDPMM that proposes, from a participatory methodology, an alternative to assume and live in a territory, thinking about the regional and redefining the processes generated from the different actors of civil society. For this reason, in the current political situation in the country, all peacebuilding experiences must be made visible and protected through state mechanisms that strengthen and guarantee development in accordance with the struggles that have occurred for years.

This approach to the PDPMM in its founding years was novel because, this psychosocial intervention methodology is recognized as a useful contribution to the epistemic peace-building framework through which the country has gone. In addition, because it is an investment that from its complexities requires it be read from an interdisciplinary perspective, which is a major contribution to understanding the different ways in which violence has permeated the territories and their inhabitants, accounting for the different places of enunciation of those who have lived it and who can be thought today as political subjects. This would then serve to rescue both practical and theoretical matters of reflection to strengthen the field of psychosocial intervention in Colombia.

References

Abela, J. A. (2002). *Las técnicas de análisis de contenido: una revisión actualizada* (Working Paper). Fundación Centro de Estudios Andaluces, España. https://www.centrodeestudiosandaluces.es/publicaciones/tecnicas-de-analisis-de-contenido-una-revision-actualizada

Baró, M. (1986). Hacia una psicología de la liberación. *Boletín de Psicología UCA, 22,* 219 -231. http://www.psicosocial.net/historico/index.php?option=com_docman&view=document&layout=default&alias=320-hacia-una-psicologia-de-la-liberacion&category_slug=psicologia-y-violencia-politica&Itemid=100225

Bello, M. N. (Ed.) (2004). *Desplazamiento forzado. Dinámicas de guerra, exclusión y desarraigo*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Carmona, J. (2009). La carrera de las niñas soldado en Colombia: un estudio desde el punto de vista del agente (PhD Dissertation). Universidad Complutense de Madrid. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/tesis?codigo=144288

Corporación Juan Bosco (2007). *Componente psicosocial. A ritmo de la vida* (Unpublished Institutional Document). Cali.

De Roux, F. (1996). *Documento central de diagnóstico, conclusiones y recomendaciones*. Programa de Desarrollo y Paz en el Magdalena Medio, PDPMM, Consorcio SEAP-CINEP, Bogotá.

De Roux, F. (1999). El Magdalena Medio en medio del conflicto y de la esperanza. *Revista Controversia, segunda etapa, 1999*. Cinep. Bogotá. http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/Colombia/cinep/20100917084007/ContextoelmagdalenamedioControversiaNo174.pdf

Díaz, A.; Díaz, J. S. (2015). Qué es lo psicosocial. Ocho pistas para reflexiones e intervenciones psicosociales. In A. Díaz & E. Moncayo (Ed.). *Psicología social crítica e intervención psicosocial, reflexiones y experiencias de investigación* (pp. 59-66). Editorial Bonaventuriana.

Díaz-Gómez, Á.; González-Rey, F.; Arias-Cardona, A. M (2017). Pensar el método en los procesos de investigación en subjetividad. *CES Psicología, 10*(1), 129-145. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4235/423550874009.pdf

Dobles, I. (2009). Ignacio Martín Baró y la psicología de la liberación: un desafío vigente. In M. González (Comp.). *Teorías psicosociales* (pp. 2007 -230). Universidad de Costa Rica.

Finol, T.; Nava, H. (1999). *Procesos y productos de la investigación documental*. Editorial de la Universidad del Zulia.

González, F. (2004). *O social na psicología e a psicología social: a emergencia do sujeito*. Editora Vozes.

Guerrero, J. P.; Guerrero, L. G.; Herrera, L. Á.; Vargas, M. F. (2011). *El Programa de Desarrollo y Paz en el Magdalena Medio*. Colombia. Cinep. http://www.desarrollo-alternativo.org/documentos/CINEP.pdf

Katz, M. (1999a). El Proceso metodológico del PDPMM. *Revista Controversia, 174,* 75-87. http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/Colombia/cinep/20100917092515/EstrategiasdelpdpmmelprocesometodologicodelpdpmmControversiaNo174.pdf

Katz, M. (1999b). La Construcción de lo público en el escenario actual del Magdalena Medio. *Revista Controversia, 174,* 96-106. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/35219083.pdf

Moncayo, J. (1999). Los proyectos del PDPMM, un laboratorio de paz. *Revista Controversia, 174,* 89-95. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/35219113.pdf

Montero, M. (1984). La psicología comunitaria: orígenes, principios y fundamentos teóricos. *Revista latinoamericana de psicología, 16*(3), 387-400. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/805/80516303.pdf

Montero, M. (2003). *Teoría y práctica de la psicología Comunitaria.* Paidós.

Montero, M. (2004a). *Introducción a la psicología comunitaria. Desarrollo, conceptos y procesos.* Editorial Paidós.

Montero, M. (2004b). Relaciones entre psicología social comunitaria, psicología crítica y psicología de la liberación: una respuesta latinoamericana. *Psykhe 13*(2), 17-28. http://www.catedralibremartinbaro.org/pdfs/Relaciones-Entre-Psicologia-Social-Comunitaria-Psicologia-Critica-y-Psicologia-de-la-Liberacion-U.pdf

Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, PNUD. (2008). *Rutas y vivencias de nuestra gente. Sistematización de experiencias en los procesos de los pobladores y pobladoras del Magdalena Medio.* http://www.psicosocial.net/historico/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=818-rutas-y-vivencias-de-nuestra-gente&category_slug=experiencias-y-propuestas-de-accion&Itemid=100225

Red Nacional de Programas de Desarrollo y Paz, Redprodepez (2016*). ¿Qué es un Programa de Desarrollo y Paz, PDP?* https://www.redprodepaz.org.co/que-es-un-pdp-2/

Rodríguez, D. (2017). *El genocidio de Ruanda: análisis de los factores que influyeron en el conflicto.* Documento Opinión. Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos.

Rodríguez, G.; Gil, F.; García, J. (1996). *Metodología de la Investigación Cualitativa.* Ed. Aljibe. España.

Observatorio de Paz Integral (2004). *Alcance territorial.* https://www.opi.org.co/quienes-somos/alcance-territorial

Vargas, M.; Herrera, L.; Guerrero, J.; Guerrero, L. (2010). El Programa de Desarrollo y Paz en el Magdalena Medio. *Cinep*, 1-14. http://www.desarrollo-alternativo.org/documentos/CINEP.pdf

Villa, J. D. (2012) La acción y el enfoque psicosocial de la intervención en contextos sociales: ¿Podemos pasar de la moda a la precisión teórica, epistemológica y metodológica? *El Ágora USB, 12*(2), 349-365. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/agor/v12n2/v12n2a05.pdf

Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Analysis and Definition of Violence*

Enfoques disciplinarios e interdisciplinarios para el análisis y definición de la violencia

Abordagens disciplinares e interdisciplinares para a análise e definição de violência

Tania Galaviz-Armenta**
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5464-7641
México

Abstract

Objective: despite the plentiful academic discussion about violence, forms of violence, actors, effects, among other things, a question emerges almost permanently: what do we talk about when we talk about violence? This article makes a reflection on the definition and analysis of the concept of violence from different disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches in order to answer the question: what is meant by violence? **Methodology:** some approaches from Anthropology, Political Science, Philosophy, Sociology, Research for Peace, Criminology and Public Health were considered. **Results:** it was found that most of the research considers violence as

---

** Ph.D. in Political and Social Sciences. Professor at the Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos, Mexico, Research Center in Social Sciences and Regional Studies. e-mail: tgalaviz@uaem.mx

an element that delimits social interactions rather than an irrational or instinctive act. And, these studies establish the degree of cultural, symbolic, institutional influences and the normative in its management and reasoning, depending on the perspective of analysis. **Conclusions:** a review of advantages and disadvantages of the analytical expediency of the transition from the term violence into the expression of violences was concluded. It considers an interdisciplinary approach that not only focuses on physical manifestations, but addresses the multidimensionality of violence and the matter created by different scales of interaction and affectation by making the violence a changeable and complex social phenomenon.

Keywords: Violence; Forms of violence; Conceptual analysis; Definitions of violence; Disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches.

Resumen

Objetivo: a pesar de la abundante discusión académica acerca de la violencia, sus formas, actores, efectos, entre otros elementos, una pregunta emerge casi de manera permanente: ¿de qué hablamos cuando hablamos de violencia? El presente artículo realiza una Reflexión sobre la definición y análisis del concepto de la violencia desde distintos enfoques disciplinarios e interdisciplinarios con el objetivo de intentar una respuesta para la pregunta ¿qué se entiende por violencia? **Metodología:** se consideraron algunos de los aportes realizados desde la Antropología, las Ciencias Políticas, la Filosofía, la Sociología, la Investigación para la Paz, la Criminología y la Salud Pública. **Resultados:** se encontró que la mayoría de los trabajos que sirvieron de base a este estudio consideran a la violencia como un elemento que delimita las interacciones sociales más que un acto irracional o instintivo. Y, dependiendo la perspectiva de análisis, establecen el grado de influencia de lo cultural, simbólico, institucional y normativo en su manejo y justificación. **Conclusiones:** se concluye con un balance de las ventajas y desventajas de la conveniencia analítica del tránsito del término violencia a la expresión violencias. Ello, considerando un enfoque interdisciplinario que no sólo se centra en las manifestaciones físicas, sino que atiende la multidimensionalidad de la violencia y el entramado que crean las distintas escalas de interacción y afectación convirtiéndola en fenómeno social mutable y complejo.

Palabras-clave: Violencia; Violencias; Análisis conceptual; Definiciones de violencia; Enfoques disciplinarios e interdisciplinarios.

Resumo

Objetivo: apesar da abundante discussão acadêmica sobre violência, suas formas, atores, efeitos, entre outros elementos, surge uma pergunta quase permanentemente: do que estamos falando quando falamos de violência? Este artigo faz uma reflexão sobre a definição e análise do conceito de violência a partir de diferentes abordagens disciplinares e interdisciplinares, com o objetivo de tentar responder à pergunta: o que se entende por violência? **Metodologia:** foram consideradas algumas das contribuições de Antropologia, Ciência Política, Filosofia, Sociologia, Pesquisa para a Paz, Criminologia e Saúde Pública. **Resultados:** verificou-se que a maioria dos trabalhos que serviram de base para este estudo considera a violência como um elemento que delimita as interações sociais e não um ato irracional ou instintivo. E, dependendo da perspectiva da análise, estabelecem o grau de influência do cultural, simbólico, institucional e normativo em sua gestão e justificativa. **Conclusões:** conclui com um equilíbrio das vantagens e desvantagens da conveniência analítica da transição do termo violência para a expressão violência. Isso, considerando uma abordagem interdisciplinar que não apenas focaliza as manifestações físicas, mas também aborda a multidimensionalidade da violência e a estrutura criada pelas diferentes escalas de interação e afetação, transformando-a em um fenômeno social mutável e complexo.

Palavras-chave: Violência; Violências; Análise conceitual; Definições de violência; Abordagens disciplinares e interdisciplinares.

Introduction

The academic discussion on violence has been divided into two ways: the first one; focuses on a large number of studies that describe the causes of violence and quantify its effects. Some of this research has been conducted without a conceptual definition of its subject matter of study. The second way focuses on analyzing not only its origin but its powers in order to establish a definition that allows us to understand the reality and to guide mechanisms of attention and mitigation. In both cases, there is a triad: power, violence and conflict; those concepts that have been studied by multiple analyses and approaches from different disciplines to answer the questions: Who exercises power or violence? How do they exercise them? Against whom is it exercised? And what are they exercised for?

However, it is difficult to define the concept and its differences. In other words, violence is presented as one of the results of the exercise of power and conflict triggered by this. In turn, power is professed to be protected by violence in order to mitigate disputes.

How can we define violence? The Real Academia Española defines violence as a quality (which is violent) as an action and effect against another person or against oneself, as well as an action against the natural way of proceeding. This definition leaves more questions than real possibilities for understanding the concept, because what is this natural way of proceeding[1]? What is determined by laws or by social regulations, what are the limits to establish the naturalness of actions? That is, this definition based on a tautology establishes a moral burden by pretending to establish a natural behavior of another "unnatural". It turns the violence into an element of stigmatization and discrimination by the person exercising it – or is suspected of doing so.

This paper reflects on the definition and analysis of the concept of violence from different disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to try to answer the question, ´what is meant by violence? In general, this paper considers proposals of authors from the various disciplines who analyze violence from a societal perspective, that is, who consider institutions, structures, systems and social organizations in their analysis. Three interdisciplinary proposals will also be presented, whose approaches about violence allow the conceptualization of violence as a complex net of actions, meanings and behaviors that are woven into the construction of the societal approach. Finally, the conclusions present a

---

1. See Diccionario de la Lengua Española, Violencia, https://dle.rae.es/?id=brdBvt6 (Accessed July 15, 2019).

summary of proposals addressed with the aim of assessing the analytical desirability of moving from the term violence to the expression of violence, taking into account the advantages and disadvantages of such a shift.

Methodology

The analysis of violence has been carried out from different approaches and disciplines; for example, Elizabeth Stanko (2003) mentions that such approaches can be grouped into three main aspects: biological, psychological and social. The first two has a subjective approach and, the second, objectivist. The biologist regards violence as a natural and instinctive phenomenon; therefore, research focuses on looking for genetic causes, the brain and hormonal chemistry that determine behaviors –for example, competence for natural or economic resources, hostility, among others. In the case of psychological perspectives, they analyze the impact of anxiety, frustration, aggression, deprivation, traumatic childhood experiences –sexual abuse, parental absence– and their interrelationship with the learning curve acquired from family, community and school environments, among other approaches. Finally, social approaches (considered by the author as structuralists) analyze the relationship between social structures –class, gender, symbolic relationships, among others– and interpersonal interactions (Stanko, 2003, p. 1).

According to Siniša Malešević (2010), this last perspective can be subdivided into three groups: globalist, rationalist and culturalist. The first focuses on analyzing the impact of macrostructural transformations of the last years of the twentieth century, on the characteristics of violence (Malešević, 2010, p. 59). As for the rationalist approach, it focuses on the dynamics of individual actions and determinations in decision-making regarding collective violence. In other words, it analyses the influence that individual rationality can have on the general one in assessing the economic and political impacts and risks that the violence has (Malešević, 2010, p. 60). Finally, the culturalist focuses on studying religious differences, cultural practices, beliefs, traditions, symbols, rituals, among other processes that can trigger and rationalize violent actions in a particular social context (Malešević, 2010, p. 64).

In this section, disciplinary views from societal perspective will be addressed based on the classification proposed by Stanko (2003) and Malešević (2010) for the analysis of violence. To this end, a selection of main proposals for research of this phenomenon was made. It focuses on those authors who favor a conceptual analysis rather than a study on specific cases, as they share an

observation of the interaction between structures and institutions, rather than individual or community conduct[2].

It should be noted that this section does not expand on all the academic production of the disciplines, but presents a selection of the main authors of each one, the ones who agree to focus on three aspects: to define the concept of violence, its elements or the ones involved in it, as well as in the ways in which its analysis can be addressed. It focuses on conceptual analysis instead of a chronological sequence.

Results

Violence. Disciplinary Approaches

Anthropology.

Anthropology has studied violence as part of social interactions and human behavior. One of the objectives of these studies was to distinguish the boundaries between instinctive – and biological violent actions – from those determined by social rules. In this way, violence is not only a fact but also a social process with specific historical characteristics and contexts. Therefore, the term turns polysemic since it can range from individual, collective, organized, spontaneous, ritual, legal or illegal acts (Salmerón-Castro, 2017, p. 51).

According to Elsa Blair-Trujillo (2009), anthropologists have worked on violence by analyzing its fundamental characteristics. That is, "all the beginnings of societies, civilizations and regimes are periods of violence; the myths of origin are all cycles of violence. But once violence has taken shape in institutions (technical, standards, rites), it is turned into creative force" (Blair-Trujillo, 2009, pp. 17-18), it is closely related to power, order and social change. That is, for some anthropologists, violence is regarded as a power relationship in a specific historical and cultural context that changes in time and space. Thus, each culture defines its own parameters for explaining, exercising and tolerating it and becomes a negotiation that establishes who, when and how it should be exercised. Rituals (as a symbol) and norms (social or legal) are some examples.

---

2. Therefore, this article has not been considered an approach since Social Psychology; however, the references of selected authors to this discipline have been respected in order to understand their conceptual proposal for violence.

According to René Girard (1977) violence is a generative force capable of modifying social relations through the reproduction of social conflicts. Therefore, its existence has been controlled by regulating human interactions and its mimesis. Therefore, the author states that violence remains invisible, however, it can be inferred in myths and rituals once they have been configured as an indispensable part of religious structures (Girard, 1977, p. 310). In this way, it becomes sacred as long as it is hidden and only retains its generative –and regulatory– capacity of social relations. An example of this is sacrifices, whose main characteristic is the choice of its victim, who, upon dying, allows for the preservation of the social order In other words, the death distracts attention –and tension– from collective violence to a bloody ritual.

The violence –simultaneously– is a display of power and a distinctive element of a particular social group since "violent acts have profound and lasting effects on many people who have no direct relationship with them. The violence extends its effectiveness in time and space and brings its message to many people who do not suffer it directly" (Salmerón-Castro, 2017, p. 57). Mainly, when it develops ways to channel itself by creating rituals, sporting competitions or using other social mechanisms.

The violence also has the capacity to "denature" the social order, especially when violent acts or behaviors disrupt the relationships and narratives that underpin them. It leads to a process of redesigning the mechanisms of interaction and, therefore, social change[3]. This "desacralized" type of violence relates to the appropriation and use of resources that may involve the removal of the other. Therefore, from the anthropological approach, the analysis of violence is transferred from a quantitative study to a qualitative observation that takes into account the specific cultural characteristics of the social group in which it is presented.

As violence is multifaceted and constantly changing, some anthropologists often use the term "violences" (in the plural) to express specificities of social structures and interactions that create and reproduce them. That is, they emphasize the description of social behavior rather than a moral definition that usually emerges when using the term in singular.

This short approach to the analysis of violence from an anthropological perspective does not exhaust the different criteria and research that have been developed in this discipline. However, it allows to outline a reasoning process focused on social interactions, as well as on the symbols and meanings that re-

---

3. This proposal differentiates anthropology from other disciplines that use terms such as "antisocial behavior or conduct", that is, elements that break the order and must be corrected. On the contrary, for anthropology this dissolution gives the opportunity to modify the social order.

gulate them. These elements that will be contrasted with the next section where the analysis of violence from Political Science is presented.

Political Science.

In Political Science, the analysis of violence is carried out from the perspective of political interactions for decision-making, the government and the design of the institutions that regulate the society, including the State. For example, for Max Weber (1979) violence is the specific means for the emergence of the State, so it calls for monopoly and the concentration of legitimacy in its use. It means, "(...) all other associations and individuals are only granted the right to physical violence to the extent permitted by the State. The State is the only source with the "right" to violence" (Weber, 1979, pp. 83-84).

Thus, the State regulates social relations by self-attribution of legitimacy in the use of violence, as well as the power to determine and delimit the violent action of individuals or groups who live in the territory dominated by the violence. In this way, it creates a legal and legitimate framework for the control of the society. Thus, individuals are not only stripped of the possibility of exercising violence but are also forced to obey the legal framework imposed on them by such dispossess, and be subjected to punishment, in case of transgression of such an order: "the use of violence is accepted if that it is residual, absolutely minimal, subordinate to the law and materially limited by fundamental rights" (Gallego-García, 2003. p. 91). In this way, legitimate violence becomes an element that originates and maintains the stability of the State.

From the political philosophy, Walter Benjamin (1995) points to violence as creator of law, coinciding with Weber's reflection. That is, from the triumph of a social group in a contest, the new rules and rules of coexistence between winners and losers are established. Therefore, violence is a founding force and at the same time a means of preserving the right —and the State— (Benjamin, 1995, p. 41). The author calls this violence mythical, it is considered administered and exercised by the State through law.

The author also rejects the controversy over the legitimacy in the State monopoly on violence and argues that the law distinguishes between sanctioned violence (the one that creates it) and the non-sanctioned violence (the one that threatens it): "the interest of law to monopolize violence with respect to the isolated person does not have as an explanation of the intention to defend legal purposes rather than the law by itself" (Benjamin, 1995, p. 32). Therefore, the State through the law implements a legal framework that allows it to "ban" the use of violence and retain its monopoly on it.

The same author points to the existence of "pure" violence separated from legal imposition, which he calls divine violence. It destroys the limits imposed by the law and redeems the individual who exercises it through exculpation:

> Divine violence is not only religious tradition (...) the signs of divine violence are not defined by the fact that God Himself exercises miraculous acts, but by non-bloodthirsty, fulminant, purifying character of execution. Hence, by the absence of all creation of law (Benjamin, 1995, p. 71).

However, divine violence can be used as a mechanism of legitimacy and it moves into "mythical" violence as in the case of some political-religious regimes.

The philosopher Hanna Arendt (2006) also analyses the relationship between power and violence. The latter is one of the means to maintain structures of dominance to individual challenges such as rebels or criminals "who refuse to be overtaken by democratic consensus" (Arendt, 2006, p. 70). Thus, violence acquires an instrumental character that demands a rationalization for its use, especially considering that it is exercised against individuals who are damaged and exposed in a deliberate way to serve as an example or social goal. Therefore, a rationality is required in its use to generate obedience. For Arendt (2006) violence and power are divergent because violence arises when "power is in danger, but entrusted to its own impulse, it ends up making power disappear" (p. 77). Because when there is violence, social fear and collective paralysis appear. For the author, the violence is an instrument of change, because it allows to externalize affronts and change the balance of justice.

This brief presentation of the analysis of violence from a political approach allows us to understand the close relationship between the emergence –and operation– of the State with violence, but this does not cover all areas of social relations. Therefore, the next section will address the philosophical perspective of violence.

Philosophy.

The American Philosopher Judith Butler (2006a, 2006b) points out that violence is the way in which human vulnerability to others is shown. During its exercise, there is a delivery "unchecked at the will of the other, therefore, a way by which life itself can be eliminated by the deliberate action of the other" (Butler, 2006b, p. 55). So it's a way to preserve the order and sense of the world.

Thus, "the violent response is one that does not require and does not try to know. It wants to reinforce what it is known [and] expunge what it threatens (...) (Butler, 2006a, p. 60). It is a response that reinforces the cultural frameworks of

the "desirable", the "acceptable" and the "human". And anything that questions or disturbs must be eliminated to avoid the loss of social behavioral references. According to the author, the one who exercises violence withdraws "humanity" from the victim, which transforms them into unreal beings and therefore, the actions that are taken against them do not cause any harm, because they are lives denied (Butler, 2006b, p. 60). In this way, violence can be reasonable and simultaneously become an element of everyday life.

From an analysis of the characteristics of the society in the 21st century, the South Korean philosopher Byung Chul Han (2013) notes that physical violence has lost legitimacy and thus, the exercise of violence is hidden. When it enters a society, it is considered the result of external causes of the society. To understand the violence, he proposes the classification of the concept into two types: macrophysics and microphysics. The first manifests itself expressively, explicitly, impulsively and invasively, and microphysical violence is implicitly and implosively expressed (Han, 2013, p. 217). The author focuses on the characteristics of the latter type of violence that becomes evident by the hyperactivity of individuals instead of macrophysics that forces victims to passivity.

For Han, microphysical violence has three characteristics: it is internalized, it uses the automatism of habit and it is naturalized. These three acts interrelated make it difficult for people to question their exercise and, mainly to abstract themselves from this situation. Thus, this violence is the result –and the origin– of self-exploitation, which makes victim and victimized individuals simultaneously. Society presents "options" of freedom that become coercion practices, for example, when maximum performance is overestimated in various areas such as consumption, labor and communication and makes it a "positive violence" as it is not based on prohibition but on excess freedoms. The most aberrant consequence is that there is no end point for this form of violence (Han, 2013, p. 343). Moreover, this "positivity" rejects not only physical violence but also the use of language that denies the other, but encourages atomization and individualism that becomes a process of social decomposition.

From this short reflection of the philosophical analysis of violence, it is possible to point out that the violence is not only exercised in a physical way, it has multiple dimensions that deny the human and social aspects. The following section will briefly address sociological analysis of violence and its consequences within social interactions.

Sociology.

The German sociologist Niklas Luhmann (2006) conducted an analysis of the interaction between power and violence. His analysis starts from the distinc-

tion between legitimate violence and illegitimate violence, which are both the product of the evolution of social differentiation. Luhmann (2006) states that

> In its legitimate form, violence (currently as State violence) serves to expel illegitimate violence. With this differentiation, violence is characterized by the inclusion of the excluded, thus (in this light) legitimacy is not a concept of value but rather a specific inclusion of the excluded – a paradox, therefore, whose solution is constituted as state violence – or its functional equivalent (p. 326)[4].

Hence violence is an exercise of functional differentiation of the State – that is to say, of the political system – from the rest of the social system, which awards itself the practice of it, as well as the distinction regarding violent actions undertaken outside the political system. For that purpose, it will require the exercise of power, which is what gives origin and meaning to the political system. Luhmann draws the distinction between obligation and coercion as options in the operation of power. The first is based on the neutralization of the will of the other, in other words, power becomes the transfer of the subdued to whoever holds power, wishing that the powerful avoid the use of coercion and violence.

Therefore, the threat of the use of violence triggers the process of coercion –as the second form of operation of power–, but even as a notification, it still remains an alternative of unpleasant use; the warning of its practice becomes a possibility to obtain what persuasion or influence has not achieved. According to Luhmann, power is overridden when physical violence is used; this happens because violence "is established as the beginning of the system that leads to the selection of rules whose function, rationality and legitimacy make it independent of the initial conditions for action" (Luhmann, 1995, p. 94). Thus, when using violence, it will be necessary to establish a new set of rules or conditions for operating the system. In this reorganization, violence becomes the possibility of asymmetric and hierarchical ordering, where the superior one evidently establishes its predominance; however, a margin is also created so that this order can be challenged and so the power holder loses his ability to exercise decision-making. Thereby, for Luhmann the interrelation between violence and power determines the creation of the latter, which will have a complement in violence but not the constant basis of its exercise, since a greater use of violence will cause the legitimacy of power to be lost (Luhmann, 1995, p. 97).

---

4. All the direct citations are in several languages different from English. Thus, all those citations are the product from the group of translators.

Following this reasoning, Pierre Bourdieu (1998) points out the existence of a symbolic domination that is produced through the perception schemes and in the collective behavioral expectations that model the relationships, amidst which, those of submission, are sustained in symbolic violence that "is instituted through the adherence that the subdued one feels compelled to grant to the dominant one" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 51). In this way, these relationships are molded into affective relationships, as the subdued group accepts their own condition as legitimate considering themselves in debt to the dominant one for his generosity.

Symbolic violence is based on the habitus that generates structures of domination, a complex network of interaction, which is difficult to modify. Furthermore, "Declared violence, physical or economic and the most sophisticated symbolic violence coexist without contradiction in all institutions (…)" (Fernández, 2005. p. 10), establishing a paradoxical relationship: the higher the rejection towards physical violence, the more acceptable symbolic violence becomes. This is because, despite being "personalized" —in other words, rooted in the characteristics of the subdued person— it becomes a social trait, hence its ability to intricate itself with the habitus and manifest itself in areas as "distinctive" as education, religion, science, family relationships, politics, among others. They all coincide in providing symbolic ways to interpret the environment, build knowledge frameworks, but hide the dominant nature of this framework.

In addition, symbolic violence is exercised in the bodies of the subdued ones in the demands of behavior, omission and acceptance; in social interactions, from clothing, speech, material conditions of existence (eating, sleeping, reproducing, etc.) to acceptable forms of behavior in each domain of interaction of domination. The actions over the bodies are preceded by the adoption of cognitive structures, which are reinforced by the physical or somatized adoption of symbolic violence and at the same time maintain these structures. Consequently, domination establishes a continuous and synergistic process between the symbolic and the physical, where the forms of violence take a central role in preserving the "natural order of things" in social interactions.

The Slovenian philosopher and sociologist Slavoj Žižek (2009) addresses violence in his work. He highlights how it has become commonplace due to the excess of images, discourses and symbols through which it is presented in the media. In his analysis, Žižek proposes the distinction of three types of violence: subjective, symbolic and systemic —the last two constituting objective violence—. The first case is considered by Žižek as the visible part of violence "it is seen as a disturbance of the 'normalcy' and peaceful state of affairs" (Žižek, 2009, p. 10). In other words, it is considered an irrational and excessive explosion.

In contrast, symbolic and systemic violence —which constitute objective violence— represent the "normal" state of affairs against which subjective violence appears as a disruption. The first is found in language and in the conformation of the universe of meaning through which behavior is regulated (Žižek, 2009, p. 10). As for systemic violence, it is the result of the functioning of the political and economic systems. Žižek says that the fascination - and obsession - with subjective violence distorts the analysis of reality because a distortion based on a "non-violent normality" is created, however, for Žižek the imposition of this distinction parameter is the highest form of violence exerted in society.

Similarly, Michel Wieviorka (2003) defines violence as a mechanism with social and cultural functions whose definition has varied over time. It is not only a set of objective practices (Wieviorka, 2003, p. 109) but also a constitutive element of subjectivity, that is, of the capacity of people to relate to others. So, violence becomes a bearer of meaning, either in absence or excess. For example, martyrdom is an experience overloaded with meaning, in opposition, the violent actions of hooligans lack this.

Wieviorka suggests classifying violence as infra political and metapolitical. The first of these is linked to activities with illicit economic aims such as trafficking of arms, drugs, organs and human beings, that is to say, the privatization of violence (Wieviorka, 2009, p. 35), which is characterized by impunity as well as the social control over the zones where the mafias or gangs have their "territory or area of influence". Furthermore, infra political violence is related to racism and xenophobia because both behaviors are on the margins of politics and social acceptance.

Wieviorka mentions that the emergence of infra violence does not imply the end of politics. On the contrary, its emergence may be the result of the diversification of the activities of political agents. This type of violence can appear as alien to the State and nevertheless, can have a great political significance (Wieviorka, 2009, p. 36). For example, the case of drug traffickers who make improvements in the infrastructure of the communities where they come from; which allows them to obtain recognition and social respect.

Meta political violence implies its association with cultural and religious dimensions and identities by radicalizing sectors of the population against a certain order. It does not recognize limits or compromises regarding its objectives and meanings. Those who exercise it can go to extremes such as sacrificing their own life for the sake of affirming their motives (Wieviorka, 2009, p. 37). Meta political violence is also linked to the radicalization of individuals who consider themselves rejected by modernity or expelled from society. These people develop a deep feeling of injustice and therefore, the need to compensate or recover the social and political order.

Both types are related to the weakening of the State, and are social and cultural processes. Unlike Weber, for Wieviorka, the State does not determine the legitimacy of a violent act, but it is rather rooted in a dense network of social values that change gradually (Wieviorka, 2009, p. 45). For example, religious beliefs give meaning to violent actions while simultaneously establishing behavioral expectations for victims and offenders equally.

The Multidimensionality of Violence: Interdisciplinary Views

In this section, three analytical proposals on violence will be addressed. These aim at understanding, from an interdisciplinary perspective, the complexity of violence in causes and effects, as well as in the processes of reproduction of social interactions framed in violent actions.

Research for Peace[5].

In 1964, the work of Johan Galtung (2008) marked a change in the paradigm in Research for Peace by establishing a distinction between different types of violence and their correlation with peace. For Galtung violence is a conduct justified as an act of defense or prevention against the actions of others; hence, the subjects are not considered accountable when exercising it. Moreover, it is a revenge that makes it possible to obtain satisfaction out of the pain of the other, of the perpetuation of the "pride" of being winners, or as an act of "justice" and expression of the will of superior forces (Galtung, 2008, pp. 278-279). Consequently, it is a behavior and not simply a part of human nature, since it requires certain social circumstances that condition the performance of these actions.

To analyze violence –and its contexts of emergence and operation– Galtung proposes to classify it into three groups: direct, cultural and structural. The first of them is manifest, it can be physical and verbal. The other two groups remain latent, that is, they are not perceived as acts of violence and therefore, are justified as part of normalcy. In this way the second type, structural violence, is intrinsic to the system, it can be subdivided into political, economic, among others. Culture is the foundation that legitimizes the previous types through religion, law, ideology, language, art, science and cosmology (Galtung, 1996, p. 36). According to Galtung, this type of violence is comprised of collective attitudes that, underneath individual attitudes, determine and distort the behavior of both people and their collective (Galtung, 2004, p.155).

---

5. It emerged in the mid-fifties of the twentieth century, with the objective of proposing methodologies for addressing social and international conflicts from an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on Political Science, International Relations, Anthropology, Psychology, among other disciplines.

From a time perspective, Galtung characterizes each of the three types of violence as an event (direct violence), as a spiral process with ups and downs; (structural violence) and, finally, as a far-reaching process of slow transformation (cultural violence). The interaction of the three types can result in anomie and social atomization. Namely, in extreme cases a society in conflict may face the dissolution of social norms and values or begin a process of decomposition of the social fabric and structure of public space (Galtung, 2000, p. 185). For this reason, the study of violence has as its core the understanding of the complex synergy between its different types, as well as the relationships established between people and their environment.

Criminology[6].

Willem De Haan (2008) argues that violence is a difficult term to define since it is used to describe a huge range of behaviors, emotions, situations and relationships. Besides, the different perspectives of analysis –focused either on the victimizer, the victims, actions, effects, causes, etc.– make it difficult to establish a single concept. This is why for the author violence is a multifaceted, socially constructed and ambivalent phenomenon (De Haan, 2008, p. 28), whose characteristics are interrelated, making it complicated to define it as a single concept.

First, De Haan considers violence as multifaceted because it occurs in various forms and in a wide range of contexts. Namely, it can be described as physical, verbal, individual, collective, interpersonal, institutional, national, international, symbolic, and structural. It can be exercised in public or private spaces; as for the victims, they may be relatives, acquaintances or strangers of the perpetrators, who in turn are motivated by anger, impulsiveness, hostility, among others. The motive of the dispute may be instrumental or predatory. Besides, it is necessary to consider the psychological, social and material context of the violence (De Haan, 2008, p. 28). Second, De Haan sees violence as a social construction since the definition of who and what is violent varies according to sociocultural and historical particularities. For this reason, it acquires an ambivalent character insofar as the heterogeneity in the defining the act and the agent is reflected in establishing the forms of sanction, legitimacy, institutionalization and cultural transmission. In this fashion, the context and the social perspective determine whether violent actions are condemned or admired.

---

6. From an interdisciplinary approach, it analyzes the processes of criminalization, focusing on the social and institutional environments that define crime, victims, and the penalties for such actions.

Against this backdrop, De Haan establishes two types of perspectives for the consideration of violence: restrictive and inclusive. The first of them focuses only on those actions that can be perceived by the senses (hearing, sight, touch, smell and taste). As for the second, it deems that violence is an act against humanity and the essence of the human being, so it applies both to their bodies (physical violence) and to their ability to make decisions (psychological violence), as well as the ways in which the institutions (legal and moral) restrict life (De Haan, 2008, p. 34). From an inclusive perspective, the analysis of violence acquires a greater difficulty and depth, along with the understanding of a highly complex phenomenon of reality.

Public Health[7].

Based on a conception of the complexity of violence and with the aim of establishing lines of analysis and intervention regarding this social phenomenon, in 2003, the World Health Organization (WHO) presented the World Report on violence and health. The document defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation." (World Health Organization [WHO], 2003, p. 5). The WHO definition is broad and linked to the discussion on the relationship between violence and power in several disciplines. That is to say, not only does it focus on the act itself, but also on the intentionality of carrying it out, as well as the context of the power relations in which the victims and the perpetrators are immersed. This implies concentrating on the global effect of violence on the health and well-being of people, communities and societies (WHO, 2003, p. 6).

