

e-ISSN 2248-6941  
L-ISSN 0121 - 6538

# ÁNFORA

de las Ciencias Sociales y Humanas

Retos comunitarios e inclusión



Revista científica de la  
Universidad Autónoma de Manizales  
Vol 28 · N°51 · julio - diciembre · 2021



PUBLINDEX  
DIALNET  
CLASE  
REDALYC  
ULRICH  
SHERPA/ROMEO  
CITE FACTOR

EBSCO  
LATINDEX  
MIAR  
REDIB  
JOURNALTOCS  
FUENTE ACADEMICA  
ACADEMIC SEARCH

DOAJ  
BIBLAT  
CIRC  
ERIHPLUS  
BASE  
CORE

Revista **Ánfora** · Fundada en 1993  
L-ISSN 0121-6538 · ISSN electrónico 2248-6941  
Periodicidad semestral  
Vol. 28, N° 51, 241 páginas · julio - diciembre de 2021  
Manizales – Colombia

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

Ánfora	Manizales - Colombia	Vol. 28	N° 51	241 P.	julio-diciembre	2021	L-ISSN 0121-6538 E-ISSN 2248-6941
--------	----------------------	---------	-------	--------	-----------------	------	--------------------------------------

### **Comité Editorial**

*Óscar Eugenio Tamayo Alzate*. PhD. Universidad de Caldas, Colombia  
*Melina Vázquez*. PhD. Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina  
*Óscar Aguilera Ruiz*. PhD. Universidad Católica del Maule, Chile  
*Álvaro Díaz Gómez*. PhD. Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira, Colombia  
*Enrique Javier Díez Gutiérrez*. PhD. Universidad de León, España  
*Carlos Valerio Echavarría Grajales*. PhD. Universidad de La Salle, Colombia  
*Luis Antonio Gautier*. PhD. University of Texas at Tyler, Estados Unidos

### **Comité Científico**

*Carlos Emilio García Duque*. PhD. Universidad de Caldas, Colombia  
*Germán Muñoz González*. PhD. Universidad de Manizales, Colombia  
*José Carlos Luque Brazán*. PhD. Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad de México, México  
*Salomé Sola-Morales*. PhD. Universidad de Sevilla, España  
*José Manuel Saiz Álvarez*. PhD. Tecnológico de Monterrey, México  
*Jorge Colvin Díez*. PhD. IE Bussiness School, España  
*Juan Ramón Rodríguez Fernández*. PhD. Universidad de León, España

### **Comité técnico**

*María del Carmen Vergara Quintero*. Coordinadora del Comité Técnico  
*Laura V. Obando Alzate*. Editora y Coordinadora Editorial  
*Juliana Acosta López De Mesa*, Editora  
*Paula Tatiana Gómez Vásquez*. Asistente editorial  
*Sebastián López U.* Diagramación ([www.estratosfera.com.co](http://www.estratosfera.com.co))  
*Wbeimar Cano Restrepo*. Soporte técnico  
*Ana Jael Merchán Villegas*. Auxiliar Administrativa  
*Heidy Alvarez Perez*. Coordinadora de redes

Ánfora	Manizales - Colombia	Vol. 28	Nº 51	241 P.	julio-diciembre	2021	L-ISSN 0121-6538 E-ISSN 2248-6941
--------	----------------------	---------	-------	--------	-----------------	------	--------------------------------------

### **Autores edición 51 de la Revista Ánfora (julio-diciembre 2021)**

*Carlos-Darío Patiño-Gaviria.* Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín, Colombia  
*Yuliana-María Cadavid-Marulanda.* Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín, Colombia  
*Laura-Vanessa Pabón-Valencia.* Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín, Colombia  
*Luisa-Fernanda Duque-Monsalve.* Universidad de Antioquia, Medellín, Colombia  
*Carlos-Arturo Sandoval-Casilimas.* Universidad de Antioquia, Medellín, Colombia  
*Paula-Andrea Sanabria-Rodríguez.* Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, Bogotá, Colombia  
*Luz-Yeisir Amaya-Montoya.* Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios, Bogotá, Colombia  
*Laura-Katerine Agudelo-Gutiérrez.* Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios, Bogotá, Colombia  
*Luisa-Fernanda Suarez-Monsalve.* Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios, Bogotá, Colombia  
*Adriana López-Camacho.* Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, Bogotá, Colombia  
*Rayen-Amanda Rovira-Rubio.* Universidad de Santiago de Chile  
*Daniela Giraldo Hernández.* Universidad de Manizales, Colombia  
*María Elvira Arboleda Castro.* Universidad de Icesi de la Ciudad de Cali, Colombia  
*Andrea Pavas-Llanos.* Universidad de Icesi de la Ciudad de Cali, Colombia  
*Sebastián Hidalgo-Dager.* Universidad de Icesi de la Ciudad de Cali, Colombia  
*Guillermo-Alberto Freydel-Montoya.* Universidad Militar Nueva Granada, Bogotá, Colombia  
*Andrés-Fernando Orozco-Macías.* Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Medellín  
*Anna-María Fernández-Poncela.* Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Ciudad de México, México

### **Traducciones**

*Centro de Traducciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Manizales, UAM.*

#### **Traductores al inglés- Centro de traducción UAM**

Diana Lorena Giraldo O.  
Inés Gabriela Guerrero U.  
Julián Mauricio Marín H.  
Mónica Naranjo R.  
Susana Andrea Pérez R.  
Alexandra Suaza R.  
Juan Carlos Vinasco O.