The WHO approach for the analysis of violence starts from the study of the relationship between its causes and its effects. As a first point, he points out that "although certain biological factors and other individual elements explain part of the predisposition to aggression, more often other factors related to family, community, culture and other external agents interact to create a situation that favors the emergence of the violence "(WHO, 2003, p. 3). Regarding the effects, it is proposed that the analysis should go beyond the quantification of injuries and deaths, since there are numerous actions that threaten mental health and social relations. For this reason, a typology of violence based on three

---

7. It analyzes the processes that intervene in the physical and mental well-being of individuals, communities, nations and a global scale, considering a multiplicity of factors that contribute - or truncate – such conditions. To do this, it draws from various disciplines such as Biological, Social, Economic and Behavioral Sciences (including Social Psychology).

groups is proposed: self-inflicted (such as suicide), interpersonal and collective. Which are interconnected and depending on social contexts can be justified and reproduced; or otherwise, condemned and prohibited.

The three interdisciplinary proposals addressed in this section are a small sample of the efforts to analyze the complexity of violence from the recognition of its multidimensionality that cannot be restricted only to its physical effects. For this reason, it is considered valid to question whether the term violence itself allows us to weigh its variations both in actions and in victims.

Conclusions

Violence or violences? Conclusive Notes

From this succinct reflection on the work that shares a societal approach to analyzing and defining violence, some of the common ground among these will be outlined. In the first place, most agree in pointing it out as a product of a social construction, that is, an element that delimits social interactions not only as an instinctive - or irrational - act. By exercising it, a slow dismantling process of the human is executed, since –in the words of Butler (2006a) - the possibility of recognition of the other and his likeness with those who act violently are denied.

Submission and the current evolution in the acts of violence are framed within the social and institutional parameters that are restricted to the "normal" and the "acceptable". This, according to Girard (1977), is because violence will become a creative force of society that, by means of rites and patterns, regulates the behavior of individuals. Several of the reviewed works coincide on this, indicating the close link between violence and power, since the variables that approve –or reject– violent behavior are defined by it.

According to Bourdieu (1998), whoever holds power –a person or social group– establishes said behavioral variables in addition to transmitting them through symbolic domination, which favors the social reproduction of the behavioral structures and the parameters that value violent behaviors from a moral and dichotomous perspective. The extreme degree of the process of appropriation in the subjects with such parameters, established by symbolic domination, can lead to self-exploitation processes. According to Han, these emerge from the "positive violence" glorified by the society of maximum efficiency. In other

words, people establish a frenetic -and never ending- dynamic of work to consume and communicate in an excess of freedom.

The relationship of power, violence and domination is also tackled by Luhmann, Weber, Benjamin and Arendt who recognize the State as the matrix of this interaction, as it carries, defines and delimits violence. Luhmann and Benjamin agree in pointing out that violence is the founder of the political system —for the first— or of the law —for the second—. In Luhmann's case, the relationship between power and violence is based on a balance between the threat and its use, which is lost when the violence is used. In the case of Benjamin, he states that violence is the foundation of law and, therefore, their mere existence makes them equivalent. Finally, Arendt says that violence is an instrument of power and domination. It should be clarified that the three authors refer only to physical action, leaving to the interpretation of the readers other types of violence related to the structures and institutions that it generates.

Both Weber and Luhmann speak of the legitimacy of violence, which stems from the distinction established by the group that holds power. Since this is who determines the legality of violent acts, therefore, "legitimacy" becomes a noun whose meaning varies from one society to another and, therefore, defining it requires an exercise in reviewing the parameters of socially and legally accepted behavior.

Wieviorka and Han question the State as the archetype of violence, as the bearer of its legitimate monopoly. Especially when its operation is questioned by the emergence of new legal and illegal agents. In the first case, there are the market and transnational companies that exceed the regulatory capacities of the State, they reduce its possibility of action and establish alternative limits for socially accepted behavior; that is, the positive violence that Han (2013) mentions. This situation is similar to the acts carried out by illegal agents linked to infra-political violence. They are characterized by operating off the record from the State, but with a great social acceptance, so the legitimacy of violence is rooted in a dense network of social values that change gradually, which can question the legal framework for the definition of violent actions.

In this manner, it is possible to point out that there is no single power that monopolizes violence, since "power is multiple and polymorphic (…) it is ubiquitous, not because the central power is divided into an infinite variety of branches, but because multiple power relations traverse, characterize and constitute the social body, having a basilar structure through which it circulates" (Gallego-García, 2003, p. 86). Allowing for the multidimensionality of violence, which is also mentioned by Galtung, Žižek, De Haan and WHO. Each of them remarks different characteristics of the levels of interaction —and affectation—

of violence that go beyond physical actions. Thus, at the individual, community, societal, cultural and structural scales, many forms of violence that interact in a complex framework are presented. Another common ground between the revised proposals is to regard violence as a process, which implies that its analysis must estimate both the contexts of origin and the consequences of violent acts. This may lead to an approximation to the complex network of social relationships - and symbols - that had an act of physical violence as initial consequence.

By using the term violence in the description of different social phenomena, it causes the loss of its explanatory meaning, restricting the concept to a strictly quantifiable dimension. Therefore, according to De Haan, when moving from a restrictive analysis to an inclusive one, a greater depth in understanding a highly complex social phenomenon is attained. Thus, facing the multidimensionality of its manifestations, Stanko proposes to privilege the consideration of violence as a fluid and mutable concept (Stanko, 2003, p. 3), instead of a fixed concept that only refers to perceptible manifestations.

This leads to a dilemma; to continue using a term that has lost its explanatory capacity due to the fact that when it is used physical actions are evoked almost immediately, consequently, any other behavior is neglected. This can be "solved" by including an epithet that clarifies its meaning, for instance: gender violence, social, school, family, psychological, etc. Or, according to the proposal of the anthropological approach, to use the expression of violences and thereby account not only for the multidimensionality and complexity of the different behaviors covered by the concept, but also for the various forms of definition and delimitation that each society sets. Therefore, the use of the term violences is proposed to broaden the parameters of analysis of a mutable and complex social phenomenon. With this, it is necessary to contribute to the clarification of this type of behavior within the framework of social interactions.

References

Arendt, H. (2006). *Sobre la violencia.* Alianza Editorial.

Benjamin, W. (1995). *Para una crítica de la violencia.* Editorial Leviatán.

Blair-Trujillo, E. (2009). Aproximación teórica al concepto de violencia: avatares de una definición. *Política y cultura, 32*, 9-33. http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/polcul/n32/n32a2.pdf

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *La dominación masculina*. Anagrama.

Butler, J. (2006a). *Deshacer el género*. Paidós.

Butler, J. (2006b). *Vida precaria: el poder del duelo y la violencia*. Paidós.

De Haan, W. (2008). Violence as an Essentially Contested Concept. In S. Body-Gendrot y P. Spierenburg (Eds.). *Violence in Europe. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (pp. 27-40). Springer.

Fernández, J. M. (2005). La noción de violencia simbólica en la obra de Pierre Bourdieu: una aproximación crítica. *Cuadernos de Trabajo Social, 18*, 7-31. http://www.enlinea.cij.gob.mx/Cursos/Hospitalizacion/pdf/PierreBourdieu.pdf

Gallego-García, G. M. (2003). Sobre el monopolio legítimo de la violencia. *Nuevo Foro Penal, 66*, 72-121. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/3823123.pdf

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means. Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. International Peace Research Institute.

Galtung, J. (2000). 40 Conflicts; 40 Perspectives. In J. Galtung y C. G. Jacobsen (Eds.). *Searching for Peace. The Road to TRANSCEND* (pp. 122-190). Pluto Press.

Galtung, J. (2004). *Transcend and Transform. An Introduction to Conflict Work*. Pluto Press.

Galtung, J. (2008). The Transcend Approach to Simple Conflicts. In G. D. Paige y J. Evans Pim (Eds.). *Global Nonkilling Leadership Fist Forum Proceedings* (pp. 273-284). Center for Global Nonviolence, Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawaii.

Girard, R. (1977). *Violence and the Sacred*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Han, B. Ch. (2013). *Topología de la violencia*. Herder.

Luhmann, N. (1995). *Poder*. Anthropos.

Luhmann, N. (2006). *La Sociedad de la Sociedad*. Universidad Iberoamericana, Herder.

Malešević, S. (2010). *The Sociology of War and Violence*. Cambridge University Press.

Organización Mundial de la Salud, OMS. (2003). *Informe mundial sobre la violencia y la salud*. Washington, D. C.: Organización Panamericana de la Salud, Organización Mundial de la Salud. https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/summary_es.pdf

Salmerón-Castro, F. (2017). La Antropología y el análisis de la violencia. In L. Herrera-Lasso (Ed.). *Fenomenología de la violencia: una perspectiva desde México* (pp. 50-82). Ciudad de México: Siglo XXI Editores.

Stanko, E. (2003). Introduction. In E. Stanko (Ed.). *The Meanings of Violence* (pp. 1-14). Routledge.

Weber, M. (1979). *El político y el científico*. Alianza Editorial.

Wieviorka, M. (2003). The New Paradigm of Violence. In J. Friedman (Ed.). *Globalization, the State and Violence* (pp. 107-139). Altamira Press.

Wieviorka, M. (2009). *Violence*. SAGE Publications.

Žižek, S. (2009). *Sobre la violencia. Seis reflexiones marginales*. Paidós.

Digital Communication Between Councilors and Users on Twitter. Failed Opportunity to Strengthen Image and Validity in the Public Sphere*

[English Version]

Comunicación digital entre ediles y usuarios en Twitter. Oportunidad fallida en el fortalecimiento de imagen y vigencia en la esfera pública

Comunicação digital entre ediles e usuários no Twitter. Oportunidade falhada no fortalecimento da imagem e validade na esfera pública

Giovanni Bohórquez-Pereira**
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7752-2008
Colombia
Juan-Diego Flórez-Quintero***
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0977-5120
Colombia
Miguel-Orlando Alguero-Montaño****
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0550-6783
Colombia

** Master's Candidate in Political Science, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Cali headquarter. Ph.D. Candidate. Political Science, University of Zulia, Venezuela, Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Research Hotbed U'wa Werjayá, School of Social Communication-Journalism, School of Social Sciences, Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana – Bucaramanga headquarter. Member of the *TIC y Ciudadanía* research group. e-mail:giovanni.bohorquez@upb.edu.co

*** Student of the X semester of Social Communication-Journalism of the Pontificia Bolivariana – Bucaramanga headquarter. Active member of the Research Group U'wa Werjayá of the Faculty of Social Communication-Journalism of the UPB, Bucaramanga headquarters. e-mail: juan.florez.2016@upb.edu.co

**** Social Communicator of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, UPB, Bucaramanga headquarters. Journalist of the newspaper La Patria of Manizales. Master in Political Studies from the University of Caldas. E-mail: miguel.alguero@lapatria.com

Abstract

Objective: to determine the use of the social network Twitter by the councilors of Bucaramanga as public servants and leaders of local opinion, through hyper-textuality, popularity, interactivity, participation, multimediality and interaction. **Methodology:** Netnography was used with mixed techniques: semi-structured interview and application of Twitter's Global index of Potential Persuasive. **Results:** it was found that the Council in its public dissemination process uses a website, with updated information about its activities. Facebook, Twitter and Youtube are used, but interaction and use of them are low. Fourteen of the nineteen councilors have a Twitter account, three of them are users, and the content disseminated about their legislative exercise is limited; the published media content is limited, as well as responses and interactions with users. **Conclusions:** it is concluded that the immersion in public communication of digital platforms and social networks is advancing to guide and disseminate politics, and more from the legislative field. This aspect has been already understood by local and global rulers. The councilors, who participated in this research, felt resistant towards the use of Twitter to focus on issues unrelated to their role as councilors and as such, miss a great opportunity in the use of microblogging, to make proposals related to social affairs, and to contribute from their Twitter account to consolidate their image and validity within the public and electoral sphere.

Keywords: Mobile communication; Political Communication; Twitter; Virtual communities; Virtual Ethnography; Political Leaders.

Resumen

Objetivo: determinar el uso de la red social Twitter por los concejales de Bucaramanga en su ejercicio como servidores públicos y líderes de opinión local, mediante la hipertextualidad, popularidad, interactividad, participación, multimedialidad e interacción. **Metodología:** se acude a la Netnografía con el uso de técnicas mixtas: entrevista semiestructurada y aplicación del Índice Global Potencial Persuasivo de Twitter. **Resultados:** se encontró que el Concejo en su proceso de divulgación pública utiliza un portal web, con información actualizada sobre sus actividades. Usa Facebook, Twitter y Youtube, pero sus registros de interacción y uso de multimedia son reducidos. Catorce de los diecinueve concejales tienen Twitter, tres de ellos marcan actividad y los contenidos difundidos sobre su ejercicio legislativo son limitados; el contenido multimedia publicado es bajo, igual que las respuestas e interacciones con usuarios. **Conclusiones:** se concluye que avanza la inmersión en

la comunicación pública de las plataformas digitales y redes sociales para orientar y difundir el ejercicio político y más desde el campo legislativo, punto que ya los gobernantes locales y globales han entendido. Los concejales que participaron en esta investigación decepcionan al centrar el uso de Twitter en hablar de temas desligados de su función y pierden una gran oportunidad desde su microblogging para hacer propuestas relacionadas con las problemáticas sociales y contribuir desde su cuenta Twitter a consolidar su imagen y vigencia en la esfera pública y electoral.

Palabras clave: Comunicación móvil; Comunicación política; Twitter; Comunidades virtuales; Etnografía virtual; Líderes políticos.

Resumo

Objetivo: determinar a utilização da rede social Twitter pelos vereadores de Bucaramanga em seu exercício como servidores públicos e formadores de opinião locais, através da hipertextualidade, popularidade, interatividade, participação, multimídia e interação. **Metodologia:** a netnografia é utilizada com o uso de técnicas mistas: entrevista semiestruturada e aplicação do Índice de Potencial Persuasivo Global do Twitter. **Resultados:** apurou-se que o Conselho em seu processo de divulgação pública utiliza um portal na web, com informações atualizadas sobre suas atividades. Se usa Facebook, Twitter e YouTube, mas seus registros de interação e uso de multimídia são baixos. Quatorze dos dezenove vereadores possuem Twitter, três deles marcam atividade e o conteúdo divulgado sobre o seu exercício legislativo é limitado; o conteúdo multimídia publicado é baixo, assim como as respostas e interações com os usuários. **Conclusões:** conclui-se que a imersão na comunicação pública das plataformas digitais e redes sociais avança para orientar e divulgar o exercício político e mais do campo legislativo, ponto que os governos locais e globais já entenderam. Os vereadores que participaram desta investigação decepcionam ao focar o uso do Twitter na conversa sobre assuntos alheios à sua função e perdem uma grande oportunidade desde o seu microblogging de fazer propostas relacionadas a problemas sociais e contribuir a partir de sua conta do Twitter para consolidar sua imagem e validade na esfera pública e eleitoral.

Palavras-chave: Comunicação móvel; Comunicação política; Twitter; Comunidades virtuais; Etnografia virtual; líderes políticos.

Introduction

Since the 1990s, the ways in which local government in Colombia work have had a process of transformation affected by several factors, such as new forms of citizen participation established by the Political Constitution of 1991, decentralization of public administration, political reforms of participation in parties, incorporation of elements to model a new public management in inspection scenarios, and the intervention of citizens in debates of general interest. However, along with these transformations and dynamics at the national, regional and local political action, the information and communication technologies have also contributed to political participation becoming part of daily dynamics of users, whether this is an issue of interest or priority or not.

C*iberpolitics, bigdata and government 2.0* are topics that have caught the attention of scholars of Political and Public Communication in the new century. The so-called digital ecosystems generate societies that seek spaces to exercise their right to participate in politics through the Internet; online platforms and social networks contribute to the creation and promotion of interactive meetings that guarantee, direct and multidirectional communication, between members of the same platform or online community.

Through the new digital agora (Cotarelo, 2013), Cyberpolitics, for example, offers an opportunity of equality between citizens and government. These ideas allow for a communication with far higher levels of interactivity than those reached in previous decades, where the personal, or *face to face* was limited, and the mass media were the mediators for excellence and for the circulation of ideas and unidirectional opinions. Practicality and comfort legitimize what for Maia, Gomes and Marques (2011) cited by Almeida, Alves and Miola (2014) are called contemporary democratic practices.

These are the basis for this article that aims at showing some of the results of the research on Twitter as a means of local political interaction, a case study in the Council of Bucaramanga, in order to answer the question: how do councilors of an important city in Colombia establish and interact with their followers on Twitter? And also, to find out what is the improvement of these local political leaders in the use of resources offered by digital social networks, SNs?

To achieve the goal, firstly, a communicative process within the Building Corporation, both private and public, was explored. Secondly, the use of Social Networks by councilors from Bucaramanga from the concepts of popularity, participation and virality, was studied. Then, the interactivity of local corporations based on messages issued on their accounts and sought to verify the mana-

gement and transparency of the activities they carry out, the content posted on their Twitter profiles were analyzed.

According to Gutiérrez-Rubí (2015) SNs function as a way to lead interaction between users, where ideological debates are constant, and the intensity and depth of participation will partially depend on those who lead or encourage the discussion. Hence, for today's political leader, virtuality is an auspicious scenario for action and visibility.

However, not everyone involved in a political field faces these challenges in the same way, or with the same attitude. For some, especially those who live in areas where connectivity and digital training is minimal, virtuality is considered ineffective and with low-credibility, while in places of higher connection and dominance, the effects are present in trends and replicated by other means.

This situation has guided political leaders, both global and local, to rely on digital platforms to inform and disseminate their ideas, while making them visible to current and potential voters, who can access directly to request or demand certain actions, to state their position on a particular situation, and also to criticize them for their performance or behavior.

In this sense, Castells (2012) called this issue the new democracy, because within hopelessness, the internet allows"... people to collectively manage their lives according to shared democratic principles that are often forgotten in everyday experience" (Castells, 2012, p. 807).

From another perspective, Cavadas-Gormaz (2016) stated that the political leader must know how to communicate and connect words, and make the citizen consider them "as one of us". Erizalde and Riorda (2013), referring to Mizrahi (1999), to remember that the leader or ruler must demonstrate all the time that they do things in the correct way and much better than the opposition" (p. 8).

This can be understood as the *Duty to Be* of a country constituted and supported in participatory and representative democracy; but, in the face of social and political adversity, as is the case in Colombia, it is essential to notice both sides of the coin. On the one hand, to expose from the theoretical approach the importance of virtuality in public communication processes and, on the other, to show how the councilors of a Colombian important city, use ICT in their public activity.

In their research Izureta, Arterton and Perina (2009), Zamora (2011), Peña, Pacheco and Martínez (2012), Erizalde and Riorda (2013) and Vega (2009) pointed out the importance of communication in public activity by political rulers and leaders, which contributes to legitimizing their performance:

Public communication is not concerned with everything that is made visible in the public sphere, but, essentially, with what will contribute to the construction of

public opinion and in any government and state decisions and actions (Habermas, 1978; quoted by Demers and Lavigne, (2007, p. 73). [Own translation]

Representatives of the Department of Information and Communication, DIC, of the University of Quebec, Canada, defined Public Communication, PC as "all the phenomena of production, treatment, dissemination and retroaction of information that creates, guides and transforms public debates and issues" (Demers and Lavigne, 2007, p. 67).

And although the authors do not expand on the relationship between ICT and PC, they state that these new means motivate the interrelationships of rulers and citizens, because the web allows "to introduce individuals into the public debate" (Demers and Lavigne, 2007, p. 71). [Own translation]

Vega (2009) expands the concept and calls it the Government Political Communication, GPC, "-the set of technical and human resources organized and intended to perform informative and journalistic functions, able to contribute to a correct transparency and advertisement in public policy" (Vega, 2009, p.138). [Own translation]

With what has been previously stated, it is clear that the relationship between rulers and citizens went from distant and arrogant, (on the part of the former), and a high disconnection of the public service (on the part of the latter), to areas of horizontality and permanent interaction of both (rulers–citizens) by the use of ICT, in particular by the Internet and its several platforms to achieve "active listening" (Noguera-Vivo, 2013, p. 105). [Own translation]

This has been built and guided towards the governor, but does a councilor also experience this? It is stated since the Constitution of Colombia 1991 (Corte Constitutional, 2015) since the corporate performs "as co-administrator of the Municipal Administration, with functions of political control, formed by councilors directly elected by the population residing in the jurisdiction of each municipality" (Manrique, 1995, p. 97). [Own translation]

In addition, research such as the one conducted by Ramírez and Tabares (2011) establish and confirm four types of relationships between councilors and community: cooperation, intermediation, competition and absence.

Bohórquez-Pereira and Alguero-Montaño (2018) showed the presence of two types: cooperation and absence. For councilors, there is feedback through their communication channels, and they ensure cooperation. In addition, communal leaders are unaware of these contacts and "perceive the councilors as mere political leaders who represent their particular ideals and interests and do not strengthen governance or networked governance" (Bohórquez-Pereira and Alguero-Montaño, 2018, p. 57). [Own translation]

Meanwhile, the introduction of the internet and other technological components into the world of politics led to the massification of ideas and, at the same time, to a blurred relationship between them, thoughts and image. Bonelly (2011) points out that from marketing it is important to know what type of user you want to reach and this includes the world of politics, particularly in electoral processes. After the MyBO or "Obama President" phenomenon in 2008, it was understood "that each individual is able to impact on a social footprint that can generate the viral growth of a message, a joke, a business and why not, an election campaign" (Bonelly, 2011, p. 24). [Own translation]

The potential of these virtual platforms is exploited by everyone who has access. Large connections and equipment are no longer required, nor age, nor a minimum level of education. A simple click on mobile, tablet or PC, allows you to enter and surf the virtual world. The increasing use of these platforms has originated digital phenomena such as virality in social networks. It is understood as digital hyperactivity by users in accelerating flows and content, overflowing traditional paradigms on sender-channel-receiver (Gutiérrez-Rubí, 2015).

It is complex to accurately establish figures related to the virtual world. We are Social and Hootsuite (2019), states that the increase in active users of social media increased between January 2018 and January 2019 by 9%. In figures, it means that it went from 3,196 million users to 3,484 million. 3,260 million use a mobile device as a means to connect to social networks.

The report indicates that in January 2019 in the Americas, the use of social media activity was reported at 66% representing 673 million users, 3.8% more than in the previous year.

Regarding the social network Twitter, the report confirms data already stated by Kit (2016), Morrison (2015) and Kamps (2015). One of them is the uncertainty of the official number of Twitter accounts. In 2016, Smith Kit claimed that Twitter had a billion accounts and estimated that 310 million users joined or visited the social media platform. In December 2018, the report by We are Social and Hootsuite (2019) showed that 670 million of users visited Twitter.com, for more than 9 minutes on each visit, and Omnicore Agency (2019) stated that Twitter can handle 18 quintillion of user accounts, 80% of activity on this network is carried out through mobile devices, 74% of users reported the use of network to check news, and 79% of accounts are not registered in United States.

Another similarity between the reports is related to usability. Twitter is called an influential platform by people who participate in it. Singers, sportsmen, presidents and prime ministers catch the attention and surf the network turning the virtual space into a stage for supporting or confronting ideas and concepts. For Morrison (2015) verified or prominent accounts belong to journalists

and political leaders with high interactivity, since they use it as a communication tool, while other social groups use it as mean of information.

Professional profile, virality of messages, feedback, possibility to monitor followers and to analyze information from retweets, likes and response, are characteristics that Cotarelo (2013) pertain to this network which makes it possible to disseminate political approaches and ideology.

In addition, the personalization of information within this network contributes to the creation of "groups to form a set of alliances and conquering voters" (Maia et al.,2011, p. 181) or the development of virtual communities, defined by Castells (1999) as self-defined electronic networks of interactive communication organized around a shared interest or purpose from activism to online militancy.

With regard to the communicative model of this network, Orihuela (2013) states that Twitter is asymmetric and hence features such as shortness, hyper textuality, interactivity and virality make it different from other networks. Moya (2014) adds that *La Mención (@); El Retuit y el Hastags (#)* are their own issues and make this network the best choice for dissemination of ideas and political participation.

In Colombia, the report We are Social and Hootsuite (2019) indicates that 34 million Colombians are active users of social networks. It represents 68% of use, 9.7% more than in 2018. The average time spent in this activity is 9 hours a day, 3 hours and 31 minutes on social networks, 3 hours and 12 minutes on watching TV via streaming, and 1 hour listening to music. Regarding the connection to the network, this is mainly by mobile, Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu (2019) states that 57% of responders (982) use their phone to check social networks, 46% to post photos on networks and 18% in "live broadcast" on social networks.

In the ranking of Alexa Top Websites, Twitter in Colombia ranks 19th in visits with 3.2 daily pages in which they spend an average of 6 minutes, and 60% of internet users in this country access to this social network. It also notes that 69% of Twitter users are men, and 31% women (We are Social and Hootsuite, 2019).

The Ministry of Information and Communications Technologies, MinTic Colombia (2019) reports on its website that although there are no official data about Twitter, "the industry estimates that about 6 million Colombians use the popular service, which has become the preferred way by media, political campaigns, sportsmen, people of government, among others".

With regard to the city of Bucaramanga, Santander, Colombia, the data on the number of accounts and use of Twitter is not precise. Durán (2015, p. 57) [Own translation] reports that by 2014, the region ranked the fourth in the generation of publications with 4.69%, during research conducted by Meridean

Group. The region was below Cundinamarca, 20%, Valle del Cauca, 13.39%, and Antioquia, 11.76%. In the sample studied (920,968 publications) generated by 259,620 authors, the messages with political content were in 1.8% on Twitter and 80% of these were texts.

It is then necessary to review the new political agora (Castells, 2000), this time from the Corporation form by councilors and its members, when Twitter is noticed as a tool for visibility before the public sphere, and as a mean of interactivity with users.

Methodology

The research was developed from a qualitative approach, mainly descriptive and it used mixed applied techniques.

According to the goal on searching communicative processes generated from virtuality with components such as: subjects (real or created), labels (linguistic and paralinguistic messages), diverse global network, and instant interaction or response. The methodological model of Virtual Ethnography (Kozinets, 1997,1998), Hine (2004), Del Fresno (2011), Ruiz and Aguirre, (2015) or Netnography (Turpo, 2008), Kozinets (2006) was used as it is considered the most appropriate one to establish how councilors (subjects) show themselves in virtuality to followers and users (real or labels, messages, multimedia resources and interactions they cause, as it shows the "experiences of network" (Turpo, 2008, p. 84), own object of that methodological approach.

In addition, the review and analysis of findings in this type of inquiry process do not interfere with the cultural variations of subjects. As Del Fresno (2011) states "The social world must be studied in its natural state" (p. 67). However, in virtual ethnography the construction of meanings, objects and identities given by spaces, fields, connections and interactions between technology and users takes relevance (Hine, 2004, p. 9). [Own translation]

Likewise, the model allows the researcher to be immersed in the process without losing the impartiality in what is searched:

> The ethnographer [may inhabit] a kind of middle world, simultaneously being a stranger and a native... [so] have to get close enough to the culture under study to understand how it works, while maintaining the distance necessary to account for it (Hine, 2004, p. 13). [Own translation]

In this regard Laaksonen *et al.* (2017) state levels of researcher participation within ethnography:

> The role of the researcher in an ethnographic setting ranges from that of outside observer to full participant (Madden, 2010). Regardless of the level of participation, the researcher commonly writes detailed field notes, which provide a so-called thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the events and practices observed. Field notes focus on documenting highly detailed and specific descriptions of the behavior and the environment, often with analysis or interpretation kept to a minimum (p. 12). [Own translation]

It was then proposed, that as they were interested in studying the interactivity of councilors on their social networks, particularly on Twitter, and accepting that this process first demands a descriptive look, and then to analyze and interpret what was found, it was right to turn to the Netnography model, "to gauge the role of technologies as instruments and resources, and also as mediators in the cybercultural practices performed by their users" (Ruiz and Aguirre, 2015, p. 81). [Own translation]

In relation to the techniques, instruments and support tools for Virtual Ethnography, Meneses-Cabrera and Cardozo-Cardona (2014) define them as e-science practices (Cuadra, 2009), since they are mediated by a computer that makes it possible to apply a variety of scientific practices that are supported in the digital infrastructure.

Thus, through mixed data collection and analysis techniques, a Netnography of character or observational type was developed, in which "the researcher is not revealed to the online community (Kozinets, 2006, p. 9) [Own translation] since this remote and concrete form allows one to describe the interactions of users within the virtual community.

While Netnography extends its forms of study from multiple methods, approaches and analysis techniques, this research used non-participating observation in its implementation phases, along with field logs, structured interviews and documentary analysis, with each corresponding instrument in order to keep methodological rigor.

In this sense, this study established three phases. The first one focused on the characterization of the Municipal Corporation in its internal and external communication processes, for such purpose, a structured Interview format was applied to the administrative staff and community manager of the Corporation's Press Office. In addition, a non-Participant Observation was carried out to identify and register the media and social networks that the Council of

Bucaramanga uses. Observation forms, data analysis grids and an open-ended questionnaire were used as instruments in this first stage.

On this basis and as a second part of this first phase, we proceeded to search for the published information of the 19 councilors with an emphasis on the social network Twitter on its activity and interactivity, and the use of tools during the first and third sessions of meetings of the Council of the year 2017. After, we sought to establish the activity of users on Twitter and its possible scope within the digital ecosystem of the network with the Global Persuasive Power Index of Twitter created by Moya and Herrera (2016):

> The persuasive processes underlying the messages that political leaders broadcast on Twitter - and that they receive without intermediation - reveal keys to the success of a tactic aimed at gaining support for a certain program or political action. In this environment, the political leaders have the opportunity to display their persuasive skills by reinforcing their presence in the traditional ones, while presenting a personalized and differentiated public image from the collective image of the party to which they belong (Moya and Herrera, 2016, p. 845). [Own translation]

Therefore, it is necessary to find the Follow-up Coefficient related to the flow of messages that must exist between two or more accounts and the Communication Coefficient, which is defined as "the effort that an account makes to generate conversation" (Moya and Herrera, 2016, p. 848). [Own translation]. Through the features and tools provided by *microblogging*, such as retweets, mentions and responses.

To calculate the Follow-up Coefficient, the product of the sum of unique followers plus reciprocal followers over the total followers were taken into account. While to find the Communication coefficient, the equation of the Follow-up coefficient multiplied by responses plus mentions was necessary, plus the constant 1.66 (Retweets) on basic tweets which do not generate interactions, more responses, more retweets.

The range of rating of the Follow-up Coefficient should range between 1 and 3, the latter percentage shows the total reciprocal followers of an account. In other words, there is a direct and horizontal communication between the account holder and its followers. To register the data, which was ranked from the highest to the lowest, the paid software www.Twitonomy.com was used.

A second phase of the process was oriented to review the resources and their use. Hence, the concepts of Scolari (2013) on multimedia were assumed. This is understood as the different formats and platforms that the internet allows users to publish information and hypertextuality which is interpreted

as the number of links and connections of the web; and the interactivity that is defined as communication mediated by computers. For its registration and subsequent analysis, an Excel matrix grid was prepared with the data from the three (3) most active councilors.

In relation to the texts published in the account of the selected councilors, these were contrasted with the contents of the Acts of the Council of Bucaramanga in order to establish what topics of public interest were discussed in the sessions of the corporation and were replicated in their accounts and whether they generated some reaction from the followers. Analysis grids were used as an instrument applied for this last stage.

Results

The first part of the results addressed to the corporate and digital communication of Bucaramanga's Council, then the behavior of the councilors on social networks and Twitter is shown.

It was found that the Council of Bucaramanga in the field of digital communication has the portal www.concejodebucaramanga.gov.co. In the main page of the site, there are nine tabs where you can see: Home, Council, Councilors, Commissions, Downloads, Participation, Hiring, Offices and Projects.

When the "Home" window is displayed, you can see the most recent informative records and events. In the "Council" tab, you have all the aspects related to the entity's corporate culture, while in "Councilors" tab you have the main information of each one of the councilors that, when displaying individually, you find their personal data. The page also features multimedia resources. It offers a live signal of the plenary sessions and the date of the next deliberation session. There is also access to the institutional mail, telephone directory, community responses, frequently asked questions, accountability, complaints and claims, transparency and access to public information.

Update is evident, its interface is visually pleasing and its layout makes it easy to browse. It has a direct link to the social networks in which the page is registered. In this regard, the Council of Bucaramanga is registered in three social networks, namely, Twitter with the account @concejodebucaramanga, Facebook with Concejo.debucaramanga and YouTube with Unconcejoparatodos.

As of September 30th, 2017, the Facebook account registered 7,248 followers, Twitter 1,905 and Youtube 53. The Corporation's Twitter account follows 695 accounts and 3,450 tweets, 319 likes, and 1,571 videos and photos were

issued, with neither record interaction (retweet), or links, or hypertextuality (Table 1).

Table 1. Social Media Data Council of Bucaramanga, 09-30-2017

Social networks of the Council of Bucaramanga					
Twitter	@concejobucara	**Facebook**	@concejo.de-bucaramanga	**Youtube**	CONCEJO DE BUCARA-MANGA
Followers	1.905	Followers	7.248	Subscribers	53
Followed	695	Amount of "likes" on the page	7.272	Videos	132
Tweets	3450	Videos	107	Views	11.222
Likes	319	Photos	2.561		
Multimedia	1,571 photos and videos	Maximum ran-ge of reproduc-tions	3.070		

Source: Author's

The Facebook page has 7,272 followers, 107 videos, 2,561 photos and a maximum range of views of 3,070.

The YouTube channel registers 53 subscribers, a low number in contrast to the 11,222 visits and 132 reported videos. When playing the videos it is evident that they are of short duration (2 minutes), the content is directly related to the activities of the Council and the number of comments is limited.

Regarding the interaction variable, the Facebook account is the one that registers the most activity with limited feedback. This might be because of its content, which is based on the same information.

When reviewing the profiles of the councilors from the website, the registration of email and social networks was evident: Facebook, Youtube and Twitter; of the latter, 14 out of the 19 members had an account (April, 2017).

To date, the councilors of the Liberal Party, Jaime Andrés Beltrán Martínez, @jbeltranconcejo and Uriel Ortiz Ruíz, @UrielOrtizRuiz along with the councilor of the Polo Democrático Party, Jorge Hernán Flórez Herrara, @JorgeFlorezSi are the ones who have the highest number of followers on Twitter: 2412, 2084 and 2050, respectively. Contrary to councilors Dionicio Carrero Correa, @DionicioCC1, of the Liberal Party, Cleomedes Bello Villabona @CleomedesBello,

of the Unidad Nacional Party and Jhon Marcell Pinzón Rincón, @Jhonmpinzon, also of the Unidad Nacional Party, who register a number of followers less than 150. The lowest number is for @ DionicioCC1 with 58, @CleomedesBello 96 and @Jhonmpinzon with 131.

The remaining accounts, @Nancyrueda03 has 339 followers and Arturo Zambrano Avellaneda @ArturoZambranoA of the Centro Democrático Party has 1044 followers.

As an additional contribution to this study, a comparative table was made between the number of votes obtained by the councilors when they were elected (October, 2018) and their followers. The limited relationship among them is evident. The exception is shown by Jorge Édgar Flórez Herrara, @JorgeFlorezSi, with 50 as a difference of votes and followers. It is noted that social media accounts sometimes cannot be identified with people (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of Votes and Number of Twitter Followers of Councilors from Bucaramanga

Councilor	Political Party	Number of votes	Twitter Followers	Username
Jaime Andrés Beltrán Martínez	Liberal	12.837	2.412	@jbeltranconcejo
Uriel Ortiz Ruiz	Liberal	7.590	2.084	@UrielOrtizRuiz
Nancy Elvira Lora	Liberal	7.965	339	@Nancyrueda03

Councilor	Political Party	Number of votes	Twitter Followers	Username
Dionicio Carrero Correa	Liberal	6.117	58	@DionicioCC1
René Rodrigo Garzón Martínez	Liberal	6.117	679	@ReneGarzonM
Henry Gamboa Meza	Liberal	7.623	393	@henrygamboameza
Wilson Manuel Mora Cadena	Liberal	8.867	921	@WilsonMora8890
Jhon Marcell Pinzón Rincón	Unidad Nacional	4.361	131	@Jhonmpinzon
Cleomedes Bello Villabona	Unidad Nacional	3.698	96	@CleomedesBello

Councilor	Political Party	Number of votes	Twitter Followers	Username
Edinson Fabián Oviedo Pinzón	Cambio Radical	5.224	499	@FabianOviedoP
John Jairo Claro Arevalo	Alianza Social Indígena	3.446	729	@johnclaro
Arturo Zambrano Avellaneda	Centro Democrático	3.645	1.044	@ArturoZambranoA
Pedro Nilson Amya Martínez	Opción Ciudadana	3.398	698	@PedroNilsonConc
Jorge Édgar Flórez Herrera	Polo Democrático	2.099	2.050	@JorgeFlorezSi

Source: Author's

On the other hand, the equations of the Global Persuasive Potential Index of Moya and Herrera (2016) to the 14 councilors actively involved in the network show that Wilson Manuel Mora @ WilsonMora8890 was the councilor with the highest Monitoring Coefficient with 2.57, followed by Uriel Ortiz Ruiz @UrielOrtizRuiz with 2.09% and then Jorge Édgar Flórez @JorgeFlorezSi with 1.46%. The lowest involvement was shown by Arturo Zambrano @ArturoZambranoA with 1.11%; followed by Jaime Andrés Beltrán @jbeltranconcejo with 1.15% and, finally, René Rodrigo Garzón @ReneGarzonM with 1.27%. It is to be clarified that the councilors who appear with zero (0) in their graphs are because they did not meet all the data to calculate the equations (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Tracking Coefficient

Tracking Coefficient

Councilors from Bucaramanga on Twitter
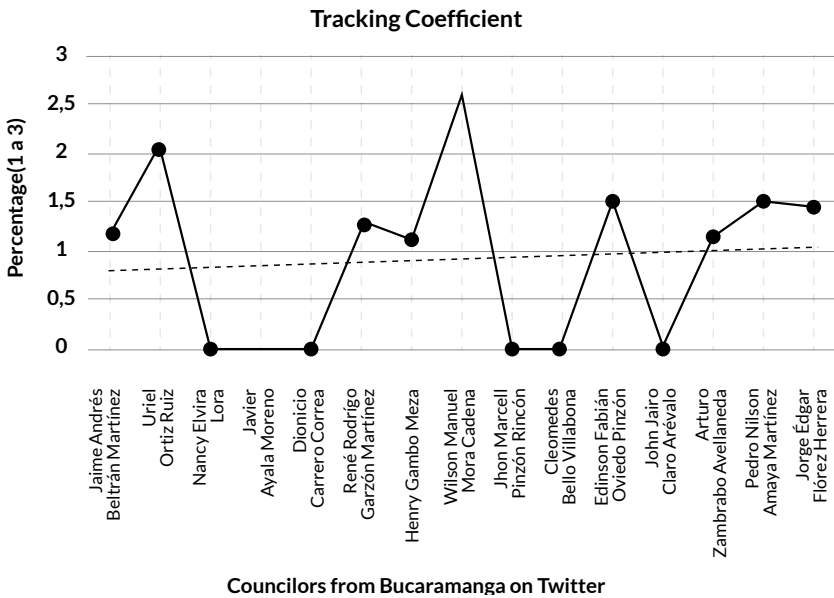
Source: Author's

Regarding the Communication Coefficient, the results favored Wilson Manuel Mora (@ WilsonMora8890) with 13.38% and Uriel Ortiz Ruiz (@UrielOrtizRuiz) with 7.99% who are members of the Liberal party, and Jorge Édgar Flórez (@JorgeFlorezSi) of Polo Democrático with 4.73% and they also have the highest amount of activity on Twitter. The lowest results were for Jaime Andrés Beltrán, @jbeltranconcejo, with 2.26%; followed by Edinson Fabián Oviedo, @FabianOviedoP, with 2.41%; and finally, René Rodrigo Garzón, @ReneGarzonM, with 3.73% (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Communication Coefficient
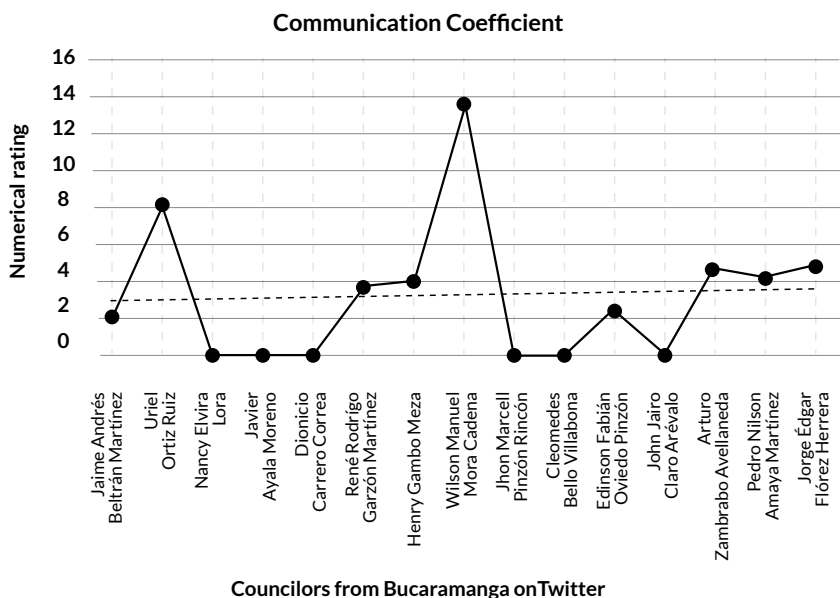
Source: Author's

As indicated in the methodology, the topics Multimediality, Hypertextuality and Interactivity were applied only to the three councilors with the highest Coefficient of Followers and Communication.

In that order, what refers to Multimedia was found under the use of digital resources such as images, videos, audios, and documentary formats in the tweets for the first and third regular sessions of 2017. For both the first (85.48%) and the third period (81.88%) of sessions, the Multimedia is limited. Arturo Zambrano (@ArturoZambranoA was the councilor who obtained the highest percentage in both periods), since after crossing the data and generating Figures 3 and 4 scores with 7.17% and 13.41% respectively. While Uriel Ortiz (3.94% and 1.45%) and Wilson Mora (3.41% and 3.26%), on the other hand, respectively exhibit the mentioned figures.

Figure 3. Multimedia (first period).
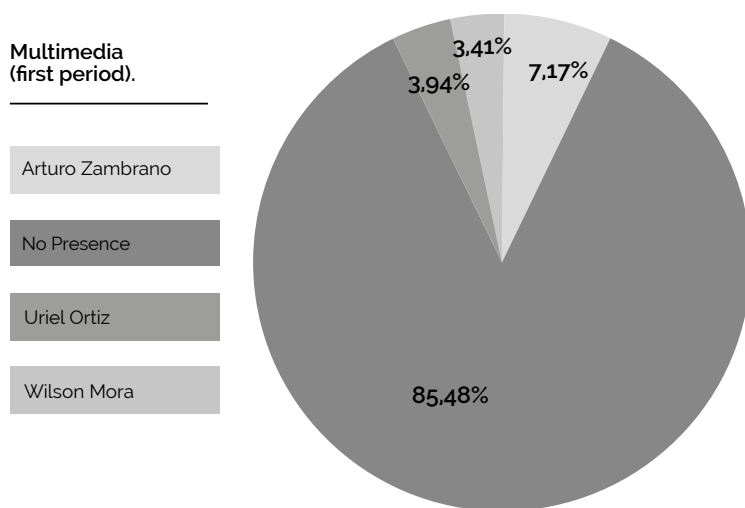
Source: Author's

Figure 4. Multimedia (third period).
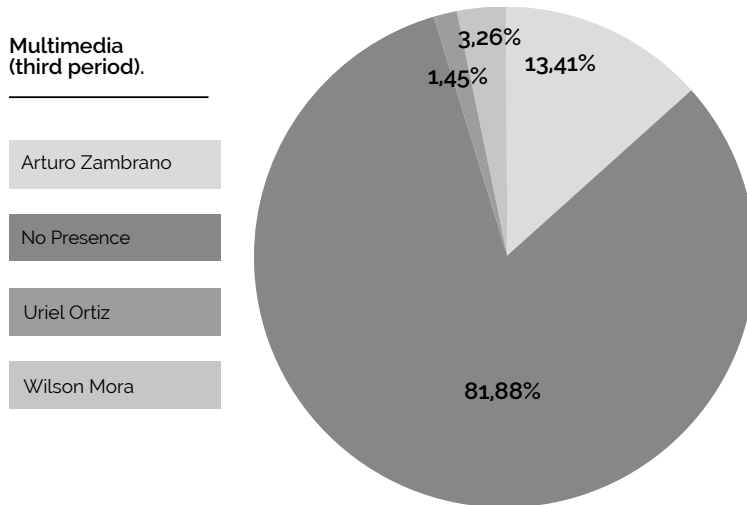
Source: Author's

Now, hypertextuality that is understood as the use of links to increase information in the tweets to the generation and use of hashtags (#), mentions (@) and retweets that are either or commented by the councilor, Wilson Manuel Mora (@ WilsonMora8890) obtained a higher percentage in the first period (8.33%). However, Arturo Zambrano (@ArturoZambranoA) (9.79%) is the one who heads the range for the third period. Compared to the third period, Uriel Ortiz (@UrielOrtizRuiz) obtained 0.91%, being the lowest compared to Arturo Zambrano (14.49%).

Figure 5. Hypertextuality (first period).

Hypertextuality (first period).

- Arturo Zambrano
- No Presence
- Uriel Ortiz
- Wilson Mora

8,3%

9,79%

2,08%

79,79%
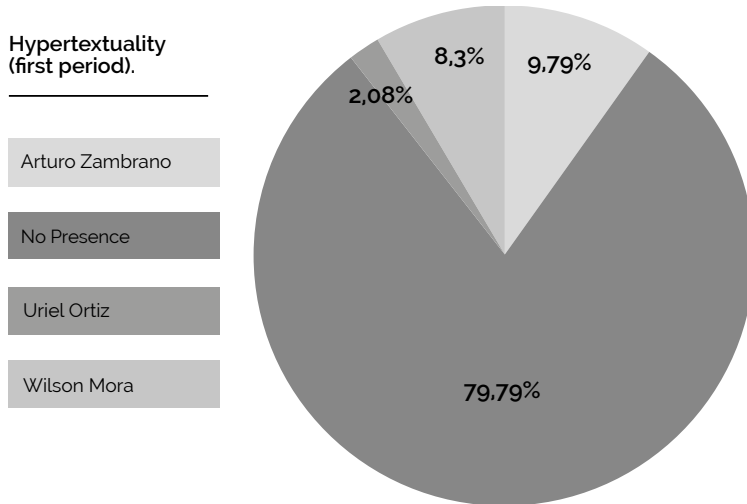
Source: Author's

Figure 6. Hypertextuality (third period)

Hypertextuality (third period)

- Arturo Zambrano
- No Presence
- Uriel Ortiz
- Wilson Mora

4,35%

14,49%

0,91%

80,25%
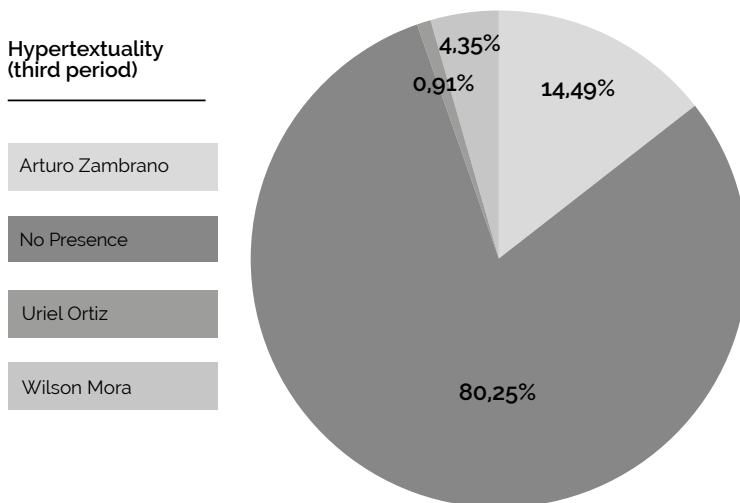
Source: Author's

For the Interactivity category, the types of mentions, retweets and responses were searched. They can be collective and unique to entities or digital citizens. In this sense, Arturo Zambrano (@ArturoZambranoA), of the Centro Democrático party, is the most interactive councilor with 6.58% and 12.23%, in each said period. Uriel Ortiz obtained 5.85 and 2.17% and Wilson Mora 4.64% and 8.29%, respectively.

Figure 7. Interactivity (first period).

Interactivity (first period).

- Arturo Zambrano
- No Presence
- Uriel Ortiz
- Wilson Mora

4,64% 6,85% 5,85% 82,66%
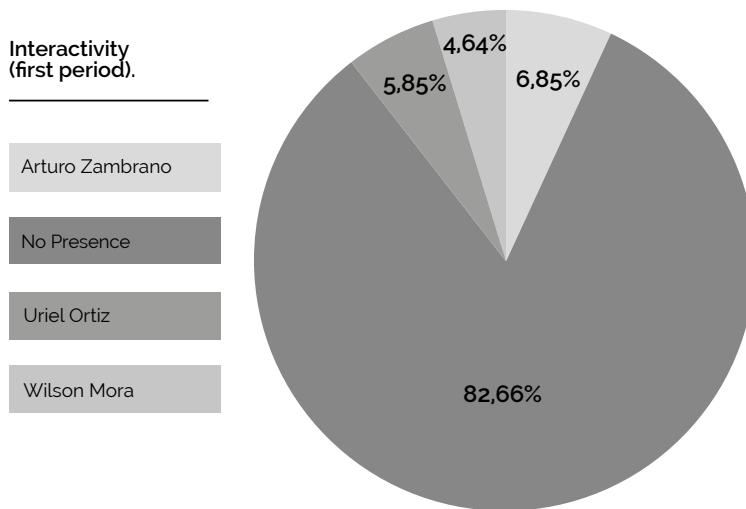
Source: Author's

Figure 8. Interactivity (third period).

**Interactivity
(third period).**

Arturo Zambrano

No Presence

Uriel Ortiz

Wilson Mora

8,29%

2,17%

12,23%

77,31%
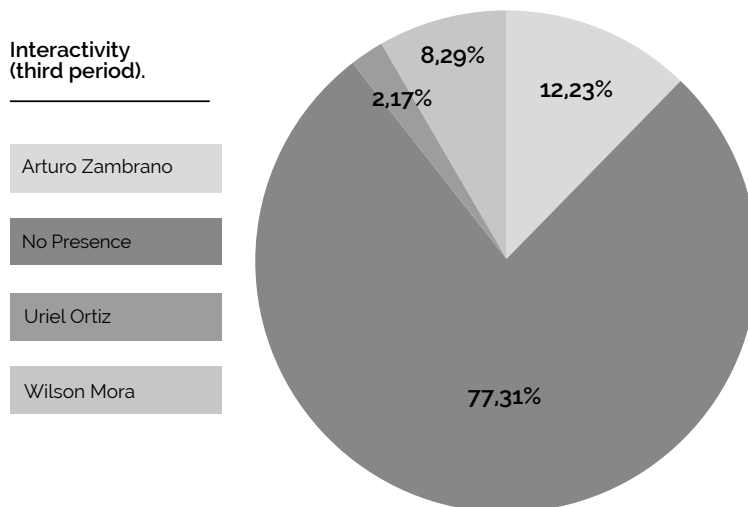
Finally, a comparative matrix was made that included tweets and Minutes of the Council of Bucaramanga[1]. This data crossing was made according to the dates of the published tweets and the topics covered in said tweets regarding the topic of the day in the corporate plenary sessions.

As it can be seen in Table 3, less than half of the publications made by the councilors in those periods of 2017 on their Twitter accounts feature topics related to the Council of Bucaramanga.

Arturo Zambrano is the closest councilor to 50% with 46% in the first period and 50% in the third. Uriel Ortiz with 21% for the first period and 8% for the third period and finally, Wilson Mora with 19% for the first period and 5% for the third.

Councilor Wilson Mora (@ WilsonMora8890) obtained the highest score in the communication coefficient, followed by Arturo Zambrano (@ ArturoZambranoA).

---

1. Taken from the website www.concejodebucaramanga, gov.co

Table 3. Verification of Content Published on Twitter by the Councilors

Councilors	Verification	First period	Average	Third period	Average
Wilson Mora	It matches	11	19%	2	5%
It does not match	It does not match	47	81%	35	95%
Uriel Ortiz	It matches	14	21%	1	8%
It does not match	It does not match	52	79%	12	92%
Arturo Zambrano	It matches	22	46%	19	50%
It does not match	It does not match	26	54%	19	50%

Source: Author's

Conclusions

Due to its typology, these research results do not intend to generalize, but to confirm the irrefutable presence of virtual media and, in particular, social networks, as a strategic means of Public and Political Communication.

This was asserted in studies of the executive branch conducted by García, López de Ayala and Fernández-Fernández (2015), Del Ruiz-Olmo and Bustos (2016), in which they confirm the real incidence the virtual world has on the texts, images, and other content that circulate about the political leaders, their successful and unsuccessful actions and the approval of the decisions they make. This indicates that both the political leaders of today, both the local and world political leaders must daily face what they say and how they say it, in addition to being prepared to receive from virtual media all the comments, insults, ridicule and criticism from those who react to the content received, whether it is total or fractional.

In terms of the saved proportions, the results presented in this short study coincide with Túñez and Sixto (2011) who warned at their time that "the low level of usage of social networks means their potential as a form of direct contact, as a platform for visibility of their users and management, as a tool for cyber-activity, as an alert to possible conflicts or as a forum for debate is not

yet trusted" (p. 22) [Own translation]. When reviewing and analyzing the data collected, it is clear that the councilors from Bucaramanga are failing in the management of social networks and must be offered training opportunities to reduce the evident digital gap. This invitation must be extended to those in charge of the information offices and press offices of public, local, departmental and national corporations.

Now, in relation to the Monitoring and Communication Coefficient, these two indicators aided at finding veracity when determining the degree of usage of the councilors. In addition, the communicative function that the councilor exercises as a political leader is confirmed (Moya, 2014). Despite not having the version of the content generator (councilor), it was observed that the receiving users (the citizens) feel that they have the possibility of direct communication and, besides, they can, if they wish, achieve the feedback (feedback) fostered for the content of the messages that the councilors publish.

On the other hand, persuasive purposes are a fundamental characteristic of political communication and, therefore, the Global Persuasive Potential Index proposed by Moya and Herrera (2016) showed that retweets involve much more than a retransmission of the message, since these waterfalls broadcasting promote and enhance communication. Thus, when measuring the persuasion of the messages issued by the councilors we verify the degree of their activity with the effectiveness of their communication when supported by a number of users.

Nonetheless, it is important to clarify that in order to expand the network's scope of users on Twitter, it is necessary for communications between cyber-citizens and political leaders to be direct (Moya and Herrera, 2016), because councilors do not have a Real communication aimed at users, since within the publication of their messages they only seek to disseminate information and foster propaganda, and do not create virtual communities with clear the evidence of multimodal communication. (Castells, 1999).

Similarly, the councilors concentrate the broadcast of their messages and the debates of public affairs with opinion leaders within the network and do not democratize their broadcasts to all users. Therefore, according to Moya and Herrera (2016), under model number I led to identify that A are the councilors, B are the opinion leaders and C are the cyber-citizens. A and B maintain a constant debate relationship, while C are only spectators of the debate. In addition, B are the ones who mostly respond to the messages emitted by C, since A's interests are to disseminate information by mistakenly using digital social networks.

Figure 9. Relationship Models in Twitter Followers
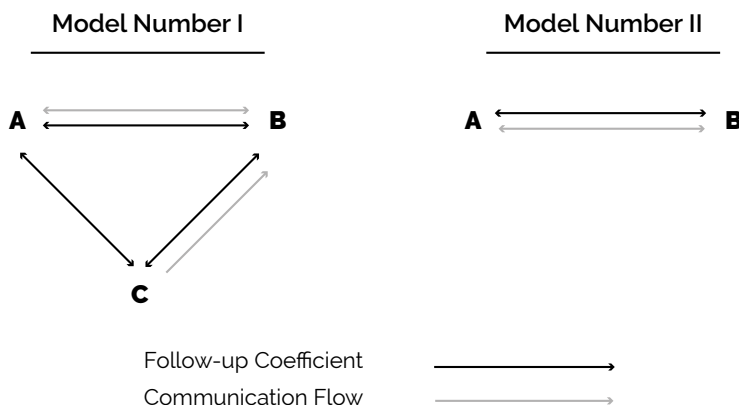
Source: Author's

To clarify, the communicative action of the councilors on Twitter as a means of citizen interaction and the determined usage by the members of the corporation to use their personal networks as a complement of their roles as political leaders is not being fully complied with, since it emphasizes on the relevance of their image, ideologies, and opposition to local administrations, and not in communicating the public affairs that the Council of Bucaramanga deals with in its daily actions, therefore, leading to the disinformation to the digital citizen.

The proof is the results of the use of digital resources and the verification of the agendas they publish on their Twitter accounts with respect to the topics of the plenary sessions. Out of the 19 councilors, only Arturo Zambrano (@ArturoZambranoA) takes advantage of the digital tools provided by Twitter and fosters the debate on public affairs through virtual communities.

Likewise, councilors Wilson Mora (@ WilsonMora8890) and Uriel Ortiz Ruiz (@UrielOrtizRuiz) raised more conversations with different users than Arturo Zambrano (@ArturoZambranoA). However, these did not refer to the political control carried out by the Bucaramanga councilors instead they focused their content on Rodolfo Hernández government who is the Mayor of Bucaramanga and their fierce opponent.

Like any investigation process in which virtual media is involved, it is required to deepen and expand both participants, as well as data collection techniques that lead to the expressions of those called users and, also, of those who call content generators or tweeters. Both citizens and members of a society are the

ones who must say whether this exercise of virtual interaction is really contributing to the construction of public policies aimed at social strengthening and the reduction of inequality or is one more way of dominating and subjecting the electorate.

References

Almeida, J. A.; Alves, J. A.; Miola, E. (2014). Parlamentares, representação política e redes sociais digitais: perfis de uso do Twitter na Câmara dos Deputados. *Opinião Pública, Campinas, 20*(2), 178-203. https://www.scielo.br/pdf/op/v20n2/0104-6276-op-20-02-00178.pdf

Bohórquez-Pereira, G.; Alguero-Montaño. M. O. (2018). Concejales y líderes comunitarios de Bucaramanga. Percepciones encontradas en sus relaciones comunicativas. *Revista Escribanía, 16*(2), 45-57. http://revistasum.umanizales.edu.co/ojs/index.php/escribania/article/view/3112

Bonelly, R. (2011). *La Huella social. Cómo los usuarios tomaron control de internet.* Editorial CEC, S. A.

Castells, M. (1999). *La era de la información.* Alianza Editorial, S.A.S.

Castells, M. (2000). *Lección inaugural del programa de doctorado sobre la sociedad de la información y el conocimiento. Universitá Oberta de Catalunya, España.* https://www.uoc.edu/portal/_resources/ES/documents/la_universitat/leccion-inaugural/leccion-inaugural-manuel-castells-2017.pdf

Castells, M. (2012). *Redes de indignación y esperanza: los movimientos sociales en la era de Internet.* Alianza Editorial.

Cavadas-Gormaz, M. (2016). La comunicación al servicio del líder. El caso del Ayuntamiento de Madrid. In Asociación Española Investigación de la Comunicación (Ed.). In *Memorias V Congreso Iberoamericano de Comunicación Cultura y Cooperació*n (pp. 131-144). http://www.madrid2016.org/wp-content/uploads/aeic2016madrid_comunicaciones_vdef_ok.pdf

Corte Constitucional de Colombia (2015). *Constitución Política Colombia.* https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/inicio/Constitucion%20politica%20de%20Colombia%20-%202015.pdf

Cotarelo, R. (2013). *Ciberpolítica. Las nuevas formas de acción y comunicación política.* Tirant Humanidades.

Cuadra, A. (2009). Epistemocrítica de la e-Comunicación. Elementos para una etnografía virtual de las prácticas científicas en la era digital. *Revista teórica del Departamento de Ciencias de la Comunicación, 13*, 59-71. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4159233

Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu Limited (2019). *Consumo móvil en Colombia. Los cambios importantes generalmente no ocurren de la noche a la mañana.* Deloite, Ed.

Del Fresno, M. (2011). Netnografía. Investigación, análisis e intervención social online. Reseña. *Revista Teknokultura, 12*(1), 203-210. https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/TEKN/article/view/48898/45624

Del Ruiz-Olmo, F. J.; Bustos. D. J. (2016). Del tweet a la fotografía, la evolución de la comunicación política en Twitter hacia la imagen. El caso del debate del estado de la nación en España (2015). *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 71*, 108-123. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5346069

Demers, F.; Lavigne, A. (2007). La comunicación pública: una prioridad contemporánea de investigación. *Comunicación y Sociedad, 8*, 65-87. http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/comso/n8/0188-252X-comso-08-65.pdf

Durán, C. A. (2015). Aspectos interventores en la participación política y electoral de jóvenes. Una reflexión sobre la información, interacción y difusión de contenidos en redes sociales para futuras investigaciones en Santander. *Desafíos, 27*(1), 47-81. https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=359638976003

Erizalde, L.; Riorda, M. (2013). *Comunicación Gubernamental.* Editores La Crujía.

García, C. B.; López de Ayala, M. C.; Fernández-Fernández, J. G. (2015). Twitter como plataforma de los alcaldes para la comunicación pública. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, *21*(2), 757772. https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ESMP/article/view/50884

Gutiérrez-Rubí, A. (2015). *La transformación digital y móvil de la comunicación política*. Editorial Ariel S. A.

Hine, C. (2004). Etnografía virtual. Editorial UOC.

Izureta, R.; Arterton., C.; Perina., R. (2009). *Estrategias de comunicación para gobiernos*. Ediciones La Crujía.

Kamps, H. J. (2015). Who Are Twitter's Verified Users? *Medium*, 1-15.

https://medium.com/@Haje/who-are-twitter-s-verified-users-af976fc1b032

Kit, S. (2016). *44 estadísticas de Twitter para 2016*. [blog]. https://www.brandwatch.com/es/2016/06/44-estadisticas-twitter-2016/

Kozinets, R. (1997). I Want to Believe. A Netnography of the X-Philes' Subculture of Consumption. In M. Brucks & D. J. Maclnnis (Eds.). *Advances in Consumer Research* (pp. 470-475). Assoc Consumer Research.

Kozinets, R. (1998). On netnography. Initial Reflections on Consumer Research Investigations of Cyberculture. In J. W. Alba & J. W. Hutchinson (Eds.). *Advances in Consumer Research*. (pp. 366-371). : Association for Consumer Research.

Kozinets, R. (2006). Netnography 2.0. In W. Russell (Ed.). *Manual de métodos de investigación cualitativa en Marketing* (pp. 129-142). Edward Elgar Editorial y ONU.

Laaksonen, S. M.; Nelimarkka, M.; Tuokko, M.; Marttila, M.; Kekkonen, A.; Villi, M. (2017). Working the Fields of Big Data: Using Big-data-augmented online ethnography to study candidate–candidate interaction at election time. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, *14*(2), 110-131. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19331681.2016.1266981

Maia, C. M.; Gomes, W.; Marques, J. A. (Eds.). (2011). *Internet e Participação Política no Brasil.* Editora Sulina.

Manrique, R. A. (1995). *El municipio después de la Constitución de 1991.* Empresa Editorial de Cundinamarca Antonio Nariño.

Meneses-Cabrera, T.; Cardozo Cardona, J. (2014). La Etnografía: una posibilidad metodológica para la investigación en cibercultura. *Revista Encuentros, 12*(2), 93-103. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/encu/v12n2/v12n2a07.pdf

Ministerio de las Tecnologías de Información y Comunicación de Colombia (2019). *Colombia es uno de los países con más usuarios en redes sociales en la región.* https://mintic.gov.co/portal/604/w3-article-2713.html?_noredirect=1

Mizrahi, Y. (1999). *Voto retrospectivo y desempeño gubernamental: las elecciones en el Estado de Chihuaha, México.* Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas/División de Estudios Políticos.

Mullin, B. (2015). *Report: Journalists Make Up a Quarter of All Verified Twitter Accounts Adweek.* https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2015/report-journalists-are-largest-most-active-group-on-twitter/

Moya, M. (2014). *Análisis comunicacional del uso que los diputados españoles hacen de Twitter: evaluación e implicaciones prácticas* (Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. https://e-archivo.uc3m.es/handle/10016/20431 [Accessed September 29, 2019].

Moya, M.; Herrera-Damas, S. (2016). Cómo medir el potencial persuasivo en Twitter: propuesta metodológica. *Palabra Clave, 19*(3), 838-867. https://palabraclave.unisabana.edu.co/index.php/palabraclave/article/view/6075/html

Noguera-Vivo, J. M. (2013). How Open are Journalists on Twitter? Trends Towards the End-user Journalism. *Communication&Society/Comunicación y Sociedad, 26*(1), 93-114. https://revistas.unav.edu/index.php/communication-and-society/article/view/36156

Omnicore Agency (2019). *Twitter por números: estadísticas, datos demográficos y datos curiosos.* https://www.omnicoreagency.com/twitter-statistics/

Orihuela, J. L. (2013). *Mundo Twitter: una guía para comprender y dominar la plataforma que cambió la red.* Alienta Editorial.

Peña, P.; Pacheco, M.; Martínez, P. (2012). *Comunicación institucional y política.* Editorial Fragua, Biblioteca de Ciencias de la comunicación.

Ramírez, M. F.; Tabares, J. (2011). Las relaciones entre los actores del gobierno local en el marco de la gobernanza. Una mirada desde los concejales de Medellín. *Participación Política, 16*(1), 213-239. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/papel/v16n1/v16n1a09.pdf

Ruiz, M. R.; Aguirre, A. G. (2015). Etnografía virtual, un acercamiento al método y a sus

aplicaciones. *Estudios sobre las Culturas Contemporáneas, 41*, 67-96. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/316/31639397004.pdf

Scolari, C. (2013). *Hipermediaciones: elementos para la teoría de una comunicación digital interactiva.* GEDISA.

Túñez, M.; Sixto, J. (2011). Redes sociales, política y Compromiso 2.0: La comunicación de los diputados españoles en Facebook. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 66*, 1-25. https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=81921340015

Turpo, O. (2008). La netnografía: un método de investigación en Internet. *Revista Iberoamericana de la Educación, 42*, 81-93. http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=342130831006

Vega, H. (2009). La comunicación de gobierno e Internet. En R. Izureta, C. Arterton & R. Perina. (Eds.). *Estrategias de comunicación para gobiernos* (pp. 131-184). Ediciones La Crujía.

We Are Social y Hootsuite (2019). *Global digital 2019. Global digital yearbook.* https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2019-colombia

Zamora, R. (2011). *Claves para gestionar la comunicación local.* Comunicación Social, ediciones y publicaciones.

Youth in the Argentine Masortí Movement: Perceptions About the *Ethos* Community*

[English Version]

Juventudes en el movimiento Masortí argentino: percepciones sobre el *ethos* comunitario

Juventude no movimento argentino Masortí: percepções sobre *oethos* comunitário

Vanesa-Cynthia Lerner**
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4759-5844
Argentina

Abstract

Objective: to describe and understand the way of *inhabiting* or the community *ethos* of the youth organization within the conservative Masortí movement in the Ciudad Autónoma of Buenos Aires and analyze the tensions of young people in their participation outside the Youth Departments. **Methodology:** A qualitative study that was based on the interpretative approach. Participant observations were made in activities of

---

the Masortí movement and semi-structured interviews were held with young people who participated in it. **Results:** it was found thatthere are institutionalized youths in the Masortí movement who participate through non-formal education, directing their activities towards children and adolescents. From this role they develop a community *ethos* that falters when they must finish their university studies or enter the labor market. These obligations make it impossible to make such participation compatible to the point of abandoning it. On the other hand, there are the non-institutionalized youths - university or tertiary students, professionals and / or merchants without children - who do not have specific spaces or operating ranges in the movement and circulate through other organizations. The adult world questions these ways of living byfollowing utilitarian logic, moving away from the idea of *ethos*. **Conclusions:** it is concluded that it is the condition of youth that guarantees participation in the movement and the reproduction of that *ethos*. For its part, the Masortí movement offers socialization spaces for institutionalized youth and families. Institutionalized youth inhabit the community through a specific role in pursuit of a long-term company.

Keywords: Jewish youth; Jewish identity; Argentine Masortí Movement; Ethos Jewish-community.

Resumen

Objetivo: describir y comprender el modo de habitar o el ethos comunitario que tiene la juventud institucionalizada dentro del movimiento conservador Masortí en la ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires y analizar las tensiones de los y las jóvenes en su participación por fuera de los Departamentos de Juventud. **Metodología:** estudio cualitativo que se apoyó en el enfoque interpretativo. Se realizaron observaciones participantes en actividades del movimiento Masortí y entrevistas semi-estructuradas a jóvenes que participan en él. **Resultados:** se encontró queexisten juventudes institucionalizadas en el movimiento Masortí que participan por medio de la educación no formal, dirigiendo sus actividades a niños, niñas y adolescentes. A partir de ese rol desarrollan un *ethos* comunitario que flaquea cuando deben terminar sus estudios universitarios o insertarse en el mercado laboral; estas obligaciones hacen imposible compatibilizar dicha participación al punto tal de abandonarla. Por otra parte, están las juventudes no institucionalizadas –estudiantes universitarios o terciarios, profesionales y/o comerciantes sin hijos– que no tienen espacios concretos ni radios de acción en el movimiento y circulan por otras organizaciones. El mundo adulto cuestiona esos modos de habitar por hacerlo de acuerdo a lógicas utilitarias alejándose de la idea de *ethos*. **Conclusiones:** se concluye que es la condición de joven la que garantiza la participación en el movimiento y la reproducción de ese *ethos*. Por su parte, el movimiento Masortí

ofrece espacios de socialización para una juventud institucionalizada y para las familias. La juventud institucionalizada habita lo comunitario por medio de un rol específico en pos de una empresa a largo plazo.

Palabras-clave: Juventudes judaístas; Identidad judía; Movimiento Masortí argentino; EthosJudio-comunitario.

Resumo

Objetivo: descrever e entender o modo de vida ou o *ethos* comunitário que os jovens institucionalizados possuem no movimento conservador Masortí, na cidade autônoma de Buenos Aires, e analisar as tensões dos jovens em sua participação fora dos Departamentos da Juventude. **Metodologia:** estudo qualitativo, baseado na abordagem interpretativa. As observações dos participantes foram feitas em atividades do movimento Masortí e entrevistas semiestruturadas com jovens que participam dele. **Resultados:** verificou-se queexistem jovens institucionalizados no movimento Masortí que participam da educação não formal, direcionando suas atividades para crianças e adolescentes. A partir desse papel, eles desenvolvem um *ethos* comunitário que oscila quando devem terminar os estudos universitários ou entrar no mercado de trabalho; Essas obrigações tornam impossível fazer essa participação compatível a ponto de abandoná-la. Por outro lado, existem jovens não institucionalizados - estudantes universitários ou terciários, profissionais e / ou comerciantes sem filhos - que não possuem espaços ou rádios de ação específicos no movimento e circulam por outras organizações. O mundo adulto questiona esses modos de vida, fazendo-o de acordo com a lógica utilitarista, afastando-se da idéia de *ethos*. **Conclusões:** conclui-se que é a condição da juventude que garante a participação no movimento e a reprodução desse *ethos*. Por seu lado, o movimento Masortí oferece espaços de socialização para jovens institucionalizados e famílias. Os jovens institucionalizados habitam a comunidade através de um papel específico na busca de uma empresa de longo prazo.

Palavras-chave: Juventude judaista; Identidade judaica; Movimento Masortí argentino; Comunidade judaica Ethos.

Introduction

The conservative Argentine Masortí movement is made up of a network of organizations that can be synagogues or synagogues-schools that the members call "communities"; Fourteen of them have Youth Departments and are attached to Noam Argentina. In them, young people *madrijim / madrijot*–in Hebrew, leaders or guides– provide non-formal education to children and adolescents between 3 and 16 years old. Noam Argentina is part of Noam Olami, a global organization in charge of promoting non-formal education worldwide to children and adolescents between 8 and 18 years old. Its headquarters are in the United States, with subsidiaries in different countries.

In the Argentine case, the conservative / masortí movement in 2017 registered 37 "communities", a significant number compared to other countries. In 2020 there are 14 communities with Youth Departments that are part of Noam (Amijai, Bet-El, Bet Hilel, Benei Tikvá, Beit Israel, Bialik de Devoto, Or Jadash, Dor Jadash, Comunidad Pardés, Lamroth ha Kol, Sio de Morón, Tfilat Shalom, Judaica and Ioná). All of them are located in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and in greater Buenos Aires.

Although in the interior of the country there are "communities" and youth organizations whose spirituality is conservative / Masortí, they are not attached to Noam but to the Zionist youth movements. Within the Jewish youth world there is a wide offer linked to non-formal education that varies according to their ideological, religious or lay positions. Examples of these are: the socio-sports entities attached to the Argentine Federation of Macabeo Community Centers (FACCMA), those associated with the Zionist Youth Movement and the Idisher-CulturFarband (ICUF). Likewise, there is the Bamá Foundation (BeitHamejanejHaiehudí-The House of the Jewish Educator), who also promotes formal and non-formal education in Judeo-Argentine organizations.

Therefore, this article aims to describe and understand the way of *inhabiting* or the *ethos* community that youth have institutionalized within the conservative / Masortí movement in the Autonomous city of Buenos Aires. It also seeks to analyze the tensions that appear in the young people who participate outside the Youth Departments and, in turn, expose some perceptions of the adult world of the movement by reflecting on other youths who do not participate through voluntary work.

Now, Max Weber (1979) understands *ethos*as ethics as an attitudinal dimension, a set of values and motivations that refers to the moral qualities of the individual. As for the community, it is a space for socialization in which everyone knows each other and those who participate do so according to a "valur-rational

actions " that is "determined by the conscious belief in ethical value, aesthetic, religious or in any other way as it is interpreted – proper and absolute of a certain conduct, without any relation to the result, that is, purely on the merits of that value "(Weber, 1964, p. 20).

Taking up what Zygmunt Bauman (2008) said, the postmodern community evokes meanings related to the good, the warm and peaceful. It is an imagined community that takes up the characteristics of that described by Ferdinand Tönnies (1979) and Robert Redfield (1971) – the existence of a shared "tacit" and "natural" understanding, for being small, distinctive and self-sufficient-, but in reality it no longer exists because it falls when it is made self-conscious, it is named, it is proclaimed and it is criticized. On the contrary, despite failing to establish a sharp border between an "us" and an "others", maintaining a monopoly on communication and remaining isolated from the external world, it operates as if this were indeed happening.

This said way of inhabiting or *ethos* community of institutionalized youth was disaggregated into different dimensions (what it means for one to assume the role of a non-formal educator, the organizational structure and the way of working, the pedagogical content, the *ethos* and the values to be transmitted and their motivations for participating in this way) and then, secondly, to, develop the subsequent objectives related to youth and the tensions with the adult world.

Jewish identity contains a diversity of dimensions (ideological, religious, cultural, ethnic, national, political, linguistic, and geographic), which, redefined from the particular meaning of each subject, give Judaism a multifaceted representation (Erdei, 2011; Caro, 2006; Baumann, 2001). The religious side thus constitutes one of these aspects, that includes identifications with that which is Jewish, which has significant weight.

The social actors in general terms support the existence of three currents: the orthodox, the reformist and the conservative / masortí. The first complies with Jewish Law (in Hebrew *halajá*) and is characterized by the rigorous observance of religious precepts, while the second leaves this to one side and appeals to individual autonomy (Kepel, 1995). The conservative / masortí movement defines itself as a third position among the other two, since it "preserves" the fulfillment of the Jewish Law as well as the first but adapts it to the needs of the parishioners, whose lifestyle is secular and is immersed in a non-Jewish society like the reformists. The masortí movement complies with *Shabat*(Saturday) allowing the parishioner to reach the synagogue using some form of transportation and, therefore, permits the touching of money, the use of musical instruments and microphones in ceremonies, the incorporation of the vernacular in the recitation of prayers: all things that orthodoxy prohibits.

It also includes circumcision, daily prayers, the precept of marriage, divorce, conversion according to Jewish Law, the use of Hebrew in religious services, and the spiritual centrality of the Land of Israel and its People. He introduced Zechariah Frankel's concept of *Klal Israel*, the translation of which is "The Whole of Israel" referring to a national membership (Waxman, 1970; Cohen, 1987). Likewise, unlike orthodoxy, it changed the status of women enabling them to share the same space with men in the synagogue, conforming to *minian* (minimum quorum of ten people for prayers), and permitting women to read *Torah* (Pentateuch) in public and hold rabbinical positions.

However, they would not be able to obtain the same conditions of equality as men (Sklare, 1972). Masortí in Hebrew means traditionalist. In the specific case of the conservative / Masorti parishioners in Argentina, it is a principle that the religious is recreated when entering the "community" and not necessarily outside it. This is not the case in other parts of the world.

The Masortí movement originated in Western Europe in the mid-19th century, after the advances of the Enlightenment and the constitution of the Nation-States, at that time it was known as a positive Judeo-historical current. With the emancipatory laws, the Jews acquired the status of citizens, which implied changes and tensions in the sociopolitical organization of the religious communities, because until now, their authorities were the ones that exercised political and legal power in the ghettos independently of the central authorities. (Meyer, 1995). Obtaining political rights led to a process of confessionalization that relegated Jewishness to the private sphere (Traverso, 2013).

Its institutionalization occurred in the United States in the late XIX century, with *Jewish Theological Seminary of America* being the academic and ideological benchmark. In the Argentine case, it was established in 1957 when the *Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina (CIRA)* (Jewish Congregation of the Republic of Argentina), which adhered to the European reformist current, decided to join the *United Synagoges of America*. So, in 1959, the American conservative rabbi Marshall T. Meyer, a graduate of *Jewish Theological Seminary*, came to that country to take over the organization, becoming the main leader of the movement (Schenquer, 2012).

Similarly, American reformism settled in Argentina along with the conservative / Masortí movement in the 1960s. Bulgarian Rabbi HaimAsa who adhered to American reformism came from the United States to Buenos Aires in 1963 and formed the *Comunidad Emanu El* (Emanu EL Community) in 1965. In the Argentine case, the differences between these currents were not so sharp. The formation of rabbis of both passed through the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano* (Latin American Rabbinical Seminary) led by Rabbis Marshall Meyer and Mordejai-Edery.

The conservative / masortí movement was hegemonic in the Latin American region in the face of reformism. "Communities" that adhered to European reformism, were Judeolaic, or that developed a moderate orthodoxy defined as "traditionalist" began to join the conservative / Masorti movement between the 1970s and 1980s (Schenquer, 2012). This involved hiring a rabbi or seminarian trained at the *Seminario*. Regarding orthodoxy, there are different types and aspects. Some that arrived in Argentina with the migratory processes of the late nineteenth century and others that settled in the country under the same logic as the conservative /masortí movement or reformism.

The recruitment of rabbis from different parts of the world to take charge of different congregations was not exclusive to these movements. Following Susana Bianchi (2004) towards the 1960s, within the Jewish world a crisis was recognized within the religious field. "The synagogues seemed to be empty and their number did not grow" (p. 252). This was due to the stagnation of new immigration waves and according to community leaders, due to a departure from the membership of ritual practices with a secularized lifestyle.

The hiring of rabbis from abroad implied for the leaderships to revitalize religious matters, to unite criteria on the rituals "carried out many times unscrupulously". For example, Rabbi Isaac Chehebar from Aleppo was appointed in 1953 as the religious specialist of the Sephardic school of Aleppo origin YesodHadath to restore rabbinical authority and compliance with Judaic precepts. Rabbi DovBerBaumgarten based in the United States, a disciple of Rebe-Menahem Mendel Schneerson, traveled to Argentina in 1956 as the first emissary of the ChabadLubavitch Hasidic current in that country. Likewise, the German rabbi Iosef Oppenheimer from the Netherlands in 1953 was hired to lead the Ajdut Israel Congregation in Buenos Aires, an Orthodox synagogue of German origin replacing Rabbi Hermann Klein who was very old.

Although within the conservative/Masorti movement there are central organizations (such as the aforementioned, the Rabbinical Assembly, the Commission of Jewish Law and Standards that by vote can create new responsibilities, the Latin American Rabbinical Assembly, the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano*, etc.) that They order it and lower the main guidelines, working in a decentralized way. This is so, because the rabbinical figure in their respective "communities" has the highest authority (marad´atra) regardingreligious matters. The said figure can decide on compliance with the precepts and how to apply them, but you cannot invent new laws. However, in reality, there is a dual power.

The "communities" are non-profit civil organizations governed by Executive Commissions made up of founding or leading families. The application of the Jewish Law is the product of a negotiation between the rabbinical figure that holds the religious power with the Directive Commissions in charge of adminis-

tering the economic resources. The boundaries between religious and economic power are unclear to define the sacred and the profane. At the same time, there is an institutional history regarding the application of Jewish Law that transcends the religious figure. In other words, there are communitarianisms within the movement (Hervieu-Léger, 2004; Giménez-Béliveau, 2016).

There is a wide spectrum within the masortí that will be conditioned by the previous questions. This can be seen in the role of women and LGBTIQ groups. In the "communities" of Buenos Aires, women hold leadership positions, volunteer, work as liturgical singers, and can serve as rabbis. Of the 105 rabbis graduated from the Latin American Rabbinical Seminary registered on its website between the years 1972-2018[1], 11 are women, the first being Rabbi Margit Baumatz graduated in 1994 at 56 years old, married and with three adult daughters. Seven live in Buenos Aires and four in Brazil, the United States, and Israel.

In general, it is difficult for women to insert themselves into "communities" as the only maximum authority. In their trajectories, it can be seen that they have shared this place with male rabbis; that they have been in charge alone for a limited time or that they dedicate themselves to teaching and to a lesser extent to the pulpit. They say that the Directive Commissions prefer male over female leadership. In other words, for them, community leadership turns out to be a field of dispute.

In 2020 there is only one "community" in the Ciudad de Buenos Aires exclusively led by a female rabbi and another with shared leadership. Regarding LGBTIQ groups, the *Committee on Jewish Law and Standards* located in the United States, approved on December 6, 2006 "*Homosexuality, Human Dignity & Halakhah: a combined responsibility for the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards*" that allows for the ordination of gay male and female rabbis and same-sex marriage. However, as explained above, each "community" can decide. Male and female rabbis may be in favor of developing the marriage ritual but they can only carry it out by establishing consensus with the Directive Commissions. An example of this was the marriage carried out by Rabbi Karina Finkielsztein in the Comunidad NCI-Emanuel (NCI-Emanuel Community) in 2016 who married two women, RominaCharur and Victoria Escobar.

This community belongs to FundaciónJudaica, a double-affiliated institutional network (conservative and reformist) led by Rabbi Sergio Bergman. JAG (Argentine Jewish Gays) has been part of this network since 2008 after the merger of JAG and Keshet. Both were formed in 2004. the former aimed to

---

1. Information obtained in the open course called "Conservative / Masorti Judaism" taught once a week at the "Marshall T. Meyer" Latin American Rabbinical Seminary located in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires between August and December 2011, corroborated on the website of the Latin American Rabbinical Seminary: https://www.seminariorabinico.org/graduados/rabinos-graduados/.

create spaces of socialization doors inward and the latter sought to make the Judeo-gay issue visible to the Jewish non-Jewish communities. Although they began as spaces in which gay men participated, later on women joined them, including Romina and Victoria (Setton, 2015, 2020).

During the fieldwork, different male and female rabbis spoke in favor of equal marriage, others against it. All agreed that in case of carrying it out, they should consult it with their "community". The actors who participate in JAG seek that the "communities" have inclusive policies for the participants[2]. Although with this organization the demands for inclusion were made visible and institutionalized, this does not have a presence in all communities. In the seven surveyed "communities", it was found that their rabbinical figures formed families under the heteronormative logic. The socio-structural transformations in the 1990s in Argentina, together with the processes of globalization, impacted the conservative/masortí movement, both in material and symbolic terms. The terrorist attack on the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) in 1994 and the bankruptcy of the Jewish banks Patriciosand Mayo had an economic impact on the organizations adhered to the conservative/Masortí movement. At the same time, many of them could not adapt to the cultural changes of the time so they closed (Rubel, 2011).

Although it has already been stated that the Jewish identity is diverse, with the processes of globalization a variety of forms of identification with the Jewish became present, challenging boundaries. Conservative/Masorti religious and educational affiliations began to compete with other religious offerings within the Jewish camp.

On one hand, those patterns of how to live Judaism associated with community affiliations were questioned, establishing new modalities of "*off* Jewish culture" or "*Light*" in which each individual decides how to put Judaism into practice[3]. New forms of mercantile culture appeared, such as Jewish film festivals, bars and restaurants serving Jewish cuisine in the Palermo neighborhood, tourism companies promoting "Jewish Buenos Aires City Tour", open-air celebrations[4], etc. (Hupert, 2014). On the other hand, there was a strong secularization and, at

---

2. On the construction of Jewish-gay identities, see the works of Cooper (1989), Setton (2014), Gómez (2017).

3. Daniel Fainstein (1994; 15) explains that it is a current that "defines being Jewish as a diffuse feeling, a sense of a certain" light "belonging, which does not imply specific languages or codes, or particular behaviors or collective commitments. According to this position, being a Jew "is a feeling" that does not require specific actions, but simply the subjective appropriation of a given condition of origin ".

4. An example of them is the "Urban Rosh Ha Shana". For the celebration of the Jewish New Year, an open-air event is held in the Belgrano neighborhood of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires with Jewish gastronomic offers, music shows, dance, theater, etc.

the same time, a revitalization of orthodoxy (Aviad, 1983; Topel, 2005; Brauner, 2009; Setton, 2010).

New ultra-orthodox transnational movements deployed an anchor of belonging and social order capable of generating niches of certainty (Setton, 2008). With the 2001 crisis, these ultra-Orthodox organizations were not affected, managing to form an autonomous educational and community network highly involved with local problems (Melamed, 2000) and they began to constitute themselves as centers of legitimacy, establishing a symbolic fight on how to think about Judaism. In addition, changes in the center-diaspora relationship were evident, establishing disagreements around the State of Israel as a central catalyst for Jewish identification (Senkman, 2007; Bokser-Liwerant, 2011; Della-Pergola, 2011; Kacowicz, 2011). Therefore, it is possible to observe how the identity frontiers become diffuse and changing, since the actors begin to circulate successively and simultaneously (Mallimaci and Giménez-Béliveau, 2007). Other authors have carried out research on the origin of the conservative/masortí movement focusing on the leadership of Marshall Meyer and his link with young people (Weil, 1988; Weiss, 1988; Fainstein, 2006; Rosemberg, 2010; Schenquer, 2012) or have reflected on their crisis after the transformations of postmodernity (Laikin-Elkin, 1986), little has been written about the ways in which these institutional transformations affected young people who adhere to this movement and they become central actors.

When considering the youth in the processes of identity transformation within the Jewish social collective through different movements and organizations (Caro, 2006), it is worth asking, what has happened to young people who adhere to the Argentine conservative/Masorti movement in your identity construction processes today? How do they define themselves and set limits with "others"? Did the Masorti institutions lose that organizing and regulatory character? Or now, should Jewish youth think of religion outside of themselves?

Investigating this issue would not only imply a contribution to the field of the Sociology of Religion, being able to dialogue with research that addressed youth (Romero-Ocampo, 2010; Mosqueira, 2014; Barrón, 2018; Fernández, 2018; Lago, 2018) but it is also a contribution to youth studies, since this research also recovers the youth, understanding it as a historical, social, cultural and relational construct (Bourdieu, 1990). This study also makes sense contextually within power relations and in interaction with extra-youth categories such as social class, gender, ethnicity, among others. In this sense, youth should not be thought of as a continuous and ahistorical social group, but rather dynamic and discontinuous, where young people constitute a heterogeneous category, both

diachronicly and synchronously. One cannot speak of a type of youth but of youths (Reguillo-Cruz, 2000)[5].

Methodology

This qualitative research used the interpretive approach as a conceptual perspective within sociological research, focusing primarily on the symbolic aspects of social life and on the meanings of individual life (Sautú, 1999). Considering the subjective interpretation of meaning, understanding of social action as meaning assigned by the actor to her action is considered important (Schutz, 1974).

To build the object of study, the Masortí youth, the field work was carried out in three stages. Firstly, participant observations were carried out in an open course called "Conservative Judaism/Masorti" taught once a week in the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano* "Marshall T. Meyer", located in the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires between August and December 2011. It was addressed to the interested general public and to students of the *Seminario* who aspired to be rabbis, seminarians, singers and teachers or those who were in a process of conversion to Judaism. In it, some rabbis and rabbis gave lessons on a particular subject in which they were specialists, for example: the history of the movement, the organizations that compose it or *halachic* positions on gay rabbis, female rabbinate, equal marriage, conversion to Judaism, etc.

This approach allowed obtaining a general view of the movement: its main premises, dilemmas, questions, their definitions of themselves and of the "others". With the consent of the rabbis and teaching rabbis, the lessons were recorded and field notes were taken, as well as informal talks with male and female companions. Both, in this case and in the following stages, the objectives, purposes of the investigation and the identity of the researcher were reported. As well as I have participated in some organizations of the movement, the access was easier.

Secondly, between June and December 2013, observations were made in a religious and cultural space of a conservative/masortí organization aimed at young people between 25 and 35 years old. There were field notes on rituals, lessons and informal talks. This experience allowed us to understand what kind of offers exist for young people who decide to participate in the movement outside the Youth Departments, as non-formal education. Unfortunately, when in a

---

5. Different authors have approached the youth from this relational, heterogeneous, historical perspective. Examples of them are: Mekler (1992), Feixa (1998), Pérez-Islas (2000), Wortman (2001), Margulis and Urresti (2008), Alvarado and Vommaro (2010), Chaves (2010), Kriger (2016), among others.

second stage it was sought to set up meetings to carry out interviews with the actors, the space had disintegrated. Recognizing that it was an ephemeral space and without continuity allowed us to account for the difficulties that exist for young people in continuing to participate in the movement without exercising non-formal education. They were people who were studying at the university or doing a tertiary career or professionals and/or business people. They worked full hours, achieved economic independence or were in that process, lived alone and were not parents.

Definitely, if the object of interest was the young person, it should be found in the youth spaces institutionalized by the movement, showing its specificity, who participates, does so at a certain moment in their life and has a particular trajectory. At the same time, the stability of the space would facilitate entry and exit as many times as necessary considering that this is a long-term investigation. At the same time, this obtained information that would allow dialogue with previous experience.

Thus, in the third stage of fieldwork, 32 semi-structured interviews were carried out with young people from five "communities" participating in non-formal education between February 2016 and September 2017. In addition, there was already an interview applied in April 2011 to the secretary of Noam, observations of participants in courses, conferences, activities aimed at young people, religious ceremonies between 2013 and 2017.

Another unit of analysis taken into account in this study were the young people who participate as non-formal educators in the different Youth Departments of the "communities" that adhere to the conservative / Masorti movement and are associated with the organization Noam Argentina located in the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. This data collection technique allowed to recover the voice of the actors and to deepen into their representations and biographical accounts trying to find flexibility while continuing to develop the researcher's ideas (Denscombe, 1999). Likewise, observations were made in a particular "community" between November and December 2016 and March 2017. The observation guide was made up of the following points: work dynamics (group, individual); use of space; topics discussed at the meeting; interpersonal links among the young people and duration of the meetings.All the names of the organizations and of the interviewees are fictitious in order to preserve their identity so any name with a resemblance to reality is purely coincidental.

Since the research did not seek statistical representation, the sampling was based on theoretical criteria using the "Snowball" technique. The axes of inquiry were: trajectories, interactions and circuits within the Masorti movement; the views of young people about Israel and the conflict in the Middle East, the Shoah, the national dates and current issues in Argentina, the transmission of

Jewish content (biblical stories, symbols and customs) and values in their activities; all of this in addition to their sense of belonging to the Masorti movement. Unlike the previous group of young people, these were finishing their secondary studies or starting their university studies. They worked few hours or did not work, they had hobbies and most of them lived with their parents, who were generally professionals or business people. Based on the information obtained, a thematic analysis was carried out, recovering sensitizing concepts, including that of *ethos* or unhabiting.

Results

The Meaning of Being a *Madrij,* an Entrepreneur of the Masorti Morality

Young men and women were called moral entrepreneurs of the Masorti morality, a concept taken from Howard Becker (2014). From their activities, from what they do, they implement 'moral initiatives', which include laws, values and rules[6], showing what is right and what is wrong according to the Masorti code. This category includes the secretaries or in Hebrew *Mazkirim / Mazkirot* in charge of Noam as well as the different Youth Department positions: the directors and the representatives of the "Youth Area" before the Directive Commissions, the coordinators in charge of the divided areas in the Pre-school, Primary and Secondary, the educational coordinator, in Hebrew *roshjinuj*, the director and the teacher of the "course of *madrijim*" and the *madrijim* and *madrijot* or the leaders in charge of developing the activities for their *janijim / janijo*t or learners (Freire, 2005) on Saturdays. The students, volunteers, rabbis, singers and seminarians were left out of the category of entrepreneurs. Only those volunteers who work within the Youth Departments were counted. This decision had to do not only with their specific role but also with a generational issue (Mannheim, 1990).

Howard Becker (2014) understands that this type of moral entrepreneurs as who enforces law, the police force of a moral crusade, ensuring that it is fulfilled. In theory, the content of the norm does not matter as much as the fact of enforcing it. However, he clarifies that in practice there are tensions or conflicts

---

6. The author makes this classification taking as a reference the degree of ambiguity. It assumes that the values are a vague guide that guides the general action without concrete determinations. On the contrary, the laws are norms that specify with certainty what should be done and what not. The rules are customs of a group that indicate how to act with greater precision while enabling a wide spectrum of interpretations.

between the creators of norms and those who enforce them. Both the entrepreneurs and anyone who has an occupation have two interests that condition their work: they must justify the existence of their position and earn the respect of those with whom they have to relate.

For the first point, although this Masorti entrepreneurs manifests in the public sphere to highlight unfair acts through participation in acts of commemoration for the attacks on AMIA (1994) and the Israeli Embassy (1992), the Shoah, etc., their energies are put into generating and "framing" deviant behaviors within the "community". Examples of these are: bullying, disregard for Judaism or for those who need help, discrimination, etc. The emphasis is placed on promoting, pushing and directing energy in the children and adolescents who participate in it. Show them a "path of good" and offer them a "healthy" and containment framework that takes them away from the dangers of "outside". Magali, a 25-year-old woman, explains that her role is vital, altruistic, focused on giving a frame to an increasing number of people, which translates into the success of the organization and the perpetuation of the space.

> "What we try to do is to provide a framework, a containment. For the *janijim* we try to find a framework within everything that is healthy, fun and provides a sense of belonging. In this year many new boys joined, they did not know anybody, and that is great because they are given a place to go on Saturday afternoon" (Interview with Magali, director of the Youth Department of the Menorah Community, September 16, 2016).

For the second point, young men and women account for a path or a "career" that leads them to exercise this role of non-formal educator. First they start as a learner or *janij*. The entrepreneurs explain that they began to participate as learners in their childhood or their early adolescence. They attend the activities and participate in the pedagogical proposals offered by the *madrij* or *madrija* in charge of transmitting values of coexistence, respect, Jewish content, customs to their learners.

In order to be an educator, it is necessary to take a training course. Like rabbinical figures, *madrijim* and *madrijot*, once graduated from these courses, they become specialists (Bourdieu, 2006). After gaining experience, the "communities" will recommend those leaders who will be in condition to be coordinators to do the "*Nofim* Course" at the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano*. After working as such, they will be able to apply to the position of director.

When entrepreneurs define themselves, they explain that they are people who, through non-formal education, are in charge of transmitting knowledge of Judaism that includes values, customs and laws but from different resources,

leisure being among them. According to their testimonies, they clearly know their responsibility and differences with formal education, including the closeness - distance they have in regard to their students. They find in that role a strong potential in its daily practice but also on a broader level. They explain that they are part of a ' trust network ' whose praxis is part of a long-term entreprise (Tilly, 2010), being an entity that brings children and adolescents closer to Judaism:

> "This is voluntary work and I generally consider that being a *madrija* is my small contribution to the community, to the collectivity. It is a person who learns and transmits Jewish values and history"(Interview with Natalia, *madrijá* and coordinator of ComunidadTefilá, 18 years, April 10, 2017).

> ""It is an educator who intends to transmit certain knowledge to the kids but not formally, sitting on a desk, rather through recreational activities, for the kids to have fun and learn at the same time. But also, to be their guide if they need it. It is to be a little closer than a teacher but not a friend"(Interview with Gabriela, *madrijá* from ComunidadTefilá, 17 years old, March 22, 2017).

Organizational Structure and Working Methodology

Each Masorti "community" has a Youth Department, whose organizational structure is the following: at the top is the Headmaster which has a direct link with the spiritual rabbi, be it a rabbi or seminarian. They agree on the main issues to develop. There is a Representation from the Youth Department, usually someone with experience, who participates in meetings with the Directive Commission members to discuss administrative and budgetary matters. Then, the Coordination is divided into three areas: Preschool, Primary and Secondary. Both, the Coordination and the Headmaster are responsible for putting together the general educational projects and by area either at the beginning of the year or on the go. When the headmaster and coordinators solve them, they communicate these issues to the *madrijim* and *madrijot* who are in charge of a group that is divided by age. Children from 3, 4 and 5 years old make up the "Preschool" area, boys and girls from first to sixth grade are in the "Primary" area, those from seventh grade to 16 years old are in the "Secondary" area. According to the size of the "community" it could happen that several age groups be together.

The Coordination is also in charge of "supervising" the activities proposed by the *madrijim* and *madrijot* and helping them out with the doubts that may

arise. Usually, the coordinator is no longer in charge of the activities aimed at children and adolescents, but their contact passes through the *madrijim* and *madrijot*. In some "communities" there is the Educational Coordination (*rosh jinuj*) in charge of coming up with new ideas about projects and gathering didactic material.

For their part, the director and the teacher of the "*madrijim* course" are in charge of organizing and teaching the applicants. They follow a program with predetermined subjects but at the same time, they can incorporate contents that they consider pertinent to work on, according to the diagnosis made by the group. This double dynamic where pre-established contents and others that can be suggested by the teacher of the course are addressed is notable. Training is created and recreated in interaction. As much as the world is apprehended in reified terms, the actors continue to produce and resignify it (Berger and Luckmann, 2015).

This logic is replicated in the daily work of the *madrijim* and *madrijot*. They will be in charge of carrying out the activities on Saturdays and having direct contact with the learners (*Janijim* and *Janijot*). The learners from "Preschool" and "Primary" do their activities in the afternoon while those of "Secondary" do it in the evening. According to the proposed project, the leaders must "adapt" it according to the interests and problems of the assigned group and prepare a "planning" with a chosen subtopic that will derive from the general theme. Planning includes goals, activities, and materials to achieve them. They usually work in pairs. They should think of general activities aimed at all students, activities for all children in the same area and for each group in particular. At the same time, they are in charge of communicating weekly with the children and their families, either by phone or, to a lesser extent, in a virtual way, to inform them about the weekend proposal or any special event that requires more anticipation. For example, a bingo, a ball or the emblematic campings or *majanot*. Telephone calls are central to communication.

Madrijim and *madrijot* also take advantage of these phone talks to strengthen ties with their learners, to generate closeness and trust; Furthermore, the former has a close relationship with the parents. Face-to-face communication is prioritized. In this type of relationship, you can see how the community bond comes into play. Friendship bonds are established within the framework of a specific organization. It could be said that this interaction between entrepreneurs and families is given in institutional settings and not outside of them.

> "I made a dynamic activity where each time I call them each week, they have to tell me something special that happened to them this week that is different from the previous ones. And then the contact with the kid is already much closer than

perhaps seeing him in the peulá (activity). In other words, you already see the whole reflection of his week when seeing him in the peulá (activity)"(Interview with Tali, *madrijá* from Comunidad Menorá, 18 years old, April 27, 2017).

""I have to call the *janijim* and it overlaps with my university classes. I was on the bus calling the parents because I leave the university at eight o'clock at night and it's too late to call. I can't do it. I came up with something this year. I created a *WhatsApp*group with the parents, and I did some other things but that is not always the same as calling them and being present from that side" (Interview with Jésica, *madrijá* from Comunidad Menorá, 20 years old, January 24, 2017).

Being *madrijim* implies, being physically present in the "community". In addition to the calls, planning an activity, supervising it with the coordinator, preparing the materials and then executing it. They also attend a weekly meeting with all the *tzevet*(the group that includes all the entrepreneur) where they organize the general and area specific activities. *Madrijim* are recommended to attend the synagogue on Fridays for the Shabbat service and go to the training that are deemed relevant.

The Jewish Content, *Ethos* and Values

The topics that are developed in the activities are usually varied: specific problems of the group, their cognitive development, national festivities, the Shoah, Arab-Israeli conflict and those with Jewish content. Entrepreneurs usually approach those issues from festivities where they seek to transmit customs, symbols, the historical context on which some legend is based. They seek to withdraw some value from them and show the students that these stories are applicable today. Festivities, symbols and customs are the devices that allow *ethos* to be built among entrepreneurs and learners.

"*Pesaj* also depends on age. There are times where it is easier to work with young children, it is more important to work on the *keara*[7], what happened, the history. I had the older children and I also worked on the history because some were not hooked on what had happened and thus several values, who knows. For example, I address slavery. Slavery from the present moment (...) the fact that in Argentina there are still slaves. That kind of things. To see that not everything is so far

---

7. Easter tray composed of different foods that represent the different moments of the biblical story.

away" (Interview with Irina, *madrija* from ComunidadNefesh, 19 years old, May 1, 2017).

"They developed the sense of the words, that they have value and weight and that many times they can hurt others. That one can curse, that as *madrijim* they do so, but that there are moments for it. Then they related this topic to the "Tower of Babel", a story where the individuals spoke different languages, and no one understood each other. From all this, it was sought to rescue the importance of communication and respect. That kids, being young, find it difficult to express themselves with words and when they face a problem they cry. So, the m*adrijim* tried to help them to be able to speak, to communicate what happens" (Field Notes, interview with Nicole, *madrija* of ComunidadMenorá, 17 years, December 14, 2016).

As observed in the testimonies, biblical fragments are used as triggers that compel learners with daily issues or with their stage of growth. The aim is that in addition to transmitting a message or value, they approach the stories of the Jewish people. Role-playing and the body arise to recreate the moments. The entrepreneurs gave different examples. They recreated the life of the People of Israel in the desert after leaving Egypt. The students had to divide and represent the tribes of Israel, put together their own symbols, songs, etc. Another entrepreneur said that they played different games based on the story of Abraham so that in addition to getting the students familiar with the biblical story, they could get closer to the character. The patriarch had abandoned his known world, had left his "comfort zone" because of his faith. The idea of changing and not fearing change was highlighted.

"Abraham's story is also very interesting because he worked with his father making sculptures of different gods, until he communicated with God and then Abraham took another path. And well, how difficult it is to leave the life you had and put together a totally different one (…) it is the change, to get out of the comfort zone. Abraham was at home with his dad making sculptures and left everything. He took a completely different path…"(Interview with Guido, *madrij* from ComunidadTefilá, 20 years old, July 13, 2017).

The transmission of values such as promoting togetherness, belonging, inclusion of the other and good coexistence is something that turns out to be a "convention" (Douglas, 1996) between young entrepreneurs. Group issues are addressed and the importance of everyone participating both in weekly activities and in special events and in camps is highlighted. In most of the reports of

the young people, the importance of the bingos, the "café concert", the "Volunteer shows, Parent Commission, etc.) appears to cooperate and participate in the proposal. A reciprocity system is established where everyone must participate in everything not only in pursuit of the specific objective but by the "community" itself.

Motivations

The motivations that young people have to do it are multiple. The most named responses were those related to a community mandate. There is a long-term company that transcends and involves them (Tilly, 2010). The idea of a "total rewards"[8] system is present in the narratives of the interviewees. A very common expression is "give back what I received". They note that they had a strong commitment and a need to give back, since, there, they met their friends and had a framework of belonging and containment of the organization. In this exchange of benefits and considerations between young people and the "community", the first ones decide to participate voluntarily to remain within it, although at the end it is compulsory, since if it is not that way, they are left out of it.

> "I always said that I want to be a *madrijá* to return what they gave me. All the beautiful years and the people I met and all my friends. I also want my *janijim* to have all that, I also want to be a *madrijá*" (Interview with Cynthia, *madrijá* of Nefesh Community, 18 years old, February 10, 2016). [own translation]

Likewise, another reason to do this voluntary work is to be able to transmit Jewish values, teachings and customs through non-formal education. The latter is constitutive when defining what they are and what they do, and that is what most links them to the Masorti. It can be seen how young people take justifications that respond to a " value-rational action" (Weber, 1964) to identify themselves with a religious movement. They find in non-formal education a means to help others. They had previous solidarity experiences that motivated them to make that decision.

---

8. Although Marcel Mauss (2009) uses this concept to talk about the exchange of goods between clans, families and tribes, it can also be applied to our object of study. The total benefits system is a type of institution that includes benefits and wealth compensation of different types (parties, rites, dances, military collaboration, etc.) that sustain a general and permanent contract between the parties. "These benefits and compensation are carried out on a rather voluntary basis, through presents or gifts, although in the end they are rigorously mandatory, at the risk of unleashing a private or public war" (Mauss, 2009, p. 75).

But it also turns out to be an instance of sociability within a repertoire of choices for these young Jews. They emphasize the fact of keeping friends or even the possibility of making new ones and having a recreational space on weekends.

> "There are several who like to be *madrij* to give content, games, free themselves, to be able to touch the humanistic part of your life. I am not so interested in that. I am more interested in being in the Menorah Community to maintain the ties and friendships that I had all my life. If I don't go to the Menorah Community, I lose those ties. I like to be here. Later, I find the pleasure of being a *madrij*, but it is not the main thing for me" (Interview with Federico, *madrij* of Menorah Community, 19 years old, January 9, 2017). [own translation]

In other cases, they decided to participate in this way because a figure marked them when they were students, as either a community reference or madrij o madrijá. There was a charismatic figure, who turned out to be a role model, who encouraged and trusted them. In this sense, the motivations of the entrepreneurs were given by an "affectual action"[9]. They emphasize that this bond of affection and contentment influenced that decision. Likewise, they emphasize that they like dealing with children and adolescents. This is implied in their professional vocation; thus, 16 of them study a degree or tertiary degree related to education and/or teaching. It even happens that they are studying a certain career and in parallel they are doing the "*morim* course"[10] at the *Seminario Rabínico*.

With some exceptions, the young people who decide to leave the Youth Department do not have a possibility of insertion. The "communities" do not offer proposals for this youth niche. They can participate by attending religious services or looking for a specific task to volunteer in some way. At this point the passion-reason tension comes into play. In the first instance, entrepreneurs do not mind that such work is voluntary and poorly paid. On the contrary, they see it as an additional value since when doing it for pleasure, there is no a limit or speculation regarding how much to do or not. Their motivation is to contribute to the "community", to "return what is received". However, "means-end rational action"[11] are usually one of the most named causes of why these young people

---

9. Especially emotional, determined by current emotions and emotional states" (Weber, 1964, p. 20).

10. Course for aspiring Hebrew teachers to teach in schools at both primary and intermediate level.

11. "Determined by expectations in the behavior of both objects in the external world and other men, and using those expectations as" conditions "or" means "for the achievement of our own ends rationally weighed and pursued" (Weber, 1964: 20) [La italica is from the original text].

stop performing the activities of *madrij* (*madrijato*)[12]. The need to work, to receive a salary along with other responsibilities lead them to dedicate less and less time to this voluntary work to the point of quitting.

Youths in the Masorti Movement: Tensions with the Adult World

Young people account for the existence of Jewish cultural consumption. They also account for the fact that the community proposal is attractive in times of economic crisis as it is a low-cost option; however, they emphasize that the strength of their proposal responds to the fact of teaching a way of being in community. Not only a set of values, traditions and laws is learned, but it turns out to be a space of belonging that involves others and raises awareness about continuity. The fact that the voluntary work of the entrepreneurs is low paid also contributes to that community *ethos*. Money, the perception of a salary or thinking about this job in a professionalized way are conflictive for young people. Coinciding with Sebastián Fuentes (2018), in this youthful universe there is also a tension between morality and money. Young people incorporated this "convention" (Douglas, 1996) to think about their role as entrepreneurs being a job that cannot be quantified monetarily. Even being that way gives it an additional value that differentiates them from "others". It is done because the main motivation is to continue strengthening ties of belonging.

> I: – "The work that you do is voluntary…
> L: – It is voluntary, we have a salary of $360. It is clearly voluntary. A *madrich/a* does not do it for money. Last week, I had… no… the previous week, I had a substitution in Club XX[13] and I had that debate. There are people who do not do it voluntarily because in the clubs they pay you a "*luca*" ($1000) per month or $1500, $2000 according to your experience. But I think that one is not a *madrich/a* for money and if you do it for money, forgive me, but you are a jerk.
> I: – It is good for you in that way.
> L: – Sure. It is a bit of giving back to your community or your club what they left you and for me this is not paid with money. That is also paid with smiles, it is paid with a "thank you" from the boys, it is paid with the parents who come and say "Thank you for this *peulá* (activity) that

---

12. Native category used to refer to the exercise of being madrij.

13. Jewish club with headquarters in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and in the Greater Buenos Aires.

was so beautiful". But not because they put a "Roca"[14] on your hand. It is not the way to thank. If you want to pay me, perfect, do it. You are saving, great, but it is not the only way, I think." (Interview with Lara, *madrijá* of Le Olam Community, 19 years old, August 8, 2017). [own translation].

In the same way, they understand that beyond the emotional bond they have with the organization and with their friends, they appreciate that this role provided them with experience to perform in future jobs, since they acquired responsibilities, pedagogical skills, abilities to coordinate groups, communicate with the adult world, etc.

The dilemma is that this is the institutionalized form that the masorti movement finds in its "communities" to involve young people. It is thinking of a specific youth that must "participate" doing volunteer work, which implies that after having done it for two or three years, tiredness, disappointment, satiety, pressure appear because it is still a demanding and time-consuming job. Young people must balance their routines trying to fulfill their other obligations (study, work, etc.) to the point of abandoning it, even knowing that momentarily they will have no other space for insertion. To ask for a professionalized job to continue participating impinges the idea of a community mandate, but the fact of keeping the support for it under these conditions implies leaving the "community" in the short or medium term. At one point, the entrepreneurial role puts young people in a place of vulnerability and precariousness. Expectations about how long to do it are getting lower. To do this work together with extra-community obligations is incompatible for them at any given time.

> D: - "Because the time spent as a madrich/a is getting shorter and shorter. The madrich/a does not last four years. Before, everyone wanted to be a headmaster. Today, there are fewer people interested in that. Today, in the third year, the madrich/a has the largest group and that's it, he/she leaves, if he/she wants to go.
> I: - Is there a time projection of how much time someone wants to be a madrich/a?
> D: - The average has decreased (…) Today, studies have a hierarchy, a pressure that they did not have before. Everyone says "Oh! What a rush you have! ". You are not in any rush but everyone wants to graduate. Who sets the standard? Is nobody in a rush or does everyone want to graduate? We all want to graduate; we all want to graduate. If we all

---

14. It alludes to the 100 Argentine peso bill that bears the figure of Julio Argentino Roca.

want to graduate, the *hadrajá* (non-formal education) takes time. Why do you want to become a *madrich/a* if you are treated like shit? What do they give me? I cannot work and be a *madrich*. I am *madrich* or work. Ok, two years, I already experienced it, thanks." (Interview with Diego, *madrich* of Le Olam Community, 22 years old, September 28, 2017). [own translation].

Within the Masorti movement there are young people: those who are institutionalized through non-formal education and those who are not. In the latter, as already explained, young people study a tertiary or a university career. They are either professionals or business people. They work, live alone or are about to take that step and do not have children. Many "communities" define them as "young university students" or according to age ranges "young people from 25 to 35". At the discursive level, the adult world is concerned with guaranteeing their continuity even though in practice they do not offer spaces or specific areas of action (in some "communities" there are certain projects and activities that are being developed incipiently).

There are entry and exit patterns. It is assumed that the young person who stops participating in the "community" through voluntary work will return, being a parent when he or she has to choose an education and a religious space for their children. In this sense, generational changes can be observed. Approximately 30 years ago, the return to "community" was more immediate because parenthood was resolved at the age of twenty. In other words, for this context, being a *madrijm o madrijá* implies a more immediate rite of passage to adulthood. Today it can take 10 years for that young man who left to become an "adult" and return because he is already a father or mother and wants his children to be educated in that organization[15].

As in the previous testimony, the young people express that their experiences differ from previous generations. In some cases, their parents, who were *madrij o madrijá* during their youth or did voluntary work for longer periods of time[16], say that times have changed, that everything is more dizzying and demanding, but young people must resolve their vocational training and their insertion into the labour market in the shortest possible time. The implementation

---

15. Taking the state of the art from Analía Otero (2010), there are theories that explain these changes in the transition processes to adult life in 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2009) that were no longer linear and predictable. We can find 'biographies of choice', that is, youth trajectories that not only take into account their academic training but also their wishes and decisions (Du-Bois, 1998); and those related to "new models of vulnerability" (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Wyn and Dwyer, 2000).

16. An entrepreneur recounted that his mother participated in hadrajá (non-formal education) in different positions for 10 years. Another said that given the vast experience her mother had had.

of non-formal education or training plans proposed by the movement involving a one-year stay in Israel hinders these objectives. Beyond the structural changes, they understand that in the Argentine culture this type of project is not valued since it is expected that immediately after finishing secondary education, they will focus on adult life. They clarify that this is a local phenomenon that differs from other parts of the world. Therefore, it can be seen that the adult world values that their children carry out non-formal education, but for a short period.

Although the adult world is concerned about young people who do not return to "communities", they understand that these young people, unlike the institutionalized ones, if they participate, would not do so according to the idea of a community mandate but for utilitarian reasons.

> "Being Jewish is expensive. We know that, our pockets and our budgets know that, and this is partly due to something I like to call "the Bria effect" or "the Birthright effect". Birthright[17] is a fantastic program that has brought hundreds of thousands of young people to Israel impacting their lives and impacting Jewish communities around the world but it has left a deep mark on those young people who say "I'm not going to pay to be Jewish. You pay me to be Jewish. Gratuity is expected. We have to, a big challenge is to change that paradigm. Change the paradigm of if you pay to go to the movies why not for a course if both are *quality type*" (Translation of speech by Rabbi Damian A. at the "*Encuentron Annual Seminario*", Buenos Aires, May 2017).

This testimony perceives new forms of participation in the Jewish world: there are organizations that offer activities financed by themselves to summon young people through attractive proposals, new spaces of socialization. The motivation to attend could be given by wanting to generate a bond of belonging and to commit to a long-term enterprise as it does in the Masorti "communities" or by the proposal itself regardless of ideological positions or religious current. Those who approach the space do so not only as parishioners but also as consumers of a specific offer.

Entrepreneurs say that they participated or are participating in study courses of Orthodox organizations to make a trip to Israel or New York. According to the number of lessons attended, the cost drops. They are motivated by the possibility of taking a trip, an offer they find attractive and which would be extremely difficult to pay for on their own, and to make friends or find a partner. Those who had already done so stopped having contact with such organizations,

---

17. Very low cost 10-day educational program for Jewish youth between 18 and 26 years of age to visit and tour Israel. They must have Jewish ancestry from either a father or mother.

continuing to participate in their Masorti "community". In the case of non-institutionalized young people, they expressed that they had participated in these proposals. In some cases, after having made them, they continued to be linked to them because they felt comfortable, because they had formed bonds of affection with their peers and with rabbis, or because they were interested in their proposals.

At the same time, there is a stereotypical view of the young person. The rabbi understands that there is a youth that participates evaluating costs and benefits, dismissing a reality: The Masorti movement does not offer spaces for all youths. The adult world of the Masorti movement believes that young people who participate do so on the basis of " Value-rational actions which contrasts with other non-institutionalized young people who would otherwise seek benefits linked to " valur-rational actions". In the case of the Masorti movement, money or passive participation in an activity in search of a concrete benefit would break with the values of the community *ethos*.

Conclusions

This research seeks to make a contribution to the field of social sciences in general and to the sociology of religion in particular since it restores in one of the central themes: the constitution and reproduction of the social bond, or in other words, the tensions that accompany the commitment of community groups to reproduce themselves in space and time, in the face of the challenges proposed by the forms of contemporary individuation.

The Masorti movement offers opportunities of socialization for an institutionalized youth and their family.

The institutionalized youth inhabits by means of a specific role in pursuit of a long-term enterprise that involves and transcends it. Such specific condition of youth and transition process lead them to enjoy a less demanding permission to adult life (Margulis & Urresti, 2008). This allows them to inhabit that community setting and, therefore, they develop that *ethos*, which weakens when the condition of youth changes as the professional and labor demands are greater and the possibilities of community insertion are limited.

Non-institutionalized youth, those who no longer participate in the Youth Departments or have children, do not have specific spaces. It circulates

in different Jewish or non-Jewish, secular or religious environments to make friends, look for a partner or live attractive experiences, establishing different modes of identification.

The adult world is concerned about its continuity since its return is not guaranteed. Not only must it face up to generational transformations but also to those related to the pluralisation of the Jewish religious field that enables new ways of living. They question this lack of institutional fidelity but at the same time they are aware that the "communities" are not able to sustain offers that last over time due to the lack of human or economic resources to finance and sustain them. They hope that everything they experienced in their childhood and adolescence will motivate them to return.

References

Alvarado, S.; Vommaro, P. (2010). (Comp.). *Jóvenes, cultura y política en América latina: Algunos trayectos de sus relaciones, experiencias y lecturas (1960-2000)*. Homo Sapiens Ediciones.

Aviad, J. (1983). *Return to Judaism. Religious Renewal in Israel*. TheUniversity of Chicago Press.

Barrón, E. (2018). *Creencias y modos de abordaje en torno del suicidio juvenil*. Universidad Nacional de la Matanza.

Baumann, G. (2001). *El enigma multicultural: un replanteamiento de las identidades nacionales, étnicas y religiosas*. Paidós.

Bauman, Z. (2008). *Comunidad. En busca de seguridad en un mundo hostil*. Siglo XXI.

Bauman, Z. (2009). *La modernidad líquida*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Becker, H. (2014). *Outsiders: Hacia una sociología de la desviación*. Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

Berger, P.; Luckmann, T. (2015).*La construcción social de la realidad*. Amorrortu.

Bianchi, S. (2004). *Historia de las religiones en la Argentina. Las minorías religiosas.* Sudamericana.

Bokser-Liwerant, J. (2011). Los judíos de América Latina. Los signos de las tendencias: Juegos y contrafuegos. In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola& M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/ de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp.115-164). Iberoamericana Vervuert.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Sociología y Cultura.* Grijalbo.

Bourdieu, P. (2006). Génesis y estructura del campo religioso. *Relaciones. Estudios de historia y sociedad, 27*(108), 29-83. El Colegio de Michoacán, A. C. Zamora.

Brauner, S. (2009). *Ortodoxia religiosa y pragmatismo político (los judíos de origen sirio).* Lumiere.

Caro, I. (2006). Comunidades judías y surgimiento de nuevas identidades: el caso argentino. *Atenea, 497,* 79-93. https://scielo.conicyt.cl/pdf/atenea/n497/art06.pdf

Chaves, M. (2010). *Jóvenes, territorios y complicidades. Una antropología de la juventud urbana.* Espacio.

Cohen, G. (1987). Conservative Judaism. In A. Cohen & P. Mendes-Flohr (Eds.). *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought. Original essays on critical concepts, movements, and beliefs* (pp. 91-99). Charles Scribner´s Sons.

Cooper, A. (1989). No longer invisible: Gay and lesbian Jews build a movement. *Journal of Homosexuality, 18*(3-4), 83-94. https://europepmc.org/article/med/2696759

Della-Pergola, S. (2011). ¿Cuántos somos hoy? Investigación y narrativa sobre población judía en América Latina. In H. Avni, J. BokserLiwerant, S. Della-Pergola& M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/ de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 305-340). IberoamericanaVervuert.

Denscombe, M. (1999). *The Good Research Guide for Small-scale Social Research Projects*. Open UniversityPress.

Douglas, M. (1996). *Cómo piensan las instituciones*. Alianza Universidad.

Du-Bois, R. (1998). I Don´t Want to Commit Myself Yet: Young People´s Life Concepts. *Journal of Youth Studies, 1*(1), 63-79. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13676261.1998.10592995

Erdei, E. (2011). Demografía e identidad: a propósito del estudio de población judía en Buenos Aires. In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola & M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 341-364). Iberoamericana Vervuert.

Fainstein, D. (1994). *Identidad, comunidad y Halajá. Reflexiones en pos de un Judaísmo Masortí relevante y auténtico* (Unpublisheddocument). Consejo Intercomunitario Judaísmo Conservador.

Fainstein, D. (2006). *Secularización, Profecía y Liberación: La desprivatización de la religión en el pensamiento judío contemporáneo. Un estudio comparativo de sociología histórica e historia intelectual* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Feixa, C. (1998). *De jóvenes, bandas y tribus (Antropología de la juventud)*. Ariel.

Fernández, N. S. (2018). Construcciones de juventud, prácticas democráticas y vínculos intergeneracionales en el escultismo católico contemporáneo de Argentina. *Ánfora, 25*(44), 177-203. https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora/article/view/461

Freire, P. (2005). *Pedagogía del oprimido*. Siglo XXI Editores.

Fuentes, S. (2018). Rugby, educación solidaria y riqueza en las elites de Buenos Aires: la construcción de una clase moral. *Etnográfica, 22*(1), 53-73. https://journals.openedition.org/etnografica/5147

Furlong, A.; Cartmel, F. (1997). Risk and Uncertainty in the Youth Transition. *Young*, *5*(1), 3-20. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/110330889700500102

Giménez-Béliveau, V. (2016). *Católicos Militantes. Sujeto, comunidad e institución en la Argentina*. Eudeba.

Gómez, G. (2017). *Carreras identitarias. Un estudio socio-biográfico sobre la membresía de JAG (Judíos Argentinos Gays)* (Master'sthesis, unpublished). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Hervieu-Léger, D. (2004). *El peregrino y el convertido. La religión en movimiento*. Ediciones del Helénico.

Hupert, P. (2014). *Judaísmo Líquido. Multiculturalismo y judíos solitarios*. Editorial Biblos.

Kacowicz, A. (2011). Israel, las comunidades judías y América Latina en un escenario internacional cambiante. In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola& M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 251-270). Iberoamericana Vervuert.

Kriger, M. (2016). *La tercera invención de la juventud. Dinámicas de la politización juvenil en tiempos de la reconstrucción del Estado-Nación*. Grupo Editor Universitario.

Lago, L. (2018). La producción de los cuerpos juveniles en el evangelismo pentecostal. Prácticas, discursos y agencia. *Question*, *1*(58), 1-17. https://perio.unlp.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/question/article/view/4593

Laikin-Elkin, J. (1986). The Argentine Jewish Community in Changing Times. *Jewish Social Studies*, *48*(2), 175-182. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4467330?seq=1

Mallimaci, F.; Giménez-Béliveau, V. (2007). Creencias e increencias en el Cono Sur de América. Entre la religiosidad difusa, la pluralización del campo religioso y las relaciones con lo público y lo político. *CONICET*, 44-63. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/269/26950904.pdf

Mannheim, K. (1990). *Le problème des générations*. Nathan.

Margulis, M.; Urresti, M. (2008). La juventud es más que una palabra. In M. Margulis (Ed.). *La juventud es más que una palabra* (pp.13-30). Biblos.

Mauss, M. (2009). *Ensayos sobre el don*. Katz Editores.

Mekler, V. M. (1992). *Juventud, educación y trabajo*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: CEAL.

Melamed, D. (2000). *Los judíos y el menemismo. Un reflejo de la sociedad argentina*. Editorial Sudamericana.

Meyer, M. A. (1995). Adapting Judaism to the Modern Word. In *Respondense to Modernity. A history of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (pp.10-61). Wayne StateUniversityPress.

Mosqueira, M. (2014). *"Santa Rebeldía". Construcciones de juventud en comunidades pentecostales del Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Otero, A. (2010). Los avatares de la transición a la vida adulta, el papel de la educación y el trabajo en los recorridos juveniles. *Revista Margen, 59*, 1-13. http://www.margen.org/suscri/margen59/oter.pdf

Pérez-Islas, J. (2000). *Jóvenes e instituciones en México. 1994-2000*. SEP-Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud.

Redfield, R. (1971). *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago UniversityPress.

Reguillo-Cruz, R. (2000). *Emergencia de las culturas juveniles. Estrategias del desencanto*. Norma.

Romero-Ocampo, J. (2010). Jóvenes y religión en un mundo de cambio. El caso de los jóvenes chilenos. *Ciencias Sociales y Religión, 12*(12), 147-156. http://cdsa.aacademica.org/000-062/1732.pdf

Rosemberg, D. (2010). *Marshall Meyer el rabino que le vio la cara al diablo*. Capital Intelectual.

Rubel, Y. (2011). La red educativa judía de la Argentina (1967-2007). In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola& M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 529-562). Iberoamericana Vervuert.

Sautú, R. (1999). *El método biográfico: la reconstrucción de la sociedad a partir del testimonio de los actores.* Belgrano.

Schenquer, L. (2012). *Actitudes sociales en dictadura: Estudio sobre las dirigencias de DAIA y de las instituciones religiosas liberales durante el último régimen militar (1976-1983)* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Schutz, A. (1974). *El problema de la realidad social.* Amorrortu.

Senkman, L. (2007). Ser judío en Argentina: las transformaciones de la identidad nacional. In P. Mendes-Flohr, Y. Assis & L. Senkman (Eds.). *Identidades judías, modernidad y globalización* (403-454). Lilmod.

Setton, D. (2008). La dimensión emocional del "retorno a las fuentes" en el judaísmo ortodoxo. In F. Mallimaci (Comp.). *Modernidad, Religión y Memoria* (pp. 119-130). Colihue.

Setton, D. (2010). *Judíos ortodoxos y judíos no afiliados en procesos de interacción: El caso de JabadLubavitch en la Argentina* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Setton, D. (2014). Entre la sociabilidad y la politización: La construcción de lo judeo-homosexual-gay en Buenos Aires. *Aposta, 62,*1-31. https://ri.conicet.gov.ar/handle/11336/2767

Setton, D. (2015). La construcción de identidades judías LGBT a través de prácticas diaspóricas: estudio sobre organizaciones judías LGBT en América Latina. *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad, 21,* 25-52. http://www.scielo.br/pdf/sess/n21/1984-6487-sess-21-00025.pdf

Setton, D. (2020). La construcción simbólica de la geografía judeo-gay. In V. Giménez-Béliveau (Comp.). *La religión ante los problemas sociales. Espiritualidad, poder y sociabilidad en América Latina* (pp. 317-338). CLACSO.

Sklare, M. (1972). *Conservative Judaism. An American Religious Movenment.* SchockenBooks.

Tilly, C. (2010). *Confianza y gobierno.* Amorrortu.

Tönnies, F. (1979). *Comunidad y asociación.* Península.

Topel, M. (2005). *Jerusalém e São Paulo: A nova ortodoxia judaica em cena.* Topbooks.

Traverso, E. (2013). *El final de la modernidad judía. Historia de un giro conservador.* Fondo de CulturaEconómica.

Waxman, M. (1970). *Tradition and Change. The Development of Conservative Judaism.*TheBurning Busch Press.

Weber, M. (1964). *Economía y Sociedad.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Weber, M. (1979). *La ética protestante y el espíritu del capitalismo.* Ediciones Península

Weil, A. (1988). *Orígenes del movimiento judío conservador en la Argentina.* EdicionesSeminarioRabínicoLatinoamericano.

Weiss, A. (1988). *The Decline and Rise of Jewish Life in Argentina 1970-1987.* Princeton.

Wortman, A. (2001). Aproximaciones conceptuales y empíricas para abordar identidades sociales juveniles y consumos culturales en la sociedad del ajuste. *WorkingPapers, 24,* http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/gsdl/collect/ar/ar-030/index/assoc/D154.dir/dt24.pdf Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani.

Wyn, J.; Dwyer, P. (2000). Nuevas pautas en la transición de la juventud en la educación. *Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales, Unesco, 164,* 17-29. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SHS/pdf/164-fulldocspa164.pdf

Characterization of the Learning Styles of Elementary School Students from an Ethnic Group*

[English Version]

Caracterización de los Estilos de Aprendizaje de estudiantes de básica primaria de un grupo étnico

Caracterização dos Estilos de Aprendizagem de alunos do Ensino Fundamental de um grupo étnico

María-Disney Palacios-Rentería**
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7698-067X
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: to characterize the learning styles of elementary school students from the Emberá Chamí ethnic group from the town of Caimalito, Pereira. **Methodology**: a quantitative approach with a descriptive cross-sectional design was chosen. The information was collected through the CHAEA-Junior questionnaire. **Results:** a preference in reflective and pragmatic styles was evidenced when analyzing learning styles in a discriminatory way. However, when submitting the data to a hypothesis test it was found

---

** Master in Child Development. Bachelor of Basic Education. Teacher at the Gabriel Trujillo Educational Institution in the municipality of Pereira, Risaralda, Colombia. Email: disneipa85@hotmail.es; paremadis@gmail.com

that there are no significant differences in learning styles among the participants of the Emberá group. **Conclusions:** the characterization of learning styles in the ethnic population under study presents features similar to those found in other investigations, in which a reiterated trend towards reflective and pragmatic styles is also concluded.

Keywords: Learning styles; Learning process; Ethnic group; Embera Chamí; Basic elementary students.

Resumen

Objetivo: caracterizar los estilos de aprendizaje de estudiantes de básica primaria del grupo étnico Emberá Chamí del corregimiento de Caimalito, Pereira. **Metodología:** se optó por un enfoque cuantitativo con diseño transversal descriptivo. El recabado de la información se realizó a través del cuestionario CHAEA-Junior. **Resultados:** se evidenció una preferencia en los estilos reflexivo y pragmático al analizar de manera discriminada los estilos de aprendizaje. Sin embargo, al someter los datos a una prueba de hipótesis se encontró que no existen diferencias significativas en los estilos de aprendizaje entre los participantes del grupo Emberá. **Conclusiones:** la caracterización de los estilos de aprendizaje en la población étnica objeto de estudio presenta rasgos similares a los hallados en otras investigaciones, en las que también se concluye una tendencia reiterada por los estilos reflexivo y pragmático.

Palabras clave: Estilos de aprendizaje; Proceso de aprendizaje; Grupo étnico; Emberá Chamí; Estudiantes básica primaria.

Resumo

Objetivo: caracterizar os estilos de aprendizagem de alunos do ensino fundamental da etnia Emberá Chamí do município de Caimalito, Pereira. **Metodologia:** optou-se por uma abordagem quantitativa com um desenho transversal descritivo. As informações foram coletadas por meio do questionário CHAEA-Junior. **Resultados:** foi evidenciada uma preferência pelos estilos reflexivo e pragmático ao analisar estilos de aprendizagem de forma discriminatória. Porém, ao submeter os dados a um teste de hipóteses, constatou-se que não existem diferenças significativas nos estilos de aprendizagem entre os participantes do grupo Emberá. **Conclusões:** a caracterização dos estilos de aprendizagem na população étnica em estudo apresenta características semelhantes às encontradas em outras investigações, nas quais também se conclui uma tendência reiterada aos estilos reflexivo e pragmático.

Palavras-chave: Estilos de aprendizagem; Processo de aprendizagem; Grupo étnico; Emberá Chamí; Alunos do ensino fundamental básico.

Introduction

Within the current understanding of the concept of diversity, there is an inconsistency between the normative use and the practical use of the concept. For this reason, the response to diversity is, perhaps, one of the important and difficult challenges that teaching teams face; added to this, is the absence of efforts by some of these actors to recognize the diversity of students in the classroom.

The foregoing infers that the problem is not diversity but that, although the knowledge exists and is incorporated by the teacher, on many occasions a practical lack of activity and ignorance about the study of diversity remains. For Devalle and Vega (2006), "the problem is the way in which the valorization of differences is conceived and put into practice" (p. 14). In this way, understanding diversity is recognizing that everyone is different and that such differences include ways of feeling, thinking, interpreting and perceiving the world, as well as of learning and interacting in learning environments.

According to these authors, the existence of a differentiated curriculum is not enough, since a curriculum that seeks to include and recognize all learning styles, and ways of being and doing within the classroom is of no use; if students continue to be treated as if they learned the in same way; in such a way that if the teacher does not understand this, he will not be able to cope with the diversity of learning styles and rhythms that his students present and, therefore, will not be able to use new teaching strategies that enhance, improve and make good use of the cognitive and ethnic diversity in the classroom.

Diversity gives a singular, unique and unrepeatable character, specific to each subject and in which the school plays an important role as a space for the recognition of rhythms, styles, ways of thinking and personality traits. In this context, the teacher's mission is not only to recognize these differences, but to enhance them, to optimize learning processes and appropriate teaching strategies from the understanding of the particular styles of their students as distinctive and characteristic features that can help to improve their training process.

From the point of view of Hederich (2013), styles constitute "an expression of the personality consisting of a disposition to use certain cognitive abilities" (p. 25); [Own translation] thus, it could be affirmed that stylistics is a characteristic and differentiating feature, insofar as it functions as "a particular way of typifying individual behavior" (Hederich, 2013, p. 25). [Own translation]. In this sense, as proposed by Lozano (2006), styles are a set of preferences, tendencies and dispositions that a person has to do something,

and these are manifested through behavior and various strengths that distinguish an individual from others.

Likewise, in the educational field, "stylistics refers to the identification, appreciation and classification of the various ways of learning and teaching" (Lozano, 2006; cited in Hederich and Camargo, 2015, p. 136). [Own translation]. From this area, due to their applicability, are cognitive styles from authors such as Messick (2010); the teaching styles in the work of González-Peiteado (2013) and Isaza and Henao (2012); there are also thinking styles, pedagogical styles, communication styles, leadership styles, and learning styles.

Regarding learning styles, Curry (1987), through the onion model, as it is known in Spanish speaking, classified the learning style models by differentiating three layers. The first layer, the outer part of the onion, the easiest to observe, contains the instructional and environmental learning preferences, that is, the learning strategies implemented by the student; in the second layer, the preferences about how the information is processed are located – in this case, the preferences are the learning styles; finally, the third layer, the most internal, is related to learning preferences according to personality, that is, cognitive styles (Santaolalla, Gallego & Urosa, 2015).

Based on the above, learning styles can be defined as "the predisposition on the part of students to adopt a particular learning strategy independent of the specific demands of the task" (Schmeck, 1983; cited in Uva, 2017). According to Keefe, 1988; cited in Terrádez, s. f.), learning styles constitute a conglomerate of affective, cognitive and physiological traits, which become solid indicators to recognize how students perceive, interact and respond to the learning environment.

In this sense, learning styles become visible the moment students face the task of learning. Therefore, learning styles are understood as the ideal and preferred form that students have and manifest, consciously or unconsciously, when executing or carrying out a learning task.

Evidence of this is found in the studies carried out by González-Peiteado (2013); Chiang, Díaz and Arriagada (2016); Rojas, Zarate and Lozano (2016); Pantoja, Duque and Meneses (2013).

On the other hand, there was a research carried out in Chile by Cáceres and Vilchez (2012): "Junior Chaea in students of the Talcahuano commune", in which 1,700 students from grades four to eight participated, from five General Education educational centers Basic (EGB), whose ages ranged between 9 and 15 years of age. This study was carried out with the application of the Sotillo questionnaire (2014).

253

Universidad Autónoma de Manizales. ISSN 0121-6538 / e-ISSN 2248-6941. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

In Brazil, the research by Coehlo *et al.* (2013), "Analysis between the association of learning styles with gender, age group and intelligence of Brazilian children in elementary education", had a sample of 49 boys and girls from elementary school; The research aimed to analyze the relationship between learning styles, gender, age and intelligence, using the HAQLS instrument, adapted from the CHAEA by Portillo, and translated into Portuguese with 12 questions, four answers and the IQ for intelligence.

The results, in this case, showed that the predominant styles were reflective and pragmatic, and with less influence on the active and the theoretical styles; regarding sex, boys reflected the active style and girls the pragmatic style, and no differences were found between style and intelligence.

In Mexico, the study carried out by Mejía and Jaik (2014), "Learning styles of teachers and students and their relationship with academic performance in primary education", had the participation of 145 students from grades four to six of elementary school from three educational institutions, aged between 9 and 14 years (53 females and 47 males), and the use of the CIEA questionnaire, prepared from the CHAEA questionnaire by Honey and Alonso (2002). There, it was deduced that males have a greater preference for the reflective and pragmatic style than females; It was also evidenced that reflective and theoretical styles prevail at an older age, and that school grade does not determine stylistic preferences. In general, the study showed that the students mostly present the reflective style.

In the case of Peru, the work by Díaz (2017), "Learning styles in primary school students in the district of Sapallanga", had the participation of 76 students, mostly represented by females (40) with 53% and to a lesser extent with males (36) with 47%, whose ages fluctuated from 8 to 14 years, of which 37 belonged to the fourth grade and 39 to the fifth grade. The results of the study indicated that in the fourth grade the majority present auditory style (made up of 17 students), 13 are visual and 7 kinesthetic, while in fifth grade the majority are visual style, with a total of 17 students, and the others presented auditory and kinesthetic styles with the same percentage.

In relation to the two school grades, it was observed that the majority, that is, 39% of students have a visual learning style, 36% have an auditory style and 23% have a kinesthetic learning style. Consequently, it was found that 15 female students had a visual learning style, 16 were auditory and 9 were kinesthetic, and as for the male students, it was found that 15 had a visual style, 12 auditory and 9 kinesthetic (Díaz, 2017).

Similarly, Granados and García (2016) showed that the vast majority of students have marked preferences for the reflective style, with 29.6%, followed by the theoretical style with 25.7%.

In Spain, a study by Sotillo (2014) concluded that, for the most part, students are reflective while the rest show a combination of the theoretical, active and reflective styles.

In Colombia, a study by Ortiz (2013) found that 8% have an auditory style, another 8% have a visual style and 17% have a kinesthetic style. Regarding sex, it was observed that 16% have a kinesthetic style and both female and male students prefer a multimodal style.

On the other hand, the master's thesis conducted by Herrera (2014) in Armenia-Colombia reveals that institutions in rural areas do not reflect a defined stylistic profile. Furthermore, the most predominant styles were the convergent Kolb (1984, 1985), which indicates that in women their stylistic preference was more inclined towards the active and theoretical style and, in men, towards the reflective, theoretical and pragmatic style.

Likewise, in the study by García and Sáchica (2016), they showed that the vast majority of students have marked preferences for the reflective style, followed by the theoretical style, while the active and pragmatic styles presented low preferences.

In the study by Cánchala, Bastidas and Velásquez (2019), "Learning styles in indigenous schoolchildren from Greater Mallama", there was revealed that the predominant style was auditory and the channel with the least preference was visual. One of the conclusions is that most of the students have auditory as their main learning style and, in this case, the highest percentage was observed in girls.

In the municipality of Soledad, department of Atlántico, Colombia, the study by Noriega and Sánchez (2019) showed that there is a direct correlation between the learning styles and the evaluation processes applied by teachers in the classroom. It was noted that in the third, fourth and fifth grades the active experimentation style prevails and, regarding the concrete experience style, no stylistic preference was found. León (2015), for his part, in his study revealed that the reflective style enables the student to obtain a higher academic performance.

Consequently, there appear to be two primary factors in the student's stylistic study. The first, most studies seem to agree that the reflective style is the most recurrent, which clearly causes some curiosity, since it is paradoxical that the study, when conducted on the Hispanic-American population of different countries and diverse samples, yields similar results on the preference towards a specific learning style. On the other hand, the absence or ignorance of teachers to include the concept of diversity and inclusion within their practices could constitute a possible explanation for the first factor.

Hence, the lack of an educational model that privileges and enhances individual learning differences leads to the prevalence of a learning style, which could correspond to the style of the classroom teacher and not necessarily the style of the student. This is the problem that, probably, is generating low academic performance, and school year repetition; especially in the majority in extra-age conditions. These seem to be the factors that cause demotivation in the educational process and, consequently, the continuous absences to class.

This problem, together with the scarce economic income, perhaps are the causes that have motivated parents and/or guardians to make the decision to introduce the male population from the age of 13 to work picking coffee and the female population to marry them when they reach 15 years; all this, if they do not advance in the academic processes.

Due to all of the above, this research article aims to address the characterization of the learning styles of an ethnic group of Embera children. Studying the learning styles in this population group leads to identifying the stylistic preferences of the students, in order to generate theoretical-practical input that allows teachers to apply a specific and differential treatment to each student depending on their style. It could also help students to know their styles and be motivated to use others, ensuring that teachers adopt appropriate pedagogical strategies to obtain an effective and efficient educational work that counteracts the high rate of failure and academic repetition, unschooling, the population with extra age, school dropouts and demotivation of parents and/or guardians, fostering a different perspective on education.

A theoretical-practical input that at the same time contributes to the comprehensive education of individuals, who interact with the other/s, encouraging a good exchange of knowledge and greater participation, in which different values are promoted, thus achieving a healthy coexistence based on respect and acceptance of the other.

Thus, the present paper seeks to characterize the learning styles of elementary school students of an ethnic group according to age and sex, in an educational institution in the township of Caimalito, Pereira (Colombia). It is expected to confirm whether there is a stylistic preference in Emberá children or if this preference is actually the product of their adaptation to a specific educational context that follow standardized educational models.

Methodology

This research was approached from an empirical analytical study with a quantitative approach and a descriptive cross-sectional design that is understood as the type of design in which data are collected at a single moment and, based on them, are specified, in a descriptive, properties and important characteristics of a certain population Hernández, Fernández and Baptista (2014).

The study was carried out in three moments. At first, a pilot test was carried out in order to observe the relevance of the instrument for this ethnic group, according to the degree of linguistic complexity, in terms of the lexicon. Subsequently, the CHAEA-Junior questionnaire was applied, in its short version adapted by Sotillo (2014). In the third phase, the database was prepared (organization of variables in Excel for their organization, debugging and coding) and, later, its analysis was carried out, using the IBM SPSS version 22 Software.

Sample

The population was composed of (N=23) students from the Emberá community with an observed average age of (M=11.2 years, SD=2,059). In the participants, the male sex prevailed (65.2%) over the female sex (34.7%). The participants belong to an educational institution in the Caimalito district of the municipality of Pereira (Risaralda, Colombia) of the Emberá Chamí indigenous reservation in the fourth and fifth elementary school grades. Regarding social conditions, many of the students present vulnerable conditions and come from municipalities with high levels of displacement.

This ethnic community depends on agriculture and handicrafts as primary economic activities. The family structure is extensive, most of them can live around four families in a single house. In turn, to learn to read and write in their native language "*Embera*" they do it through the belief "*jiru pota war*" (the child born from the leg). Their myths relate not only the origin of the world, animals, plants and man, but all the events that make man of this time. The belief "*jiru pota war*", along with the origin of water, is considered fundamental to their identity.

It should be noted that although the CHAEA-Junior questionnaire was not designed to characterize ethnic groups, since these children are immersed in the Spanish-speaking culture and are part of educational processes supported by the State, the vocabulary as well as their contextual use, did not represent an additional difficulty for the participants to read, interpret and understand.

Data Collection Instruments

The CHAEA-Junior Learning Styles Questionnaire (Annex 1) by Honey-Alonso (2002), in the short version adapted by Sotillo (2014) for primary school populations was used as the only information gathering instrument.

Instrument Characterization

The CHAEA-Junior is the result of the research carried out by Sotillo (2014): "Learning Styles in Primary School students: Diagnosis and pedagogical proposal". The CHAEA-Junior was adapted for 4th and 5th Primary school students; however, its suitability was also seen, throughout the research, for students of the First Cycle of Compulsory Secondary school, that is, grades 6 and 7. The CHAEA-Junior is made up of (44) items which contain statements about the preference for learning situations or personal interest. The answers are obtained through a dichotomous nominal scale where the student must mark the sign (+) if they agree and the minus sign (-) if they do not agree. The version of the CHAEA-Junior presented by Sotillo (2014) does not require the scale to find the different style, obtaining this by the sum of direct scores.

The instrument is written in simple language with colloquial terms so that it can be understood and read by children between the ages of 9 and 14, from a syntactic and semantic point of view. The distribution of the items is random and is subdivided into four groups of 11 items, through which it is possible to characterize the four learning styles: Active, Reflective, Theoretical and Pragmatic (Granados and García, 2016).

The absolute score is obtained, according to each style, with a single range value from (0 to 11), obtained from the direct sum of the response. The highest value will be the dominant preference and the next highest one is the next predominant style. It should be added that to validate the questionnaire, a panel of 5 experts was used (the doctors: Daniela Melaré, Mari Luz Cacheiro, María Isabel Adán León and the Doctors: Pedro Martín Geijo and José Luis García Cué), researchers with wide experience in the Learning Styles.

This questionnaire has been validated in Colombia by the following researchers: Varela (2014) from Antioquia; Gómez, Jaimes and Sereviche (2017) from Cartagena; Acevedo, Cavadia and Alvis (2015) from Cartagena; Ángel and Alonso (2012) from Bogotá; Casadiego (2015) in Cesar; Mendoza (2012) in Cali and, in Manizales, by Granados and García (2016).

The results of the characterization of the ethnic group will be presented in a discriminatory way for each style. This, in order to identify the participants in detail in relation to each of the learning studies proposed by Honey and Alonso (2002). After this discrimination for each of the styles, the characterization of the stylistic behavior of the participants is shown. Finally, A test to determine whether there are significantly statistical differences between each of the stylistic profiles found and thus be able to establish whether it is possible to talk about a style of preference in the learning of Embera children or on the contrary, no particular preference is observed.

Results

Characterization of the Learning Style Based on High / Low Preference

Figure 1 shows a small difference between the preference for active learning in the participants. According to the results, a difference between high and low preference of 13% was observed. This leads to infer the absence of preference towards this style of the participants. See figure 1.

Figure 1. Student Distribution for Active Learning Style
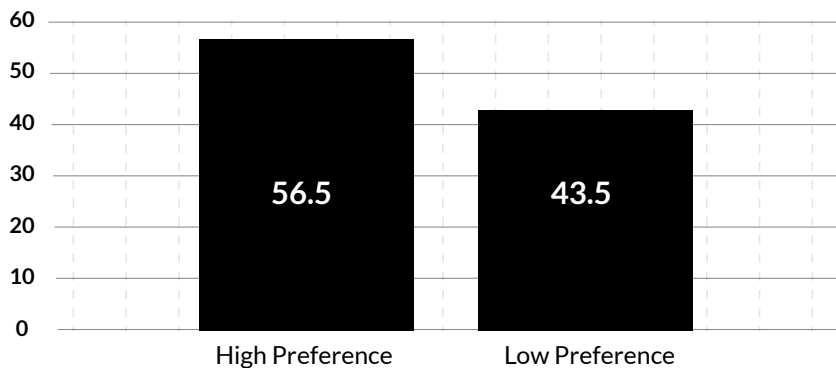
Source: Author´s

Regarding the reflective learning style, the high / low preference exhibited a difference of 47.8% amidst the participants. This difference indicates a possible tendency or preference of the participants towards this learning style (figure 2):

Figure 2. Student Distribution for Reflective Learning Style
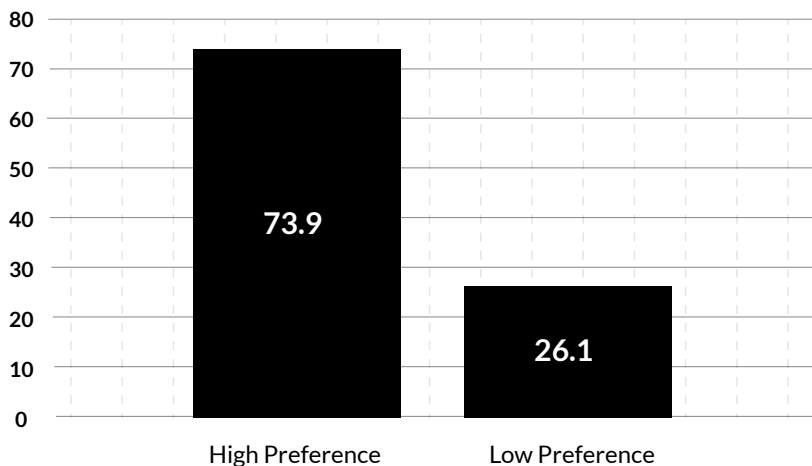
Source: Author´s

The theoretical learning style exhibited a difference of 21.8% in relation to the high / low stylistic preference. This result allows us to consider that there is no marked difference between the population in relation to the theoretical learning style (figure 3).

Figure 3. Student Distribution for Theoretical Learning Style
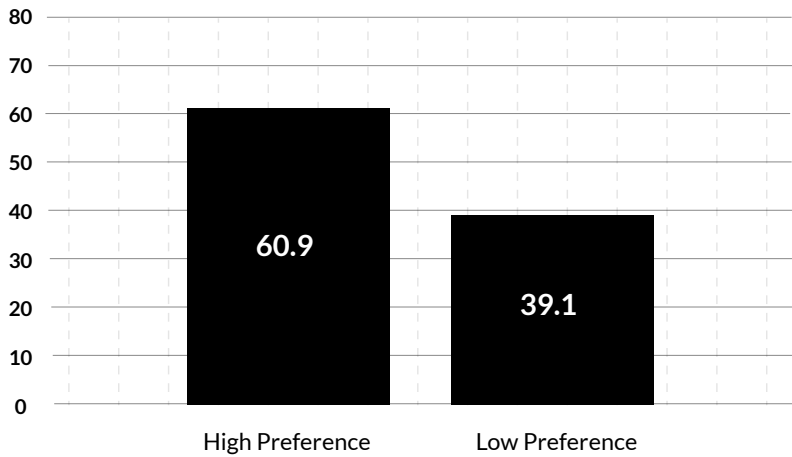
Source: Author´s

Finally, the results for the high / low pragmatic style preference yielded a difference of 30.4% amongst the participants. This leads to build a second stylistic trait of the participating ethnic community (figure 4):

Figure 4. Student Distribution for Pragmatic Learning Style
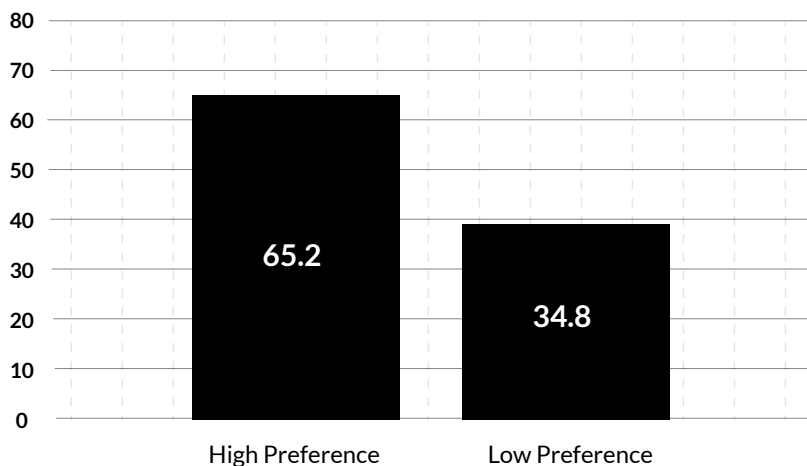
Source: Author´s

General Characterization of High / Low Learning Style Preferences

Regarding learning style preference, general results allow us to clearly observe a tendency of the participants towards reflective (73.9%) and pragmatic (65.2%) learning styles. In general terms, the learning style profiles do not show great differences, although results do suggest a certain trend. (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Student Distribution for Pragmatic Learning Style
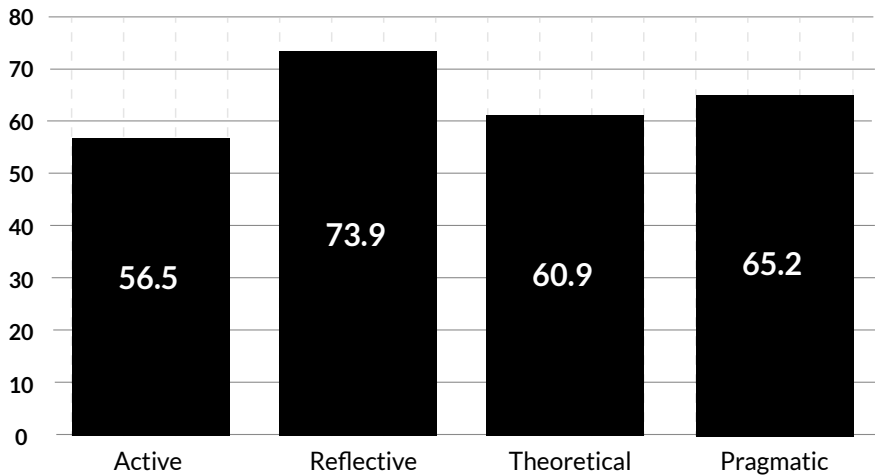
Although the results on the description of each of the learning styles in a discriminatory and general way evidence a stylistic learning profile of the children of the ethnic group with an emphasis on the reflective and pragmatic learning styles, this study aimed at verifying whether there were significant differences between the learning styles reported by the students. A hypothesis for the existence of a learning style profile in the ethnic group of participating children was formulated.

The hypothesis formulated was:

H^0 The group of participants does not show a different preference in their learning styles.
H^1 The group of participants show a different preference in their learning styles.

The hypothesis was tested through the Kruskal-Wallis test because it includes more than two variables. This test is used when you want to test whether or not several samples (K) come from the same population. In this particular case, whether or not the learning styles are the same for the entire ethnic group of participating children.

The results in the hypothesis test through the non-parametric method of KS samples yielded a *P* value greater than (P> 0.05) for each of the learning styles which implies the acceptance of the null hypothesis. In other words, there is no difference amidst the preferences of learning styles for the participating ethnic group in the results of the present study. The results of the KS-samples test for the active learning style yielded a value of (, 469), for the reflective learning style of (, 734), for the theoretical learning style of (, 644) and for the pragmatic learning style of (, 618). These results show that no style is particularly preferred for this participating ethnic group (Table 1):

Table 1. Learning Styles According to Age

Test statistics [a,b]				
	Active learning style	Reflective learning style	Theoretical learning style	a learning style
Chi squared	6.625	4.389	5.133	5.344
Gl	7	7	7	7
Asymptotic significance	.469	.734	.644	.618
a. Kruskal–Wallis Test.				
b. Grouping variable: age				

Source: Author´s

Discussion

Although the hypothesis test denied the possibility to identify a stylistic preference in the ethnic group of Embera Chamí children based on the results of the KS-samples test, this discussion will be carried out in relation to the two highest frequent learning styles of preference (Reflective 73.9% and Pragmatic 65.2%). These results do not allow us to identify the establishment of a distinct learning style for the participating community of Emberá children, but they can lead to an understanding of the impact that the state education process has had on them. This result can be compared with other studies that have characterized the learning styles in students of public educational institutions.

These results can be contrasted with the findings of Coehlo *et al.* (2013) in their research carried out in Brazil in which they found a predominance of reflective and pragmatic learning styles and a lesser influence of active and theoretical learning styles. Similarly, in Chile, Cáceres and Vilchez (2012) applied the same questionnaire and observed a stylistic preference for the reflective learning style (34%) and the pragmatic one (10%).

In the same sense, the partial results of this article are similar to those obtained by Mejía and Jaik (2014) in Mexico, who found that the students - mostly - present a reflective learning style preference. Similarly, in Armenia (Colombia), Herrera (2014) applied the Kolb instrument and obtained a marked trend of the reflective learning style in the participant population.

Granados and García (2016) reported similar results to those here found coinciding that the reflective learning style (29.6%) is one of the most frequent in primary school students in 4th and 5th grade. Likewise, the results seem similar to those obtained by León (2015) in Colombia, who showed a predominance of the reflective learning style (53%) with respect to the others learning styles.

Similarly, the results of Rodríguez (2014) suggest that the reflective learning style, in general, scores highest among the learning styles when performing the characterization of learning styles. In the same sense, Chiang et al. (2013) found that the reflective learning style is associated with the type of students who spend more time thinking about how to solve a learning problem or performing a task.

On the other hand, Ferrés-Gurt, Marbà-Tallada and Sanmartí-Puig (2014) found that the reflective learning style seems to be associated with students whose abstraction and overthinking generate adverse influences in their academic performances.

Sotillo (2014) suggests that the learning styles of greatest recurrence in elementary school students imply to focus on reflective and theoretical learning styles. These could confirm that perhaps it is not a question of an authentic learning style in the students, but of a certain tendency of the school system in which they are, and such a system has been derived from an eminently encyclopedic tradition that still privileges memory; hence the theoretical feature and reflection as the basic mechanism of teaching.

Conclusions

It is concluded that the Embera-Chamí ethnic group of children shows a tendency towards reflective and pragmatic learning styles. This preference suggests the result of their school system without a difference or ethnic preference in terms of seeking the development of the cognitive and learning capacities of the students.

Classrooms have a high number of community children - even without any belonging to a specific ethnic group - in master classes they obey based on the demands of teachers who teach their classes in a general way and without positive recognition of diversity or inclusion. This fact reflects the state education model that is part of educational reforms led by international organizations, which could explain the recurrence found in studies on the stylistic learning preference: There seems to be a coincidence in the reflective-pragmatic learning styles as the most frequent one, which in Kolb terms (1984, 1985) is explained as the child's adaptation to the demand and the need for adaptation to the teacher's teaching style, which is generally reflective-pragmatic.

This is supported by the hypothesis test in which no stylistic difference was reported in the high / low preference for learning. This could endorse the idea that the most common learning style is a reflection of the teacher's teaching style. In this way, it would be natural for that preference to vanish in children if it is tested with a more rigorous test in which it is asked, under a certain level of confidence, to establish whether that preference exists or not, as shown in the present paper.

References

Acevedo, D.; Cavadia, S.; Alvis, A. (2015). Estilos de aprendizaje de los estudiantes de la Facultad de Ingeniería de la Universidad de Cartagena (Colombia). *Formación Universitaria*, *8*(4), 15-22. https://scielo.conicyt.cl/pdf/formuniv/v8n4/art03.pdf

Ángel, W.; Alonso, C. (2012). Los estilos de aprendizaje en los estudiantes de primer semestre de la universidad nacional abierta y a distancia Unad, Colombia. *Revista de Estilos de Aprendizaje*, *5*(10), 172-183. http://revistaestilosdeaprendizaje.com/article/view/966/1674

Cáceres, A.; Vilchez, J. (2012). CHAEA junior en estudiantes de la comuna de Talcahuano. In *V Congreso Mundial de Estilos de Aprendizaje* (pp. 1-10). https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4675180

Cánchala, A.; Bastidas, D.; Velásquez, Á. (2019). Estilos de aprendizaje en escolares indígenas del Gran Mallama. *Revista UNIMAR*, *37*(2), 63-71. http://editorial.umariana.edu.co/revistas/index.php/unimar/article/view/2040/2139

Casadiego, J. (2015). *Estilos de aprendizaje y rendimiento académico: un estudio con estudiantes de la Facultad de Ingeniería de sistemas de la Universidad Popular del Cesar.* [Encuentro Internacional de Educación de Ingeniería, ACOFI]. https://acofipapers.org/index.php/eiei2016/2016/paper/viewFile/1549/572

Chiang, M.; Díaz, C.; Arriagada, P. (2016). Estilos de enseñanza y aprendizaje: ¿cómo dialogan en la práctica? *Revista de Estilos de Aprendizaje*, *9*(17), 1-23. http://revistaestilosdeaprendizaje.com/article/view/1045/1758

Coehlo, M.; Amodeo, O.; Gusmão, T.; Muszkat, M. (2013). Analise entre a associação dos estilos de aprendizagem com o gênero, faixa etária e inteligência de crianças brasileiras do ensino fundamental I. *Revista de Estilos de Aprendizaje*, *6*(11), 212-229. http://revistaestilosdeaprendizaje.com/article/view/980/1688

Curry, L. (1987). *Integrating Concepts of Cognitive or Learning Style: a Review with Attention to Psychometric Standards.* Learning Styles Network.

Devalle, A.; Vega, V. (2006). *Una escuela en y para la diversidad. El entramado de la diversidad.* Aique.

Díaz, D. (2017). Estilos de aprendizaje en estudiantes de educación primaria en el distrito Sapallanga, Huancayo, Perú (Master Thesis). Universidad Nacional del Centro del Perú. http://repositorio.uncp.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/UNCP/4288/Diaz%20Medina.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Ferrés-Gurt, C.; Marbà-Tallada, A.; Sanmartí-Puig, N. (2014). Trabajos de indagación de los alumnos: instrumentos de evaluación e identificación de dificultades. *Revista Eureka sobre Enseñanza y Divulgación de las Ciencias, 12*(1), 22-37. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/920/92032970010.pdf

García, C.; Sáchica, R. (2016). *El modelo de aprendizaje experiencial de David Kolb en el aula: una propuesta de intervención y modificación de los estilos de aprendizaje en un grupo de estudiantes de grado cuarto de la I. E. Santa María Goretti de Montenegro, Quindío* (Master Thesis). Universidad Católica de Manizales. http://repositorio.ucm.edu.co:8080/jspui/bitstream/handle/10839/1271/Claudia%20Lorena%20Garcia%20Zuluaga.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

Gómez, E.; Jaimes, J.; Sereviche, C. (2017). Estilos de aprendizaje en universitarios, modalidad de educación a distancia. *Revista Virtual Universidad Católica del Norte, 50,* 383-393. https://revistavirtual.ucn.edu.co/index.php/RevistaUCN/article/view/829

González-Peiteado, M. (2013). Los estilos de enseñanza y aprendizaje como soporte de la actividad docente. *Revista de Estilos de Aprendizaje, 11*(6), 51-70. http://revistaestilosdeaprendizaje.com/article/view/971/1679

Granados, L. H.; García, Z. C. (2016). El modelo de aprendizaje experiencial como alternativa para mejorar el proceso de aprendizaje en el aula. *Ánfora, 23*(41), 37-54. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/3578/357848839002.pdf

Hederich, C. (2013). Estilística educativa. *Revista Colombiana de Educación, 64,* 21-56. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4136/413634076002.pdf

Hederich, C.; Camargo, Á. (2015). Estilística educativa: un campo de investigación en educación y pedagogía. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos, 11*(2), 134-167. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/1341/134146842007.pdf

Hernández, R.; Fernández, C.; Baptista, P. (2014). *Metodología de la investigación.* McGraw Hill.

Herrera, M. (2014). *Estilos cognitivos y estilos de aprendizaje de estudiantes de una institución educativa del sector rural del municipio de Armenia.* Ed. Universidad de Manizales.

Honey, P; Alonso, C. M. (2002). Cuestionario Honey-Alonso de estilos de aprendizaje: Análisis *de sus propiedades Psicométricas en Estudiantes Universitarios. Summa Psicológica UST, 10*(1), 103-117. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4421517

Isaza, L.; Henao, G. (2012). Actitudes-Estilos de enseñanza: su relación con el rendimiento académico. *International Journal of Psychological Research, 5*(1), 133-141. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/2990/299023539015.pdf

Kolb, D. (1984). *Experimental Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development.* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235701029_Experiential_Learning_Experience_As_The_Source_Of_Learning_And_Development

Kolb, D. (1985). *Learning-style Inventory: Self-scoring Inventory and Interpretation Booklet.* http://www.sciepub.com/reference/124113

León, C. (2015). *La relación de los estilos de aprendizaje y el rendimiento académico en estudiantes de educación primaria* (Master Thesis). Tecnológico de Monterrey. https://repositorio.tec.mx/bitstream/handle/11285/626575/Cielo_Elizabeth_Le%c3%b3n_Acosta_.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Lozano, A. (2006). *Estilos de aprendizaje y enseñanza. Un panorama de la estilística educativa.* Editorial Trillas.

Mejía, M.; Jaik, A. (2014). *Estilos de aprendizaje de docentes y alumnos y su relación con el rendimiento académico en educación primaria.* Redie Editorial. http://redie.mx/librosyrevistas/libros/estilosdeaprendizaje.pdf

Mendoza, W. (2012). Los estilos de aprendizaje en estudiantes universitarios. Estado del arte y desafíos. In *V Congreso Mundial de Estilos de Aprendizaje* (pp. 1-12). https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4665796

Messick, S. (2010). The Matter of Style: Manifestations of Personality in Cognition, Learning, and Teaching. *Journal Educational Psychologist, 29*(3), 121-136. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED386486

Noriega, N.; Sánchez, A. (2019). *Relación entre los estilos de aprendizaje y el proceso de evaluación en la educación primaria.* Universidad de la Costa.

Ortiz, E. (2013). *La incidencia de los estilos de aprendizaje en el aprendizaje de las matemáticas usando recursos educativos abierto (REA), en estudiantes de 4° y 5° de primaria de la escuela rural mercadillo.* Ed. Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga.

Pantoja, M.; Duque, L.; Meneses, J. (2013). Modelos de estilos de aprendizaje: una actualización para su revisión y análisis. *Revista Colombiana de Educación, 64,* 79-105. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/rcde/n64/n64a04.pdf

Rojas, L.; Zarate, J.; Lozano, A. (2016). La relación entre los estilos de aprendizaje de los estudiantes y los estilos de enseñanza del profesor en un grupo de alumnos de primer semestre del nivel Universitario. *Revista de Estilos de Aprendizaje, 9*(17), 174-205. http://revista.ieee.es/index.php/estilosdeaprendizaje/article/view/1051

Santaolalla, E.; Gallego, D.; Urosa, B. (2015). Los libros de texto de matemáticas y su capacidad para desarrollar los distintos estilos de aprendizaje. *Revista de Estilos de Aprendizaje, 8*(16), 178-210. http://revistaestilosdeaprendizaje.com/article/view/1023/1735

Sotillo, J. (2014). El cuestionario CHAEA-Junior o cómo diagnosticar el estilo de aprendizaje en alumnos de primaria y secundaria. *Revista de estilos de aprendizaje, 7*(13), 182-201. http://revistaestilosdeaprendizaje.com/article/view/1013/1721

Terrádez, M. (s. f.). Los estilos de aprendizaje aplicados a la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera. *Foro de profesores E/LE, 3*, 227-230. https://ojs. uv.es/index.php/foroele/article/view/6525/6312

Uva, A. (2017). Neurociencias en el ámbito educativo. Estilos cognitivos y estrategias de aprendizaje. *Revista Internacional Magisterio, 68*. https://www.magisterio.com.co/articulo/neurociencias-en-el-ambito-educativo-estilos-cognitivos-y-estrategias-de-aprendizaje

Varela, M. (2014). *Relación entre los estilos de aprendizaje y los niveles de creatividad motriz en los estudiantes de la Institución Educativa las Delicias del municipio de El Bagre.* Ed. Universidad de Antioquia.

Annex

Annex 1. CHAEA-Junior Questionnaire of Learning Styles

More (+)	Less (-)	Ítem
+	-	1. I have a reputation for saying what I think simply and directly.
+	-	2. I indeed distinguish what is right and wrong, good and bad.
+	-	3. I often act without considering the consequences.
+	-	4. I am always interested in knowing what people think and why they act.
+	-	5. I really appreciate practical gifts.
+	-	6. I try to be aware of what is happening around me.
+	-	7. I feel proud in doing a thorough job.
+	-	8. I am keen on being self-disciplined with my meals, my studies and regular exercise.
+	-	9. I am attracted more to novel, unusual ideas than to practical ones.
+	-	10. I accept and adapt to rules, If I can reach what I want.
+	-	11. I listen more than I speak.
+	-	12. In general, I tend to be neat because I can't stand the mess.
+	-	13. Before doing anything, I pay careful attention to pros and cons.

More (+)	Less (-)	Ítem
+	-	14. I am more interested when I do new and different activities.
+	-	15. In discussions, I like to go straight to the point.
+	-	16. At games, I put aside my feelings, because winning is the most important.
+	-	17. I feel comfortable among spontaneous and fun-loving people, although sometimes it brings me problems.
+	-	18. I tend to be open about how I am feeling.
+	-	19. I'm usually one of the funniest at parties.
+	-	20. I like to ponder new alternatives to get to a solution.
+	-	21. I prefer useful ideas that make me daydream.
+	-	22. I pay careful attention to detail before drawing conclusions.
+	-	23. I attempt to be perfectionist.
+	-	24. I listen to others' opinions before putting my own view forward.
+	-	25. In discussions, I enjoy watching the plotting and scheming of the other participants.
+	-	26. Quiet and thoughtful people tend to make me feel uneasy.
+	-	27. I am often bothered by people who want to rush up things to meet a deadline.
+	-	28. In groupwork, I contribute with new and spontaneous ideas.
+	-	29. More often than not, I believe that rules are there to be broken.
+	-	30. On balance, when I am with my friends, I talk more than I listen.
+	-	31. I believe that rational and logical thinking should win the way.
+	-	32. I tend to be irritated by those who say unimportant or crazy things.
+	-	33. I like to verify that things work in practice.
+	-	34. I reject original and spontaneous the ideas if useless.
+	-	35. I often reflect on the consequences of my actions to plan the future.

More (+)	Less (-)	Ítem
+	-	36. Quite often, if I want something, it does not matter how I get it.
+	-	37. I get irritated with crazy things or people.
+	-	38. I am used to thinking on topics and problems.
+	-	39. I am usually one of the people who puts life into a party.
+	-	40. Those who know me tend to think I am not very sensible to their feelings.
+	-	41. I find it very difficult to plan my tasks and prepare for my examinations.
+	-	42. In discussions, I am interested in knowing what others think.
+	-	43. It feel irritated when people do not take things seriously.
+	-	44. I often realize of better ways of doing things.

Income and Happiness: Easterlin Paradox in Colombia*

Héctor-Alberto Botello-Peñaloza**
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7795-2590
Colombia
Isaac Guerrero-Rincón***
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5794- 2742
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: this research aims to verify the relationship between income and happiness in Colombia, with special emphasis on the linearity of this relationship known in literature as the "Easterlin paradox". **Methodology:** based on data from Quality of Life Survey of 2017, it was investigated into whether the Colombian population conforms to the paradox, that is, whether monetary income positively influences the subjective well-being revealed. **Results:** the proposed proportional odds model shows that income is a determining variable of happiness, but it is secondary to others such as the

* The origin of this manuscript comes from the Research Group of Regional Development and Territorial Planning. The authors declare no conflict of interest in executing this research project.

** Master in Economic Science. Economist Universidad Industrial de Santander. E-mail: hbotellop@unal.edu.co

*** Master in Economics, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia. Professor of Universidad Industrial de Santander, Bucaramanga, Santander, Colombia. Member of the Research Group of Regional Development and Territorial Planning. E-mail: iguerrin@uis.edu.co

perception of well-being in health, safety and work. These results coincide with those raised in the paradox, and challenge development plans in which a comprehensive context of well-being increases the quality of life of the inhabitants. **Conclusions:** the happiness revealed by individuals is subjective in nature, therefore, it may be influenced by conjunctural aspects at the time of the survey.

Key words: Economics of happiness; Easterlin paradox; Proportional odds model; Income; Colombia.

Resumen

Objetivo: este trabajo busca comprobar la relación entre ingreso y felicidad en Colombia, haciendo especial énfasis en la linealidad de esta relación conocida en la literatura como la "paradoja de Easterlin". **Metodología:** con base en los datos de la Encuesta de Calidad de Vida 2017 se constató si la población colombiana se adapta a la paradoja; es decir, si el ingreso monetario influye positivamente en el bienestar subjetivo revelado. **Resultados:** el modelo ordinal propuesto evidencia que el ingreso es una variable determinante de la felicidad, pero es secundaria frente a otras como la percepción del bienestar en salud, seguridad y trabajo. Estos resultados están en línea con los planteados en la paradoja y plantean desafíos de los planes de desarrollo donde un contexto integral de bienestar es el que logra incrementar la calidad de vida de los habitantes. **Conclusiones:** la felicidad revelada por los individuos es de tipo subjetivo, por lo tanto, puede estar influida por aspectos coyunturales al momento de la encuesta.

Palabras-clave: Economía de la felicidad; Paradoja de Easterlin; Modelo ordinal; Ingreso; Colombia.

Resumo

Objetivo: este trabalho busca verificar a relação entre renda e felicidade na Colômbia, com ênfase especial na linearidade dessa relação conhecida na literatura como o "paradoxo de Easterlin". **Metodologia:** com base em dados da Pesquisa de Qualidade de Vida de 2017 conseguiu se descobrir se a população colombiana se adapta ao paradoxo; ou seja, se o rendimento monetário influencia positivamente o bem-estar subjetivo revelado. **Resultados:** o modelo ordinal proposto mostra que a renda é uma variável determinante da felicidade, mas é secundária a outras como a percepção de bem-estar na saúde, segurança e trabalho. Esses resultados estão em consonância com os levantados no paradoxo e colocam desafios dos planos de desenvolvimento onde

um contexto abrangente de bem-estar é aquele que consegue aumentar a qualidade de vida dos habitantes. **Conclusões:** a felicidade revelada pelos indivíduos é subjetiva por natureza, portanto pode ser influenciada por aspectos conjunturais no momento da pesquisa.

Palavras-chave: Economia da felicidade; Paradoxo da Páscoa; Modelo ordinal; Entrada; Colômbia.

Introduction

The World Values Survey (WVS 2006) shows that Colombia is the second happiest country in the world, with an average per capita income of $6000 per year. The situation of violence, inequality and crime make Colombia a curious case to explain why this situation happens. A possible explanation to this is the called Easterlin paradox.

According to Veenhoven (2007), individual happiness entails important information on the quality of government-driven development models. Research on the economy of happiness is important, as the well-being of individuals positively impacts various dimensions of their lives, for example, their productivity and social coexistence (Torrecilla, 2005; Botello and Rios, 2014). Therefore, happiness is a component with significant social, political and economic connotations to be assessed in the current development model.

The results of this research could help the government to encourage or foster economic policies that promote the well-being of the inhabitants. Consequently, there is a need to research the determinants of individuals' happiness; however, there is limited robust empirical evidence in Colombia to prove this theory. Thus, this research aims at validating two hypotheses: the first is that income generates a positive effect on people's happiness, but it is not the most important component, and the second infers that from a certain threshold of increase in income, it no longer influences people's happiness.

This research contributes to the literature in two ways. Firstly, because it uses a wide base of micro-data of individuals and their satisfaction levels with various dimensions of their lives. And because a ordered *probit* model is used to determine different levels of happiness and not binomial models. The use of this model will allow us to compare the results with other findings in the literature on happiness in Latin America. Finally, the model used serves to cardinalize the factors that Colombians assess when considering their levels of subjective satisfaction, such as health, work and safety.

The proportional odds model proposed evidences that income is a determining variable of happiness, but it is secondary to others such as the perception of well-being in health, safety and work. The results are aligned to the ones proposed in the paradox and international evidence. The borderline effect of each income quantile shows that the effect of income on happiness is marginally linear, i.e. the hypothesis that, above a certain income threshold income no longer influences people's happiness, is not fulfilled.

The restrictions of this research are based on the source of information, since happiness revealed by individuals is subjective in nature, therefore, it may

be influenced by conjunctural aspects at the time of the survey. Likewise, the scope of this research may be focused on longitudinal analysis of individuals, and how their perceptions change in the face of changes in public policy applied to their individual context, family and wealth.

Theoretical Framework

Although reflections on the relationship between income and happiness had taken place in philosophical debates since the 16th century, in 1974 the economist Richard Easterlin (1974) conducted the first empirical studies aimed to quantify the contribution of income into the well-being of individuals. This line of research arose due to the main focus on issues such as economic growth, but it was neglected that people's well-being should be the main objective of economies.

In the model of consumer according to traditional microeconomics, a greater amount of income expands the border of individual's consumer possibilities by affecting budgetary constraint. This movement increases the utility experienced by the individual. Thus, a higher income impacts positively the economic well-being. In this sense, Easterlin (1974) found that while happiness grows with income, this relationship ceases to exist after a certain threshold, in short, "money doesn't buy happiness".

There were two explanations to this counterintuitive phenomenon in traditional microeconomics: The first states that people adapt to their income and possibilities. This concentration neutralizes the effect of higher incomes as expectations of consumption, and the enjoyment increase at the same rate, and happiness is maintained at the same level. The second explanation is that people compare their current income with their previous experience or their environment, therefore, through subjective assessments, their definition of happiness arises (Frank, 1985). In consequence, well-being is a personal experience that greatly depends on the social environment. This result prompted a set of research aimed at assessing the historical correspondence between income and happiness.

Literature Review

Happiness is a subjective assessment made by a person of its cognitive and affective dimensions (Diener *et al.*, 1995). The sense of freedom and control over it is associated with a positive self-assessment of this situation (Reich and Diener, 1994). Within an imbued company by material well-being, the control relates to the position of goods and services. Thus, the reason for addressing

the determinants of happiness from a point of view of wealth (Borrero *et al.*, 2013). Here, the role of Easterlin paradox comes in, and two methodological approaches have been proposed to address it.

The first approach is through macroeconomic data such as GDP growth per capita (or other measures) that affects the average level of happiness reported. Easterlin (1995), Oishi and Kesebir (2015) and Mikucka, Sarracino y Dubrow (2017) are the most recent results. These authors found evidence that economic growth increases happiness on average, but it is required to be accompanied by a reduction in inequality. With the use of micro-data, in developed countries that income surveys are combined with perception questionnaires, there has been abundant research that validates the Easterlin paradox, although ambivalent results were found due to two effects on growth and inequality (Slag, Burger and Veenhoven, 2018). While, Tella, MacCulloch and Oswald (2003) analyzed data from the United States and 12 European countries that reveal that positive developments in macroeconomic variables are associated with the reported happiness. Japan is also an example of positive partnership between income and average happiness (Stevenson and Wolfers, 2008).

Kahneman (2002) showed with data from the United States that the increased income does not behave directly with positive variations in happiness. Similarly, in Taiwan and Malaysia, Lim, Shaw and Liao (2017) found no significant evidence. Gerstenblath, Melgar and Rossi (2013) state that income has little significance on its own when it relates to the determinants of individuals' happiness. Indeed, according to Frey and Stutzer (2002) in developed countries the increase in mean income due to higher economic growth has not brought higher levels of mean happiness in the last 50 years. For this reason, control variables have been added to improve the results. Krueger and Schkade (2007) infer that a broad group of internal and external features of individuals may correlate with subjective well-being such as employment, safety or health.

Layard, del Rey y Ramírez (2005) analyzed the World Values Survey, 50 countries in four years in the *logit* model, the authors found that Europeans were happier than Americans because they have a greater facility to socialize as they work fewer hours. The control variables were: family relationships, financial situation, relationship with work, community and friends, their perception of freedom, health and personal values, among others.

In Latin America, Godoy-Jaramillo (2019) studies the determinants of happiness in Ecuador with micro-data of Latin Barometer survey 2017. The results of the proportional odds model show that the main determinant of happiness is income, so it proposes a better distribution of income through a more progressive tax system. In Colombia, empirical research has been done related to the economy of happiness (Londoño-Vélez, 2011). And among quantitative re-

search related to the hypothesis raised in this research, Pinzón-Gutiérrez (2017) studies relative poverty based on microdata of National Quality of Life Survey of the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE, 2011). A logit model assesses the determinants of subjective poverty. The results show that income has significant relevance in the perception of poverty, but aspects such as good nutrition, perception of safety and good social ties were also relevant aspects. These results go beyond those found in Ecuador by Godoy (2019), whose main determinant is income.

In concordance with the results of this research, Cruz and Torres (2006) applied a probabilistic model of discrete choice in which health has a positive relationship with the perception of satisfaction. The fact of being unemployed decreases the options of responding whether the conditions are good or very good by 4% and 0.5%, respectively. The correspondence of age and happiness has an inverse U relationship. Its inflection occurs around 50 years old. Human capital also offers a positive relationship with happiness due to its relationship to living condition. For each education year, the probability of being satisfied with living conditions increases by 0.07%.

Based on this review, there is a need for conducting quantitative studies that encompass happiness from a perspective beyond monetary income to validate the Easterlin paradox or not.

Methodology

Data

Micro-data of Quality of Life Survey (QLS) 2017 conducted in Colombia by the DANE (2017). The survey of physical conditions of individuals such as their home, acquisition of household-sized property, etc. Likewise, an overview of socioeconomic features of individuals (age, gender, educational level and income, among others) was obtained. Finally, individual's perceptions as satisfaction with employment, health, safety and life were asked about. The 32 departments of the country were covered. This research used data from people who had reported all survey responses related to the perception module with a total of 15.2 million participants.

Table 1. Average of Chosen Variables

Gender	Age	Deviation	Per capita income	Deviation	Home size	Number
Man	46	15.7	1,057,284	2,004,597	3.34	9,581,092
Woman	49	16.8	984,622	2,105,796	3.07	5,618,847
Total	47	16.1	1,030,424	2,042,899	3.24	15,199,939

Source: Authors' based on QLS from DANE (2017)

According to QOL in this research, men have a mean of 46 years versus 49 years for women. The mean income per household is 1 million pesos with a mean household size of 3.24 people.

For this research, the variable of interest corresponds to the levels of happiness self reported by the individual. It is reported from 0 to 10 for implementation in this research; these levels are summarized in five levels from 0 to 5. This organization favored the optimization of the model and interpretation of results. The different mean levels of happiness are distributed according to income levels.

Table 2. Percentage of Population at Each Happiness Level and Income Quantile

Level of happiness	Income quantile					Total
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	
0	3.42	2.11	1.83	2.01	1.14	1.93
1	2.50	1.79	1.48	1.02	0.99	1.43
2	5.72	4.18	3.17	2.93	2.05	3.30
3	15.64	14.46	13.02	10.44	8.21	11.64
4	37.29	38.52	38.71	38.38	37.07	37.94
5	35.41	38.94	41.80	45.22	50.54	43.76

Source: Authors' Based on QLS from DANE (2017)

Descriptive analysis shows that 80% of the population has the highest levels of observed happiness (4 and 5). In the case of the high quantiles (4 and 5),

45% and 50% of the population is at the highest level of happiness. The nature of the variables identified in the QLS demonstrates the use of models to be adapted to the set of explanatory variables.

Now, the proportional odds model is used to identify the effect of income on the level of happiness in Colombian population. Figure 1 shows the target variable that is sequential ordinal.

Figure 1. Distribution of the Dependent Variable in Colombia.
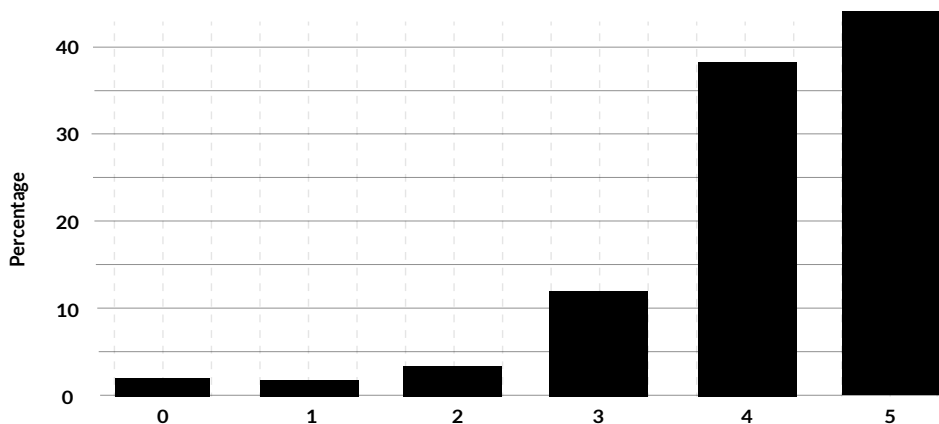
Source: Authors' Own Elaboration Based on QLS from DANE (2017).

Proportional odds models are a type of probabilistic estimation based on the existence of a continuous latent variable (Y*) which cannot be observed, but determines the observed dependent variable(Y) (Williams, 2006). This process also assumes Y as discrete and Y* nature is divided in cut-off points with a statistically significant difference among them. This can be represented as:

$$Y_1 = 1 \; si \; Y^* \leq \kappa_1$$
$$Y_2 = 1 \; si \; \kappa_1 \geq Y^* \leq \kappa_2 \qquad (1)$$
$$Y_3 = 1 \; si \; Y^* \geq \kappa_2$$

A lineal regression model served for the estimation on Y* variable:

283

$$Y^* = \sum_{k=1}^{K} B_k X_{Ki} + \varepsilon_i \;\; Si \rightarrow \;\; Z_i = \sum_{k=1}^{K} B_k X_{Ki} \Rightarrow Y^* = Z_i + \varepsilon_i \qquad (2)$$

Where i corresponds to each one of the observations in the dataset, K is the number of control variables and ε is the error. The proportional odds model demands a transformation of the expected value in the equation (1) as follows:

$$Z_i = \sum_{k=1}^{K} B_k X_{Ki} = E(Y^*) = P(\kappa_{i-1} \geq Y^* \leq \kappa_i) \qquad (3)$$

The function of Z_i takes the form of a logistic curve expressed in the following equation:

$$P(\kappa_{i-1} \geq Y^* \leq \kappa_i) = \frac{1}{1 + exp\,(Z_i - \kappa_i)} - \frac{1}{1 + exp\,(Z_i - \kappa_{i-1})} \qquad (4)$$

The impact of the coefficients obtained will depend on the influence of the amount of data to be placed within each of the categories of the target variable. The equation to be calculated in this study had an ordinal variable as dependent with six intervals based on a group of control variables that are related to the individuals' socioeconomic characteristics:

The control variables were:

- Income quintile: indicates the segment of the per capita income of the interviewee. This means the income distribution is divided into 5 intervals and a categorical variable is given to identify each individual within each one of groups.

- Health indicator: on a scale from one to five, and individuals evaluate the degree of satisfaction of their health condition.

- Work indicator: on a scale from one to five, and the individuals evaluate the degree of job satisfaction.

- Perception of security: on a scale from one to five, and individuals evaluate the degree of safety in their community.

- Type of dwelling: inquires as to whether the interviewee lives in a house, apartment or room type dwelling.

- Age: How old the interviewee is.

- Department: Where the interviewee lives.

- Gender of the interviewee

- People living in the same dwelling: Number of people living in the same dwelling.

Level of education: the highest level reached according to the Colombian education system.

The independent variable is categorical (income) that seeks to test the hypotheses of Easterlin Paradox.

$$P(\kappa_{i-1} \geq Y^* \leq \kappa_i) = f(Z_i) = \sum_{k=1}^{K} B_k X_{Ki} \qquad (5)$$

Where X_K is the vector of independent variables. The coefficients (B_k) show the change in the logarithm of the odds-on Y against a change in the unit of measurement of the variable X associated with the respective coefficient. An invlogit function of equation 3 must be used to obtain the marginal effects. The StataCorp (2013) software is used for the estimates previously appointed.

Results

Table 4 shows the results of the ordinal model estimates showing the marginal effects of each one of the independent variables on the probability of being in the highest reported happiness interval (PENF). In terms of the global fit, the model is acceptable considering that all the variables introduced showed statistical significance levels of 5% and according to the R^2 the model manages to explain 10% of the variance of the dependent variable.

Table 3. Results of the Ordinal Model Estimates. Colombia 2017

Variables	Evaluated characteristic	Marginal Effect	Error	Base characteristic
Income quantile	2	0.0456***	(0.00109)	1
	3	0.0855***	(0.00110)	
	4	0.134***	(0.00113)	
	5	0.207***	(0.00127)	
Health indicator	1	0.109***	(0.00545)	0
	2	0.319***	(0.00476)	
	3	0.499***	(0.00462)	
	4	0.712***	(0.00460)	
	5	1.115***	(0.00463)	
Work indicator	1	0.0505***	(0.00292)	0
	2	-0.0305***	(0.00247)	
	3	0.114***	(0.00221)	
	4	0.391***	(0.00218)	
	5	0.862***	(0.00225)	
Perception of security	1	0.0782***	(0.00345)	0
	2	0.0324***	(0.00295)	
	3	0.111***	(0.00277)	
	4	0.176***	(0.00273)	
		0.432***	(0.00278)	
Type of dwelling	Apartment	0.0212***	(0.000704)	House
	Room(s)	-0.0712***	(0.00193)	
	Aboriginal	-0.113***	(0.00375)	
	Others	-0.197***	(0.00978)	
Age^2		0.0455***	(0.000500)	Continuous

Variables	Evaluated characteristic	Marginal Effect	Error	Base characteristic
Department	Atlántico	-0.0507***	(0.00163)	Antioquia
	Bogotá, D.C.	-0.0995***	(0.00111)	
	Bolívar	-0.106***	(0.00164)	
	Boyacá	0.0484***	(0.00195)	
	Caldas	-0.0114***	(0.00264)	
	Caquetá	0.0323***	(0.00271)	
	Cauca	-0.0881***	(0.00184)	
	Cesar	0.148***	(0.00261)	
	Córdoba	0.144***	(0.00195)	
	Cundinamarca	-0.0923***	(0.00141)	
	Chocó	0.0358***	(0.00307)	
	Huila	0.131***	(0.00216)	
	La Guajira	-0.00775***	(0.00267)	
	Magdalena	0.0980***	(0.00259)	
	Meta	0.0297***	(0.00220)	
	Nariño	-0.0748***	(0.00177)	
	Norte de Santander	0.0967***	(0.00210)	
	Quindío	0.0101***	(0.00288)	
	Risaralda	-0.0233***	(0.00240)	
	Santander	0.0904***	(0.00168)	
	Sucre	0.0878***	(0.00273)	
	Tolima	-0.0214***	(0.00200)	
Departamento	Valle del Cauca	0.0235***	(0.00135)	Antioquia
	Arauca	0.117***	(0.00383)	
	Casanare	0.127***	(0.00382)	
	Putumayo	-0.116***	(0.00280)	
	Archipiélago de San Andrés	-0.332***	(0.00561)	
	Amazonas	0.0757***	(0.00675)	
	Guainía	-0.0507***	(0.00946)	
	Guaviare	-0.0280***	(0.00564)	
Gender	Female	-0.0425***	(0.000635)	Male

Variables	Evaluated characteristic	Marginal Effect	Error	Base characteristic
People living in the same type of dwelling	2	0.0789***	(0.00102)	1
	3	0.0571***	(0.00102)	
	4	0.102***	(0.00108)	
	More than 5	0.0649***	(0.00112)	
Level of education	Preschool	-0.160***	(0.0110)	None
	Primary school	-0.0717***	(0.00132)	
	Secondary school	-0.0450***	(0.00153)	
	Middle school	-0.0620***	(0.00146)	
	Technician with a diploma	-0.0255***	(0.00185)	
	Undergraduate degree	-0.0686***	(0.00173)	
	postgraduate degree	-0.0677***	(0.00211)	
Constant 1		0.693***	(0.00484)	
Constant 2		0.948***	(0.00482)	
Constant 3		1.316***	(0.00484)	
Constant 4		2.004***	(0.00487)	
Constant 5		3.222***	(0.00493)	

Observations	14,724,495
R2	0.09955

Source: Authors' Estimates
Standard errors in parentheses. | *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

For the interpretation of the results, the marginal effect in the continuous variables is equivalent to the percentage in which the probability of being placed increases, given a change of 1% in the independent variable of analysis. For example, an increase in the square of the individual's age affects the probability of being very happy by 0.04%. For the categorical variables, the marginal effect measures the change in the probability of being at the highest level of happiness compared to the base characteristic; for example, people who live in

apartments are 0.02% more likely to be at happiness level 5 (PENF) compared to those who live in a house.

With respect to the main hypothesis and in agreement with international evidence, individuals with higher incomes show higher levels of happiness on average. People in income quantile 5 are 0.2% more likely to be in PENF. According to these same data, the hypothesis of Kahneman (2002) in which to some extent wealth increases happiness and then it is maintained, it would not apply because the marginal change between quantiles remains constant. Moving on to the second hypothesis, on the importance of income, its effect is compared with the other conditions perceived by the individual. Figure 1 shows that individuals placed at level 5 of happiness, having a good job, safety and health outweigh quantile 5 of income. Therefore, the Easterlin Paradox is validated. It states that money does not achieve happiness in its entirety, but it must be supplemented with other aspects of life.

For the control variables, men report being happier than women, in agreement with international evidence results (Lykken and Tellegen, 1996). Social capital is also positively associated with the perception of individuals, since single-person households have a probability of -0.07% of PENF. To this respect, people with higher levels of education have -0.06% of PENF compared to those with no education level. Likewise, significant geographical differences are shown.

Figure 2. Marginal Effects by Dimensions Between Happiness Levels. Colombia 2017
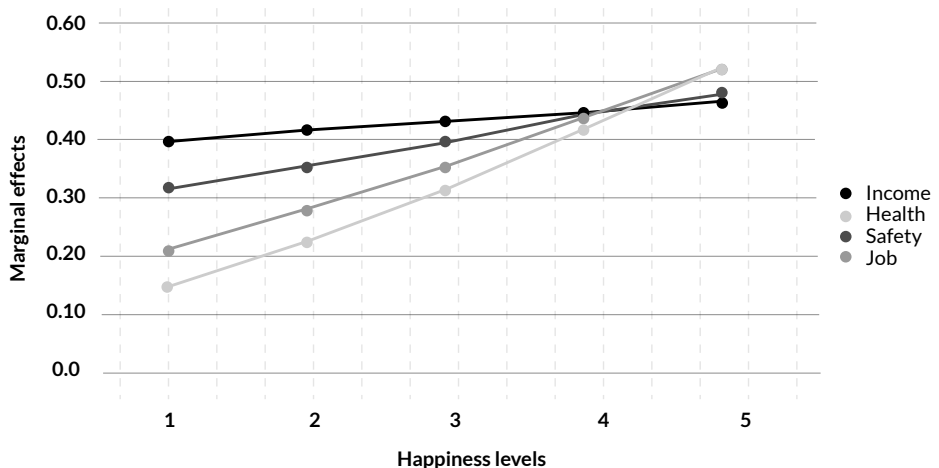
Source: Authors' Based on the Estimates of the Ordinal Model.

Conclusions

Happiness is a complex phenomenon that develops in the individual and social sphere; however, according to Veenhoven (2007), happiness implies paramount information about the quality of development models fostered by governments. For this reason, the so-called "economics of happiness" has aimed at researching its determinants in terms of material perspective of individuals. Within these studies there has been an interest in the Easterlin Paradox. This states that the relationship between income levels and happiness is not proportionally positive, that is, an increase in income does not correlate with changes in happiness, consequently, there are other determining factors that individuals consider in their perception of quality of life.

This research explored, based on data from the 2017 Quality of Life Survey in Colombia, on this paradox, that is, on the role of income in the well-being of the Colombian population. This proposed ordinal model showed that income is a determining variable of happiness, but secondary to others such as the perception of health, safety and work. These results are in agreement with those raised in the paradox and in the international evidence. Another interesting result is that the marginal effect of each income quantile shows that the effect of income on happiness is marginally linear, that is, the hypothesis as of a certain income threshold is not fulfilled. It does not have an influence on people's happiness.

The limitations of the present study are based on the source of information, because the state of happiness revealed by individuals is subjective, therefore, it may be influenced by specific circumstances at the time of this survey. Likewise, future research may be focused on longitudinal analysis of individuals and how their perceptions are different considering changes in public policy of their individual, family and wealth contexts.

References

Borrero, S.; Escobar, A. B.; Cortés, A. M.; Maya, L. C. (2013). Poor and Distressed, but Happy: Situational and Cultural Moderators of the Relationship between Wealth and Happiness. *Estudios Gerenciales, 29*(126), 2-11. https://www.icesi.edu.co/revistas/index.php/estudios_gerenciales/article/view/1592

Botello, H. A.; Ríos, G. (2014). Determinantes de la satisfacción en el empleo en el Área Metropolitana de Bucaramanga, 2008-2012. *Libre Empresa*, *11*(1), 13-25. https://doi.org/10.18041/1657-2815/libreempresa.2014v11n1.3010

Cruz, J.; Torres, J. (2006). ¿De qué depende la satisfacción subjetiva de los colombianos? *Cuadernos de Economía*, *25*(45), 131-154. https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/ceconomia/article/view/552

Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, DANE. (2011). *Encuesta nacional de calidad de vida (ECV)*. https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/salud/calidad-de-vida-ecv/encuesta-nacional-de-calidad-de-vida-2011

Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, DANE. (2017). *Encuesta nacional de calidad de vida (ECV)*. https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/salud/calidad-de-vida-ecv/encuesta-nacional-de-calidad-de-vida-ecv-2017

Diener, E.; Diener, M.; Diener, C. (1995). Factors Predicting the Subjective Well-Being of Nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(5), 851-864. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-2352-0_3

Easterlin, R. A. (1974). Does Economic Growth Improve the Human lot? Some Empirical Evidence. In *Nations and Households in Economic Growth* (pp. 89-125). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-12-205050-3.50008-7

Easterlin, R. A. (1995). Will Raising the Incomes of all Increase the Happiness of All? *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *27*(1), 35-47. https://doi.org/10.1016/0167-2681(95)00003-b

Frank, D. H. (1985). The End of the Guide: Maimonides on the Best Life for Man. *Judaism*, *34*(4), 485. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526401632.n1

Frey, B. S.; Stutzer, A. (2002). What can Economists Learn from Happiness Research? *Journal of Economic literature*, *40*(2), 402-435. https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.40.2.402

Gerstenblüth, M.; Melgar, N.; Rossi, M. (2013). Ingreso y desigualdad. ¿Cómo afectan a la felicidad en América Latina? *Cuadernos de Economía*, *32*(59), 163-

178. http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0121-47722013000100008

Godoy-Jaramillo, J. I. (2019). *La felicidad en ecuador: una aproximación a sus determinantes* (Monograph) Universidad de la Loja. https://dspace.unl.edu.ec/jspui/handle/123456789/21818

Kahneman, D. (2002). Maps of Bounded Rationality: A Perspective on Intuitive Judgment and Choice. *Nobel prize lecture, 8,* 351-401. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.58.9.697

Krueger, A. B.; Schkade, D. A. (2008). The Reliability of Subjective Well-Being Measures. *Journal of Public Economics, 92*(8-9), 1833-1845. https://doi.org/10.3386/w13027

Layard, R.; del Rey, V. E. G.; Ramírez, M. (2005). La felicidad: lecciones de una nueva ciencia. In Layard, Richard. *Felicidad: Lecciones de una nueva ciencia* (pp. 60-89). Taurus.

Lim, H. E.; Shaw, D.; Liao, P. S. (2017). Revisiting the Income-happiness Paradox: The Case of Taiwan and Malaysia. *Institutions and Economies, 4*(9), 53-69. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2883618

Londoño-Vélez, J. (2011). Movilidad social, preferencias redistributivas y felicidad en Colombia. *Revista Desarrollo y Sociedad, 68,* 171-212. https://doi.org/10.13043/dys.68.6

Lykken, D.; Tellegen, A. (1996). Happiness is a Stochastic Phenomenon. *Psychological Science, 7*(3), 186-189. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.1996.tb00355.x

Mikucka, M.; Sarracino, F.; Dubrow, J. K. (2017). When Does Economic Growth Improve Life Satisfaction? Multilevel Analysis of the Roles of Social Trust and Income Inequality in 46 Countries, 1981–2012. *World Development, 93,* 447-459. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.01.002

Oishi, S.; Kesebir, S. (2015). Income Inequality Explains Why Economic Growth Does Not Always Translate to an Increase in Happiness. *Psychological Science, 26*(10), 1630-1638. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797615596713

Pinzón-Gutiérrez, L. F. (2017). Factores asociados a la pobreza subjetiva en Colombia: un estudio desde el enfoque de las capacidades y la economía de la felicidad. *Revista Desarrollo y Sociedad, 78,* 11-57. https://doi.org/10.13043/dys.78.1

Reich, J.; Diener, E. (1994). The Road to Happiness. (Cover story). *Psychology Today, 27*(4), 32. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137321534_2

Slag, M., Burger, M. J.; Veenhoven, R. (2019). Did the Easterlin Paradox Apply in South Korea between 1980 and 2015? A Case Study. *International Review of Economics, 66*(4), 325-351. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12232-019-00325-w

Stevenson, B.; Wolfers, J. (2008). Economic Growth and Subjective Well-Being: Reassessing the Easterlin Paradox. *National Bureau of Economic Research, No. w14282.* https://doi.org/10.3386/w14282

Tella, R. D.; MacCulloch, R. J.; Oswald, A. J. (2003). The Macroeconomics of Happiness. *Review of Economics and Statistics, 85*(4), 809-827.

Torrecilla, O. D. (2005). *Clima organizacional y su relación con la productividad laboral* [Working Paper]. Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y sociales.

Revision of the Concept of Political Class and Analogues in the History of the Department of Caldas*

[English version]

Revisión del concepto clase política y análogos en la historia del departamento de Caldas

Revisão do conceito de classe política e analogias na história do departamento de Caldas

Julio Cruz**
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5867-6930
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: Review article that seeks to identify the theoretical developments of the concept of political class and its analogues; in addition, it is about capturing the differences of these concepts to show the transformations of the political class in Caldas. **Methodology:** a qualitative meta-analysis of the findings was applied, which were derived from the documentary search around the aforementioned key concepts, based on certain categories and analysis criteria. **Results:** a definition of political class was reached, understood as a group of individuals who have an organic relationship

with politics and direct interests placed in it; this, regardless of whether or not they hold public office, although they do hold political power, such as the possibility of making decisions that affect members of the public sphere. With this categorization, an analysis was made of the uses of these concepts in Colombia and Caldas. There the continuities and transformations of its political class are shown from the Antioquia Colonization to the present time, and its configuration as a leading group and the role played in the future of the department are specified. **Conclusions:** it highlights the cyclical nature of Caldense politics in relation to its political elites in light of recent events. The classic statement regarding the theory of elites is also confirmed, which assumes these groupings as a constant in all democracies.

Keywords: Political science; Political class; Oligarchy; Political elite; Dominant class; Caldas-Colombia.

Resumen

Objetivo: artículo de Revisión que busca identificar los desarrollos teóricos del concepto clase política y análogos; además, se trata de captar las diferencias de dichos conceptos para mostrar las transformaciones de la clase política en Caldas. **Metodología:** se aplicó meta-análisis cualitativo de los hallazgos, los cuales derivaron de la búsqueda documental en torno a los mencionados conceptos clave, a partir de determinadas categorías y criterios de análisis. **Resultados:** se llegó a una definición de clase política, entendida como grupo de individuos que tienen una relación orgánica con la política e intereses directos puestos en ella; esto, independientemente de que ejerzan o no un cargo público, aunque sí el poder político, como la posibilidad de tomar decisiones que afecten a los miembros de la esfera pública. Con esta categorización se hizo un análisis de los usos de estos conceptos en Colombia y Caldas. Allí se muestran las continuidades y transformaciones de su clase política desde la Colonización Antioqueña hasta la época actual, y se especifica su configuración como grupo dirigente y el papel desempeñado en el devenir del departamento. **Conclusiones:** se destaca el carácter cíclico de la política caldense en relación con sus élites políticas a la luz de los acontecimientos recientes. También se confirma la afirmación clásica en cuanto a la teoría de las élites, la cual asume estas agrupaciones como una constante en todas las democracias.

Palabras-clave: Ciencia política; Clase política; Oligarquía; Élite política; Clase dominante; Caldas-Colombia.

Resumo

Objetivo: artigo de revisão que busca identificar os desdobramentos teóricos do conceito de classe política e seus análogos; além disso, trata-se de captar as diferenças desses conceitos para mostrar as transformações da classe política em Caldas. **Metodologia:** aplicou-se uma meta-análise qualitativa dos achados, derivados da busca documental em torno dos conceitos-chave mencionados, com base em determinadas categorias e critérios de análise. **Resultados:** chegou-se a uma definição de classe política, entendida como um conjunto de indivíduos que têm uma relação orgânica com a política e interesses diretos nela colocados; isto, independentemente de exercerem ou não cargos públicos, embora detenham poder político, como a possibilidade de tomar decisões que afetam membros da esfera pública. Com essa categorização, foi feita uma análise dos usos desses conceitos na Colômbia e Caldas. Nela se mostram as continuidades e transformações de sua classe política desde a colonização de Antioquia até a atualidade, especificando-se sua configuração como grupo dirigente e o papel desempenhado no futuro do departamento. **Conclusões:** destaca a natureza cíclica da política caldense em relação às suas elites políticas à luz dos acontecimentos recentes. Também se confirma a afirmação clássica a respeito da teoria das elites, que assume esses agrupamentos como uma constante em todas as democracias.

Palavras-chave: Ciência Política; Classe política; Oligarquia; Elite política; Classe dominante; Caldas-Colômbia.

Introduction

The division between the group of people who perform government functions and those who are governed has been a matter of debate since ancient times. This social division was not alien to the classical philosophical tradition, since from there it has become a field of research for disciplines of the social sciences. From the Hellenic philosophical tradition, which asked questions about the wealthy minority that exercised power, called the oligarchy, sociology has debated about the social relations inherent in the constitution of elites, and political science has wanted to do this field one of his objects of study.

The developments of these ideas range from positions that envision a monolithic and closed elite to those that speak of pluralism, from positive views of the division between the rulers and the ruled, to those that subscribe to the tradition of the homologous, greedy oligarchy. The discussion held for several years between the schools of thought around this issue has fed back the positions and led to conclusions that offer a sharper and deeper look at the issue.

In the case of the regions, there are also analyses that account for the particularities of the exercise of power in administratively less extensive contexts than the nation-state, the divergences that occur between one and the other, their continuities and convergent points. Likewise, it is important to take into account the role of armed conflicts in shaping elites and the relationships established between the violent and professional politicians.

This study develops a bibliographic review with which a theoretical body is built from which the development of the political class in Colombia is interpreted and, particularly, in the department of Caldas, it takes as its historical starting point the process of the Antioquia Colonization and up to the present. The analysis and comparison of these concepts, commonly used by both academics and the general public, should show their heuristic capacity in the context of Caldas, the relevance, limitations and precision of their application. In this sense, the analysis will serve as a theoretical support that enriches the debate and academic and political reflection in the region in relation to its leading sector, its perspectives and the role that citizens play in its configuration, current situation and eventual change, if necessary.

Methodology

The methodological path of this review article was based on a compilation of research works around the concepts of political elites, oligarchy, ruling class,

political class and corporatism as concepts, specifically in the department of Caldas and a general panorama for the Colombian case.

The analysis texts were selected under the following criteria: referring to the issue of public relations and power, that is, politics, specifically to the ruling minorities under the concepts already mentioned; the significance of their postulates, which allows them to be considered classics on this subject; its actuality in relation to national and regional contexts; referring to the political history of the department of Caldas in the period of time addressed from 1980 to 2006.

The information collected was categorized according to this classification and the corresponding analysis is made, consisting of the relationship between the authors and their postulates, for which the approach of Sartori (1970) on the comparison of concepts in political science was taken as a guide. This analysis is determined by the categories of minority government, public power, power relations, exercise of power, and elite theory.

Results

Oligarchy, Elite, Political Class... Avatars of a Definition

There is no consensus in the social sciences on how to conceptually nominate the social groups that exercise power. However, a copious bibliography can be found on the matter. Bobbio (1981, 1982) makes an important contribution to this discussion based on the concepts of oligarchy and the theory of elites. With regard to the oligarchy, this author highlights two traditions: the one that uses it in a pejorative sense, as a synonym for the government of the rich, and the one that applies it descriptively to refer to the government of a few, a meaning closer to its etymology.

On the other hand, the concept of political class appears in Mosca (1984) and that of the ruling class is typical of much of the Marxist tradition. Regarding the concept of the elite, the debate will be assumed based on the elitism / pluralism / Marxism discussion that is its own. The main findings are shown below based on the significance and / or topicality of the theories developed and the definitions provided, in relation to the public exercise of power, its relations and the government of minorities.

Oligarchy.

In the search for the discriminatory power of the concept in question (Sartori, 1970), it can be affirmed that there is consensus among the exponents of

political philosophy, both classical and modern, regarding the positive / negative character of the aristocracy / oligarchy dyad respectively and to the opposition of the latter to democracy.

The oligarchy is defined, according to the ancient Greek tradition - from which the term emerges - as the government in which the mandate corresponds to the rich, since the social organization is based on individual possessions (Plato, 1986, p. 238); constitutes a perverted form of government in relation to the aristocracy, a form of government par excellence (pp. 232-233), insofar as it governs for itself and not for its subjects (Aristotle, 2004, p. 96); that is to say, it becomes a degenerate form of this, since the privilege falls on the possession of wealth, which contradicts the moral principles of the government (Rousseau, 2004, p. 101).

The reasons for this corruption lie in the inheritance of power by the nobility, which appears already when the nobility rules for itself instead of for the subjects (Montesquieu, 1984, p. 114), or in other words, the predominance of greed over virtue (Plato, 1986, p. 232).

At first glance it may seem that the definition of oligarchy is limited to the possession of wealth by those who exercise the government, the main reason for its derogatory character, mainly in the classical Greek tradition (Bobbio, 1982, p. 1118) and would move away from the idea of government of a few, as indicated by its etymology. But a closer look shows that, to the extent that the oligarchy is presented as the negative form of the aristocracy or government of the most capable of a society, the idea of a minority is implicit, since in any social group both better than the rich are usually few (Aristotle, 2004, p. 96), which reinforces the contemptuous character that this denomination possesses to this day (Bobbio, 1982, p. 1118).

This argument does not satisfy the need for an exhaustive definition of the concept, since it avoids the debate on the essence of the oligarchy in relation to the minority or wealth. Along the same lines is the consideration of democracy as a government of the poor (Plato, 1986, pp. 232-233), who should be considered as the majority. It can be argued that the arrival of workers' parties in the administration of the State complies with the minority precept but not with that of wealth and, even so, constitutes an oligarchy.

Other definitions that escape this comparative framework (Sartori, 1970) refer to the oligarchy simply as the name that its dissatisfied subjects give to the aristocracy (Hobbes, 1994, p. 151), or as the form of government that leaves the power to make laws to a select few men (Locke, 1985, p. 91), without mentioning anything about their wealth, but referring to the minority character of this form of government. Thus, the concept of oligarchy is more useful when it is

assumed in its meaning of government of the few than when it is taken as the government of the rich, since the latter carries the problems already mentioned.

Theory of Elites.

From another theoretical perspective, the derogatory nature of the term oligarchy is reduced, since the idea of government of the wealthy loses weight. The theory of elites is based on the idea that "all the governments that existed and those that will exist have always been governments of a few (…), governments of organized minorities, or of elites" (Bobbio, 1982, p. 1119), [Own translation] ergo, they are oligarchic. Thus, both in democracies and monarchies, the rulers constitute an organized group that holds political power, regardless of their economic condition (although Aristotle's presumption is still valid).

The development of this theory is supported by sociology, to affirm that the degree and magnitude of organization of the ruling elite must be observed to understand the sources of its power. From there derives the thesis of the existence in all political organisms of a ruling class and a governed class, which is later called the ruling or political class interchangeably (Mosca, 1984, p. 87). Another perspective was more concerned with the struggles between the elites; the relationships between these lead to a theory of social equilibrium (Pareto, 1980).

Applications of the first mentioned perspective have been tested on a smaller scale, since it refers to large social groups (the State or regional and local governments), through empirical work in political parties that showed how differences also operate in these contexts between a directed mass and a ruling elite (Michels, 1972) which, incidentally, is called the oligarchy; in fact, this theorist is the author of the famous *hard law of the oligarchy*, expressed in the following terms: "The organization is what gives rise to the dominance of the elected over the electors, of the leaders over the constituents, of the delegates over the ones who delegate. He who speaks of organization, speaks of oligarchy" (Michels, 1972, p. 189). [Own translation]

This theory starts from a convergent definition of elites, understood as those social groups that occupy the upper social strata in terms of power and wealth, and political elites as those that have the ability to make decisions that affect at the same time the members of the group they belong to (Bolívar, 2002). This confirms its belonging to the same convergent conceptual body, characterized by the conservative and monolithic gaze of the elites, critical of liberal democracy, but distinguishable from other traditions referring to the same phenomenon, with which it can be compared (Sartori, 1970).

Subsequent developments of this sociological gaze have led to what is called *social characteristics of elites* (Coller, 1999). In this order of ideas, analyses focused on the idea that social origins and education have a specific weight in the formation of political elites are brought up (Mills, 1987, pp. 25-26). To this is added that the social characteristics of the elites tend to be similar, thus creating a kind of dominant socio-political caste (Putman, 1976), an opinion shared by other authors who observed the American case (Coller, 1999). These theses are also included in the monolithic approach to the elites, distinguishable from the approach previously analyzed basically for dealing with more current issues and therefore within the framework of more complex social relations.

Liberal and pluralist currents have criticized the monolithic character of the elite that Mills (1987) presents, and argue that in complex societies, such as the United States, there are several elites that fight for power and distribute it to each other, something that is in the way of Putman's idea (1976). In this vein, we talk about the impossibility of empirically testing the thesis of the monolithic elite of Mills (1987) by showing that its composition is not well defined (Dahl, 1958, p. 466). Another perspective adds that the fundamental characteristic of competition between elites in democracies is the struggle for the popular vote (Schumpeter, 1983, again in line with Putman, 1976, pp. 359-360). Thus, the postulate of Aron (1950) about the difference between the organized and unified Soviet elite and the divided western elites can be mentioned (p. 10). Another idea maintains that it is not possible to constrain the analysis of power in general and of elites in particular, and proposes to address the question taking into account both the explicit and the hidden dimensions (Lukes, 2007, p. 69).

A position close to pluralism, but far from liberalism is that embodied by neo-corporatism, a current that draws from the Keynesian Welfare State and that conceives the relationship between elites as a negotiation in which all groups can participate and obtain influence, in exchange for sacrificing some of their demands, since none of these groups has sufficient capacity to impose their interests on the others.

The negotiation is arranged with the State itself, given that this current starts from the budget of capitalist social relations, and that the State does not have autonomy from these elites. The fundamental objective of this approach is "inter-organizational agreement, that is, negotiation between a limited and exclusive group of organizations, which mutually recognize *status* and the ability to reach and apply relatively stable commitments" (Schmitter, 1985, p. 67). [Own translation]

Other contemporary approaches have focused on the characteristics of the political elites beyond the simplistic and mechanical division between the rulers and the governed mass, which includes the types of elites, their qualities,

their forms of recruitment among others, which derives from considering the study of elites as a specific social group (Blondel and Müller-Rommel, 2007); the influence of the personality traits of the members of the political elite in the public decisions of a territorial unit (Arana-Araya, 2016); in addition, the characteristics of the elites as the basis for the formation of sociopolitical coalitions and the definition of the variations of the political parties (Best and Cotta, 2000; Lispet and Rokkan, 1967). Therefore, in this case it is possible to say that the concept of elite theory has a holistic analytical utility, since both the conservative and monolithic stance and the pluralist and neo-corporate critiques allow configuring a broad and complete view of the phenomenon addressed here, in relation both with its internal logic and with the external aspects related to the different types of society that we speak of.

Political Class.

The following authors are explicit in marking a theoretical difference between political class and the political elite:

> Unlike the concept of the political elite, that of political class does not specifically refer to individuals who hold positions of special power and influence, but rather refers to the larger and also more easily identifiable group of individuals who make a living from politics. The political class possess peculiar interests and perspectives as a consequence of the positions they occupy and the roles they play in social life (Alcántara and Llamazares, 1997, pp. 15-16). [Own translation]

Thus, the political elite here refers to professional politicians, not necessarily related to the oligarchy, and is closer to the idea of technocrats in the public administration. The term political class has a lot of presence in the literature on elites – as seen in Bobbio (1981) –, however its use is usually relaxed and generic. It seems that in front of this denomination there is a reference lacking a conceptual body on which analysis with scientific pretension can be made (Sartori, 1970). However, it is preserved to maintain the possibility of comparison with the other concepts addressed and because its use in political science is widespread.

Ruling Class.

From the other ideological camp, Marxism has criticized the theory of the elites as a whole. For the representatives of this school of thought, the pluralist

version of the theory of elites is incompatible with social reality, since political power is almost exclusively concentrated in those who hold private property over the means of production. Hence the concept of the ruling class, a Marxist version of the elite or the oligarchy. The concept of class becomes fundamental in this current, and refers to the social grouping of subjects according to their position with respect to the means of production; its holders make up the different sectors of the bourgeoisie, while the dispossessed swell the ranks of the proletarian mass (Marx and Engels, 1973, pp. 31-32).

Now, there is in the Marxist tradition a concept that is related to the debate for political power, but it is not comparable with the classic idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which this social class forcibly assumes control of the State to institute from there socialism and undermine the bourgeois counterrevolution. The concept of hegemony considers the cultural aspect as a strategic possibility to maintain the revolutionary objectives once the political victory has been achieved, for which consensus and force are combined:

> The "normal" exercise of hegemony is characterized by a combination of force and consensus that are balanced, without force overcoming the consensus too much, but rather appearing supported by the consensus of the majority expressed by the so-called organs of the public opinion (Gramsci, 1981, p. 124). [Own translation]

These bodies of public opinion are the institutions of civil society created voluntarily, and that serve to spread the ideas of the rulers (press, church, parties, schools, NGOs, research groups, etc.). This is one of the two tactics that guarantee the hegemony of the rulers; the other is the group of intellectuals who are in charge of communicating the dominant ideas to the dominated, without neglecting the possibility of repression when necessary. Thus, "hegemony… included both the obtaining by the rulers of the consent of the governed and the application of the necessary coercion to enforce their orders" (Anderson, 2018, p. 31). [Own translation]. Despite the fact that the concept of the ruling class is increasingly rare in the literature on politics, its contributions are still present in the debate, and it continues to be useful given its heuristic power against the phenomenon of power today.

Thus, and after carrying out a comparative exercise of the concepts that refer to minorities in power (Sartori, 1970), for the purposes of this article we will appeal to the concept of political class understood as the group of individuals who have an organic relationship with politics and direct interests placed on it, regardless of whether or not they hold public office (Alcántara and Llamazares, 1997, pp. 15-16), but bearing in mind that they can exercise political power,

understood as the possibility of making decisions that affect members of the public sphere (Bolívar, 2002, p. 388). This definition is preferred to that of the elite, since it has a connotation very close to that of aristocracy, understood as a select minority, that is, superior, and therefore better empowered to exercise governing functions, in the line of Plato (1986) and Aristotle (2004).

The concept of oligarchy is not adequate either, given its negative semantic load and the marked ideological use that it has acquired, and the conceptual proximity of all the theoretical traditions addressed is highlighted. Therefore, the concept of political class encompasses other-aspects, remembering that class is referred to not in the Marxist sense that links it to the economic aspect, but as a group of individuals, that is, in a sociological key.

The Constitution of the Political Class in Caldas

When going from national to regional analysis, it must be taken into account that there is a difference between the two, which consists of the different political dynamics that operate in each scenario. The tendency of the country to have a few families or predominant political groups is also observed in the case of Caldas, as will be seen later, without always speaking of the same groups. In the regions there are some elites that control the strategic positions of the public administration on an oligarchic basis, but these do not necessarily have the same influence at the national level; its domain is limited, in most cases, to its locality (Jaramillo, 2009).

A different situation is that the regional elites have dialogue with the national administration, which is for their own benefit, as is the case in Caldas. Thus, a thesis like Avila's (2018) would not contradict this reality in the regions. On the other hand, it is also pertinent to point out that violence has been a phenomenon that has largely contributed to the configuration of regional elites throughout the country's history, from the independence processes to the recent armed conflict, through the period after the assassination of Gaitán; Caldas has not been immune to this situation (Christie, 1986; Jaramillo, 2009; Rivas, 2016).

The Colonization of Antioquia.

Much has been said about this process in terms of the reasons that try to explain its development. One of the controversies that arise among the authors who have written about the aforementioned colonization has to do with the social character of the colonization. For example, the Manizalean political cacique Luis Guillermo Giraldo affirms that a difference must be established between colonization and foundation: colonization was popular, peasant and spontaneous;

the foundation was made by elites (Giraldo, 2015, p. 354). But the details of this process, exceed the purposes of this article.

The truth is that, either as initiators or as continuators, the economically and politically privileged sectors of Antioquia soon assumed the direction of colonization and its consequent dominance over the newly founded territory. Proof of this is the way in which conflicts of interest are resolved between poor settlers and the owners and heirs of the old colonial concessions, such as Aranzazu and Villegas, with the appearance of new actors such as the González Salazar and friends, a commercial company of rural properties that acted in defense of the interests of the legal owners (although not inhabitants or producers) of the properties. The struggle between Juan de Dios Aranzazu, heir to the aforementioned concession and, ultimately, President of the Republic, and the inhabitants of their territories, shows this relationship between possessors and dispossessed:

> Doctor Aranzazu could not honor the previous Capitulators. The lands have been distributed but they are not the best or the closest, nor the ones with the clearest legal title. And he does not expel the settlers who did not reach land, but encourages them to continue clearing the forest and opening fields so that, when he can organize and claim them, he finds them developed and in production (De los Ríos, 1983, p. 435). [Own translation]

In the midst of these legal junctures, the municipalities of Caldas continue to be founded, many of them before the date of formalization of the department as an administrative unit different from Antioquia in 1905. And soon, in these municipalities, a group with economic and political power will emerge that will take the place of the old colonial structures and will establish a form of oligarchic domination that will mix large-estate forms of production with political power based on lineage, surnames, and tradition (Ocampo, 1972; Christie, 1986).

Now, the idea of oligarchy, presented by Ocampo (1972, pp. 13-22) and Christie (1986, pp. 37-47)from a Marxist perspective, explicit in the former and with the support of the latter, is based on the organization closed of the families that by the mid-nineteenth century already exercised political and economic control in Manizales and other municipalities of this region in an almost exclusive and excluding way, which resulted in the submission of other social groups and an eminently negative postulation of the aforementioned concept, according to Bobbio (1982).

This process would be strengthened by the rapid economic progress experienced by Manizales after 1850, when factors such as its strategic location and the civil wars of 1860 and 1874 contributed to this mountaintop town attrac-

ting merchants, miners and men from businesses from other latitudes to make investments there:

> Thus, two stages are observed in colonization. The first includes the production of subsistence items on the settlers' plots during the first years, and when these products do not have a good market. The second comes from the appreciation of the land due to the increase in the market for subsistence agricultural products or due to the possibilities of the production of commercial items such as tobacco, sugarcane or grass for livestock (Valencia, 1990, p. 211). [Own translation].

This would economically and politically empower the aforementioned local oligarchy to the point that it would go from being an agricultural and latifundist bourgeoisie to becoming a commercial bourgeoisie (Ocampo, 1972), whose power would later increase with the arrival of coffee in the region, the importance of this product for the economic development of the country (Gallo, 1974), the dialogue that this allowed with the national political class through the National Federation of Coffee Growers (Christie, 1986; Ocampo, 1972), and the expansion of communication channels (Valencia, 1990).

The political class that is configured in the heat of these events is acquiring peculiarities typical of its Antioquian heritage (Jaramillo, 2009, pp. 242-243), but strengthened by its own future, which revolves around the community's character, with a strong influence of values such as conservatism, the Catholic religion and the feverish past of the muleteers, ingredients of the founding myth of a thriving race and different from those not belonging to said elite (Santofimio, 2006, p. 316).

Thus, a social structure can be evidenced that already has the characteristics of the relationship between leading and directed sectors, between an economically and politically dominant class and a dominated population, between an elite and the mass, between the oligarchy and the common people (Plato, 1986; Aristotle, 2004). A situation that can be traced back to the Spanish Colony itself, whether or not there are continuity ties between the old and new rulers, which is less important here insofar as, as Mosca (1984) and Pareto (1980), in all social formations there have been and are the rulers and the ruled. There were those who existed in the Spanish Reign, who were brought to America with some necessary adaptations, and there were, of course, those present in the indigenous society (Valencia, 2010) defeated by the colonizers. There were those in the State of Antioquia and there were later in its Southern province, then continuing in the era of the autonomous department of Caldas.

Formalization and Splitting of Gran Caldas.

On April 11, 1905, during the government of Rafael Reyes, the department of Caldas was officially created by Law 17 of that year, which in its third article reads as follows:

> The Department of Caldas is created between the Departments of Antioquia and Cauca, whose territory will be delimited as follows:
> The Arma River, from its source to the Cauca River; this upstream to the Arquía ravine, which is the limit of the Province of Marmato. The Robledo and Marmato Provinces will be included within the Department of Caldas, due to the legal limits they have today, as well as the South Province of the Department of Antioquia.
> **Paragraph**. The capital of this Department will be the city of Manizales (Congress of the Republic of Colombia, 1905, p. 2). [Own translation].

Since 1904 a new territorial division for Colombia had been discussed, and this administrative unit finally called Caldas (previously it was called Córdoba) had been considered, among other things, as a way to separate the departments of Antioquia (conservative) and Cauca (liberal), protagonists of bitter armed disputes during the civil wars of the 19th century. "This proposal had been supported by the leaders Daniel Gutiérrez Arango and Aquilino Villegas, from the columns of El Correo del Sur and by Bonifacio Vélez, who had been Prefect" (Valencia, 2015, p. 45). The protest in Antioquia did not have the effect of reversing the decision, since "the elite of Manizales began to have autonomy from those in Medellín and managed to maintain the designation of the Department of Caldas as an independent entity" (López and Correa, 2012, pp. 190-191). [Own translation].

Despite the cultural affinities that can be found around coffee among the three great regions that this department united, there were profound differences between the leading sectors of Armenia and Pereira with the appointment of Manizales as the capital of the entire department. The truth is that Manizales at that time concentrated a good part of the merchandise traffic to and from abroad, it was still a commercial hub, it controlled the main commercial routes and, therefore, it lived a privileged moment in economic matters, which was ahead of the world and the other cities of the coffee region (Christie, 1986; Ocampo, 1972; Valencia, 1990).

In accordance with the above, the Manizalean leadership sought to make the leap from town to city, with the aim of achieving coherence between its economic moment and its national importance. In this regard, policies were

designed to improve the architecture and infrastructure of the municipality (Valencia, 2015, pp. 49-52), parallel to the promotion of literature, history, the exaltation of the Paisa legacy and other similar cultural activities, in order to achieve a degree of differentiation with claims of superiority, both in Manizales and in other nearby municipalities (Christie, 1986; Jaramillo, 2009), an idea very close to that of Plato's aristocracy (1986).

Strong economic groups continued to grow in the agricultural, coffee and commercial spheres, in parallel with the political dominance that they maintained especially in the Manizales area of influence and the claims of literary, architectural and cultural elevation (Jaramillo, 2009; Ocampo, 1972; Christie, 1986).

However, towards the beginning of the 1930s, Manizales was losing national position with respect to the four main cities of the country (Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, Barranquilla) and even compared to neighboring Pereira with regard to industrial development (Jaramillo, 2008; Rodríguez, 1983). Although there were some industrial companies in Manizales, the real impulse to this sector of production began in the 50s, and had its greatest deployment in the 60s by the hand of a group of friends known as *Los Azucenos* (Ocampo, 1972; Jaramillo, 2008; Rodríguez, 1983).

Belonging to the traditional families of the city, these young people carried out business management tasks aimed at making Caldas and its capital the industrial epicenter of Colombia, as had happened before in the commercial and coffee sectors. The process was even accompanied by the necessary correlate of financial development with the creation of the Banco de Caldas, Seguros Atlas, the National Coffee Fund and, mainly, the Corporación Financiera de Caldas, in which the bar of *Los Azucenos* had great influence (Rodríguez, 1983, pp. 60-65). At the same time, the political class of Manizales made a commitment to maintain their class dominance in politics, for which they made investments in the creation of charitable, religious and union associations related to their ideas (Drake, 1973).

As a summary, it is worth saying that, in his study on industrial development in Old Caldas, Rodríguez (1983) shows the configuration of the business and political groups of Manizales and Pereira and concludes, in line with Coller (1999), that the Manizales oligarchy has always been more closed, contrary to that of Pereira, which may have repercussions on subsequent industrial developments in both cities.

However, the impulse quickly gave way to a great disappointment, the companies created or intervened were gradually extinguished or reduced to mediocre results and the industrial development of Caldas was left in a simple frustrated yearning. To this failure of the Caldense ruling class another problem

of enormous consequences for the recent history of the department was added: the separation of Quindío and Risaralda in 1966.

Several reasons are adduced to explain this event, among them the problem of the distances between Manizales and more remote sectors such as Quindío, the development shown by Armenia and Pereira in the face of the economic stagnation of the capital, the tensions between the conservative north and the southwest liberal, including factors associated with the period of La Violencia, the heroic self-proclamation of the managers of the "liberation" of Risaralda and Quindío, among others (Alzate, 1984).

But one of the decisive factors had to do with the exclusivist and gregarious nature of the Manizalean oligarchy, which has always strived to exclude the leadership of Pereira and Armenia from the important decisions of the department and to maintain economic control of the region that concentrated the institutions and the budget (Christie, 1986; López, 2011). This shows one of the perverse effects of what Mills (1987) calls monolithic elites, or Bobbio (1982) calls oligarchy, sustained in the classical tradition.

At this point, the concept of oligarchy continues to be useful to qualify the minority groups of power in Caldas, since they support their dominance in the economic position and assume aristocratic traits that, however, do not benefit the population, ergo they become a perverted form of it (Plato, 1986; Aristotle, 2004; Rousseau 2004; Montesquieu, 1984). However, the specialization of this group with respect to administrative management bodies makes the concept insufficient, which makes the category of political class more useful (Alcántara and Llamazares, 1997) and to a lesser extent that of the political elite.

The Political Class of Caldas After the Split

What was previously said is confirmed in this period (from 1980 to 2006) in the history of Caldas, when the different events will show the professionalization of a political class (Alcántara and Llamazares, 1997), albeit with elitist and oligarchic characteristics, far removed of the traditional sectors that best fit these denominations. As a result of the separation of Risaralda and Quindío, the political class of Manizales had a free hand to dispose of the new department at their whim (Jaramillo, 2009). The time of the *Grecocaldenses* or *Grecoquimbayas* had been left behind; now began the era of the *Baroque-Caldenses*, a way to call the ruling class that has its region as its own business:

> The passage from the Grecocaldenses to the Baroque-Caldas coincides with the partition of Caldas, which shows that the old Caldas was national, what are created are provinces that lose national figuration. Added to this is the political

crisis caused by the robbery of Caldas, by senators Ómar Yepes, Víctor Renán Barco, Dilia Estrada, Luis Guillermo Giraldo, Governor Guillermo Ocampo Ospina and others, with whom a loss of interest occurs at the political level on the part of the traditional ruling class and a separation between those who manage private companies and those who manage public affairs (Jaramillo, 2009, pp. 244-245). [Own translation].

Here we express a way of pointing out the local caciques or *gamonales*, the most clientelistic way of managing politics in the regions, an idea supported by Peralta (2010, p. 188), for whom the barcoyepista hegemony is directly related to the social crisis lived by the department in the late 90s. This thesis contrasts with what was said by Christie (1986, pp. 119-133), for whom the power of the *gamonales* was reduced to the extent that the national State managed to make a greater presence in the regions, which occurred after the 1950s - something in which they coincide with Ansaldi (1991) and Becerra (2012).

The truth is that, regardless of the controversy, political power in Caldas from the 70's was concentrated in the hands of professional politicians, according to Bolívar (2002) influential at the national level and possessed of practically administrative and electoral control. Incontestable during the time of the so-called "*barcoyepista coalition*", a tacit pact between the Liberal and Conservative parties to distribute the public offices of the department for periods, especially the Government of Caldas and the Mayor's Office of Manizales; a kind of Caldense National Front (Sierra, 1998). The latter was also the cause of corruption scandals such as the one called *Robo a Caldas*, which did not have any important political consequences due to the loss of power by the class that held it (Jaramillo, 2009).

The enormous political power that Barco, Yepes and Giraldo managed to accumulate from the Senate of the Republic was such that they had a fluid dialogue with the National Government as visible heads and leaders of their respective parties, which had repercussions on the possibility of giving gifts in the municipalities of Caldas and that, in turn, resulted in the reproduction of their hegemony. The constitution of this elite, pluralistic in theory but monolithic in practice, had varied and negative repercussions for the department, among which are the questioning of the democratic exercise in Caldas, the fracture with the traditional elites, the consequent economic stagnation of the region and the popularization and roots of political practices such as vote buying and clientelism (Hernández, 2015, pp. 17-18).

The 21st century marked the beginning of the end of the *Coalition*, something that was expressed in the gradual loss of some minor mayors, then also that of Manizales, until losing the Governor of Caldas in 2013 (Hernández,

2015, pp. 25- 31). The explanation for this phenomenon is given by the electoral opening of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the erosion of the alliance, the retirement of the Senate chiefs and the emergence of new leaderships (Jaramillo, 2009, p. 247) promoted under the shadow of Álvaro Uribe, plus the conservative dissent promoted by Luis Emilio Sierra (Hernández, 2015, p. 26).

One more event that undermined the *Coalition*, especially with regard to the Liberal Party, had to do with the revelation of the relationships between politicians belonging to this community and paramilitary groups in the region, a phenomenon known as the *Parapolitics*. In this scandal, the then to-be heir to the Barco emporium, Dixon Ferney Tapasco, was condemned, also accused of being the intellectual author of the murder of the deputy editor of the newspaper La Patria, Orlando Sierra. Along with him, other members of the red party were accused and convicted, as well as members of the Partido de la U (Marín, 2011), one of the supposed new regional leaderships, which shows that the aforementioned alternative of power that these parties represented only it meant in many cases the return of the old oligarchies, now under an authoritarian discourse.

Apart from the false political renewal represented by the Uribista parties in Caldas, and with an alternative sector divided and without real options for victory, now the department finds that the old representatives of the *Coalition*, Omar Yepes, are returning to the political scene (La Patria, 2019a) and Luis Guillermo Giraldo (La Patria, 2019b), in a hopeless struggle between political elites that inevitably and sadly recalls the sentence of Marx (1973) in *The Brumaire Eighteen of Luis Bonaparte*: "history is repeated twice: the first as a tragedy and the second as a farce "(p. 408).

Conclusions

From this review, it can be concluded that the concept of oligarchy is usually the one with the greatest application by scholars of leading social groups, even if it does not conform to a rigorous definition in all cases, or if there are differences in its use between the theorists who apply it. It is still common to find definitions that tend to refer to the economic aspects of the leading sector, while others appeal rather to both this and the political factor, which is essential for this category. A derogatory use of the term oligarchy is characteristic of almost all authors, as was the case in classical Greece, which shows a semantic continuity that allows, at least in this regard, a certain degree of convergence.

The concept of the political elite does not enjoy the same fame that it has in the United States, despite the fact that it is generally associated with the concept of democracy, so developed in these latitudes. What can be adduced in this regard is that the Marxist school and other related theories have preferred a concept such as oligarchy (when not the most ideologically charged with the dominant class or bourgeoisie) to refer to the social sectors with political power.

In general terms, it could be observed that the conceptual differences are not actually so deep or categorical and that those who appeal to any of the aforementioned terms tend to do so interchangeably, sometimes even as synonyms. This confirms the relevance of the categories and analysis criteria taken into account for the realization of this article. The general reference, both in the commonly used sense and in the academic, points to a social group that has a privileged position in economic and sometimes family terms, and that is characterized by largely controlling the institutions from which political power is exercised. The relationship between this and economic power is usually interpreted as inherent to that of each of the concepts.

Despite this, the idea of assuming the concept of political class as the one most useful to characterize the Caldense political panorama is reaffirmed, insofar as it better expresses its concrete situation, especially the current one, without leaving aside that it does not end up being sufficient to expose the phenomenon, so the appeal to the concepts of oligarchy, elite and ruling class continue to be valid and, incidentally, justify the syncretism found in the bibliographic references.

Although concepts such as oligarchy and political class are regularly used in the Colombian context, not so many academic studies were found in this regard and, on the contrary, a good number of journalistic references were found, most of which make an application without rigor of these categories. This is an indicator of the use that the general public makes of concepts like oligarchy and political class, and shows a divorce between the press and the academy that results in the type of influence on common sense.

It can be seen that in Caldas, particularly in Manizales, there has been a closed group of political leaders since its foundation, a monolithic political class that has displaced other sectors from the possibility of governing. At one point in history, there was a split between the political class and the economic sectors, which led to Caldas having poor business performance and losing prominence on the national scene, with the consequent perpetuation of the aforementioned political group in administratively advantageous positions. Despite the change in the configuration of the political class in recent years, a panorama of plurality is not in sight, and rather it is observed how the old castes return to the public scene.

Finally, the use of the concept of political class is highlighted as the most suitable for naming the phenomenon addressed here, insofar as it emphasizes the aspect of the decision-making power of a social group over others, and encompasses the centrality of the ideas of the elite, the oligarchy and the ruling class. It is recalled that the term class does not have in this case the Marxist connotation that links it exclusively with economic aspects and refers to politics as the mere plane of the superstructure. It is also clear that there is still a lot still to be addressed in this area, for example the view of the political class from the Latin American perspective, particularly from decolonial studies, which may be the subject of future research.

References

Alcántara, M.; Llamazares, I. (1997). El análisis de los diputados latinoamericanos en el contexto de los estudios sobre la clase política. Características, objetivos y estrategias de investigación. *América Latina Hoy, 16*(8), 15-28. https://revistas.usal.es/index.php/1130-2887/article/view/2084

Alzate, G. (1984). *Desmembración de la mariposa verde.* Fondo Mixto de las Artes y la Cultura.

Anderson, P. (2018). *La palabra H. Peripecias de la hegemonía.* Akal.

Ansaldi, W. (1991). *Frívola y casquivana, mano de hierro en guante de seda. Una propuesta para conceptualizar el término oligarquía en América Latina* [Working Paper]. http://www.iunma.edu.ar/doc/MB/lic_historia_mat_bibliografico/Historia%20Latinoamericana%20II/Unidad%202/Ansaldi%20Frivola%20y%20casquivana%20Oligarquia.pdf

Aristotle (2004). *La Política.* Universal Editions.

Aron, R. (1950). Social Structure and the Ruling Class. *The British Journal of Sociology, 1*(1), 1-16. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.ucaldas.edu.co/stable/pdf/587304.pdf?ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search%2Fcontrol&refreqid=search%3A072b487a0da4a19b224289a742b655dc

Ávila, A. (2018, november 14). La clase política colombiana [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZyaMn8Y8Nr4

Becerra, O. (2012, february 2). *La oligarquía en América Latina* [online blog]. http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/blog/orlandobecerra/2012/02/02/la-oligarquia-en-america-latina/

Best, H.; Cotta, M. (2000). Elite Transformation and Modes of Representation since the Mid-nineteenth Century: Some Theoretical Considerations. In H. Best & M. Cotta (Eds.). *Parlamentary Representatives in Europe 1848-2000* (pp. 1-28). Oxford University Press.

Blondel, J.; Müller-Rommel, F. (2007). Political Elites. In J. D. Russell & K. Hans-Dieter (Comps.). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior* (pp. 818-832). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bobbio, N. (1981). Teoría de las Élites. In N. Bobbio & N. Matteucci (Eds.). *Diccionario de Política*. XXIth century.

Bobbio, N. (1982). Oligarquía. In N. Bobbio & N. Matteucci (Eds.). *Diccionario de Política*. XXIth century.

Bolívar, R. (2002). La teoría de las élites en Pareto, Mosca y Michels. *Iztapalapa*, *52*(1), 386-407. https://revistaiztapalapa.izt.uam.mx/index.php/izt/article/view/494/647

Christie, K. (1986). *Oligarcas, campesinos y política en Colombia.* Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Coller, X. (1999). Circulación y conflicto en la élite política. El caso valenciano. *Revista Valenciana d'Estudis Autonòmics, 29*(4), 193-222. https://www.academia.edu/469864/Circulaci%C3%B3n_Y_Conflicto_En_La_Elite_Pol%C3%ADtica._El_Caso_Valenciano

Congreso de la República de Colombia (1905). *Ley 17 de 1905.* http://www.suin-juriscol.gov.co/clp/contenidos.dll/Leyes/1572890?fn=document-frame.htm%24f%3Dtemplates%243.0

Dahl, R. (1958). A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model. *The American Political Science Review, 52*(2), 463-469. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.ucaldas.edu.co/stable/pdf/1952327.pdf?ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search%2Fcontrol&refreqid=search%3A455f00db5f85d888d558a60856b53bca

De Los Ríos, R. (1983). *Historia del Gran Caldas.* Imprenta Departamental de Caldas.

Drake, G. F. (1973). *Elites and Voluntary Associations: To Study of Community Power in Manizales, Colombia* (Doctoral Dissertation) University of Wisconsin. https://minds.wisconsin.edu/handle/1793/56719

Gallo, C. (1974). *Hipótesis de la acumulación originaria de capital en Colombia.* La Pulga.

Giraldo, L. G. (2015). Reseña sobre la historia política de Manizales. In A. Valencia & F. Cantor (Comps.). *Cátedra de historia regional de Manizales. Bernardo Arias Trujillo* (pp. 351-382). Universidad de Caldas.

Gramsci, A. (1981). *Cuadernos de la cárcel.* Era.

Hernández, C. J. (2015). Cuando caen los caciques. Razones del auge y declive de la coalición barcoyepista en Caldas. Una mirada desde la literatura sobre política subnacional. *Escribanía, 13*(2), 11-34. http://revistasum.umanizales.edu.co/ojs/index.php/escribania/article/view/1426/1501

Hobbes, T. (1994). *Leviatán.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Jaramillo, J. (2008). *Los Azucenos. El impulso de una generación de empresarios Manizaleños.* Corporación Social Educadores y Empresarios del Comercio de Colombia.

Jaramillo, O. (2009). La formación socioeconómica de Caldas y sus características políticas. *Virajes, 11*(1), 229-253. http://vip.ucaldas.edu.co/virajes/downloads/Virajes11_9.pdf

La Patria (February 24, 2019a). Luis Guillermo Giraldo vuelve al redil político en Caldas. *Lapatria.com.* http://www.lapatria.com/politica/luis-guillermo-giraldo-vuelve-al-redil-politico-en-caldas-432353

La Patria (March 5, 2019b). Omar Yepes, otra vez a liderar el Conservatismo. *LaPatria*.com http://www.lapatria.com/manizales/omar-yepes-otra-vez-liderar-el-conservatismo-432961

Lispet, M.; Rokkan, S. (1967). *Party System and Voter Alignments.* New York: Mcmillan.

Locke, J. (1985). *Ensayo sobre el gobierno civil.* Orbis

López, J. A. (2011). Movilización regionalista y nuevos poderes regionales: La fragmentación administrativa del Viejo Caldas y la creación de Risaralda. *Sociedad y economía, 21*(2), 125-145. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/soec/n21/n21a06.pdf

López, J. A.; Correa, J. J. (2012). Disputas por la centralización/descentralización administrativa en el Viejo Caldas, 1905-1966: Los casos de Manizales y Pereira. *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura, 39*(2), 187-216. http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/achsc/v39n2/v39n2a08.pdf

Lukes, S. (2007). *El poder. Un enfoque radical.* XXIth century.

Marín, A. (May 22, 2011). El entramado de la parapolítica en Caldas. *El Espectador.com* https://www.elespectador.com/content/el-entramado-de-la-parapol%C3%ADtica-en-caldas

Marx, K. (1973). El dieciocho brumario de Luis Bonaparte. En K. Marx y F. Engels (Comps.). *Selected works. Volume I* (pp. 404-498). Progreso.

Marx, K.; Engels, F. (1973). Feuerbach Opposition between the materialist and idealistic conceptions. En K. Marx y F. Engels (Comps.). *Selected works.* (pp. 11-81). Progreso.

Michels, R. (1972). *Los partidos políticos II. Un estudio sociológico de las tendencias oligárquicas de la democracia moderna.* Amorrortu.

Mills, C. W. (1987). *La élite del poder.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Montesquieu (1984). *El espíritu de las leyes.* Orbis.

Mosca, G. (1984). *La clase política.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Ocampo, JF (1972). *Dominio de clase en la ciudad colombiana.* La oveja negra.

Pareto, V. (1980). *Forma y equilibrio sociales: extracto del tratado de Sociología general.* Alianza Publishing House.

Peralta, B. (2010). La descentralización municipal y su relación con la autonomía local y el desarrollo sociopolítico en el departamento de Caldas, 1988-2000. *Jurídicas*, *7*(1), 182-230. https://doctrina.vlex.com.co/vid/municipal-sociopolitico-departamento-caldas-232685025

Plato (1986). *La República.* Bedout.

Putman, R. (1976). *The Comparative Study of Political Elites.* Eaglewood Cliffs.

Rivas, JM (2016). Violencia y nepotismo: La trayectoria de la élite política colombiana y sus cambios en los últimos cuarenta años. *Iberoamericana*, *63*(11), 245-249. https://journals.iai.spk-berlin.de/index.php/iberoamericana/article/view/2300/1902

Rodríguez, M. (1983). *El empresario industrial en el viejo Caldas.* Uniandes.

Rousseau, J. J. (2004). *El contrato social.* Universal Editions.

Santofimio, R. (2006). Cultura política y la política de la Cultura: ¿Dónde está el anclaje? Aspectos conceptuales y de análisis para la comprensión de la participación política en Manizales y el departamento de Caldas (Colombia). *Virajes*, *8*(1), 297-320. http://vip.ucaldas.edu.co/virajes/downloads/Virajes8_11.pdf

Sartori, G. (1970). Concept Misinformation in Comparative Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, *64*(4), 1033-1053. http://www.la.utexas.edu/users/chenry/core/Course%20Materials/Sartori/0.pdf

Schmitter, P. (1985). Neocorporatismo y Estado. *Reis*, *31*(3), 47-78. http://reis.cis.es/REIS/PDF/REIS_031_05.pdf

Schumpeter, J. A. (1983). *Capitalismo, socialismo y democracia.* Orbis

Sierra, O. (1998). Caldas: escenario electoral prefabricado. In J. Rodríguez (Ed.). *Democracia, política y paz. Elecciones en el Eje Cafetero* (pp. 1-76). Editorial La Patria

Valencia, A. (1990). *Manizales en la dinámica colonizadora.* Universidad de Caldas.

Valencia, A. (2010). *Raíces en el tiempo. La región Caldense.* Secretaría de Cultura de Caldas.

Valencia, A. (2015). Un contexto para la historia de Manizales. In A. Valencia & F. Cantor (Comps.). *Cátedra de historia regional de Manizales. Bernardo Arias Trujillo* (pp. 31-65). Universidad de Caldas.