#### **Revisión por Nativo al inglés**

Gregory Wallace Amos

#### **Revisión por Nativo al Portugués**

Rafael Tostes

#### **Traductor al portugués Centro de traducción UAM**

Juan Carlos Vinasco O.

Ánfora	Manizales - Colombia	Vol. 28	Nº 51	241 P.	julio-diciembre	2021	L-ISSN 0121-6538 E-ISSN 2248-6941
--------	----------------------	---------	-------	--------	-----------------	------	--------------------------------------

### **Suscripciones, canjes y adquisiciones**

Ánfora es una revista de distribución gratuita.

anfora@autonoma.edu.co

Versión electrónica con acceso abierto mediante el sistema electrónico

Open Journal System (OJS): <https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora>

### **Redes Sociales**

Facebook: @RevistaAnforaUAMmanizales

### **Dirección postal (address):**

Universidad Autónoma de Manizales  
Departamento de Ciencias Humanas  
Grupo de investigación Ética y política

Tel.: (57) (6) 872 7272 Ext.: 166 ó 407 Fax: (6) 872 7670

E-mail: [anfora@autonoma.edu.co](mailto:anfora@autonoma.edu.co)

<https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora>

Antigua Estación del Ferrocarril - Manizales (Colombia)  
“Vigilada Mineducación”

*Se permite su reproducción citando la fuente.*

*El contenido de los artículos es responsabilidad de los autores y no compromete la posición de la revista.*

Ánfora	Manizales - Colombia	VoL. 28	Nº 51	241 P.	julio-diciembre	2021	L-ISSN 0121-6538 E-ISSN 2248-6941
--------	----------------------	---------	-------	--------	-----------------	------	--------------------------------------

### Indexada en

- Publindex** índice Nacional de publicaciones seriadas y científicas y tecnologías  
**RedALyC** Red de Revistas Científicas de América Latina y el Caribe  
**Latindex** Sistema Regional de Información en Línea para Revistas Científicas de América Latina, el Caribe, España y Portugal  
**CLASE** Citas Latinoamericanas en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades  
**Ulrichsweb** fuente mundial de información periódicas desde 1932  
**EBSCO** Academic Search Complete, Fuente académica plus  
**Dialnet** Servicio de alertas sobre publicación de contenidos científicos  
**MIAR** Matriz para el análisis de la información Revistas  
**REDIB** Red Iberoamericana de Innovación y Conocimiento Científico  
**DOAJ** Directory of Open Access Journal  
**BIBLAT** Bibliografía Latinoamericana  
**CIRC** Clasificación Integrada de Revistas Científicas  
**ERIHPLUS** El Índice Europeo de Referencia para las Humanidades y las Ciencias Sociales  
**Journal Tocs** La colección más amplia de búsqueda de revistas académicas, tablas de contenido  
**BASE** Motor de búsqueda para recursos web académicos  
**Sherpa/Romeo** Agrega y analiza políticas de acceso abierto a nivel mundial  
**Fuente Académica** Es una base de datos de publicaciones académicas de textos completos en español y portugués  
**Academic Search** Base de datos de textos completos de investigación académica en revistas revisadas por pares  
**Cite Factor** Servidor que proporciona la indexación de las principales revistas internacionales y memorias de evento.  
**CORE** La colección más amplia a nivel mundial de artículos de investigación en acceso abierto.

Ánfora	Manizales - Colombia	Vol. 28	Nº 51	241 P.	julio-diciembre	2021	L-ISSN 0121-6538 E-ISSN 2248-6941
--------	----------------------	---------	-------	--------	-----------------	------	--------------------------------------

# CONTENIDO

## CONTENTS • CONTEÚDO

### 11 EDITORIAL

Jazmín Muñoz Gálvez

.....

### INVESTIGACIONES • RESEARCH • INVESTIGAÇÕES (RETOS COMUNITARIOS E INCLUSIÓN)

- 17 Emotionalities in Tension: From Militarized Masculinity to Forms of Relationship among Genders that Build Cultures of Peace  
*[English Version]*

*Emocionalidades en tensión: de la masculinidad militarizada a formas de relación entre los géneros que construyan culturas de paz.*  
*[Versión en Castellano]*

*Emocionalidades em tensão: da masculinidade militarizada às formas de relacionamento entre os gêneros que constroem culturas de paz*

Carlos-Darío Patiño-Gaviria · Yuliana-María Cadavid-Marulanda ·  
Laura-Vanessa Pabón-Valencia · Luisa-Fernanda Duque-Monsalve

.....

- 49 Critical Education in Human Rights for the Construction of Peace: an Experience at the Carlos Albán Holguín School

*[English Version]*

*Educación crítica en Derechos Humanos para la construcción de paz: una experiencia en el colegio Carlos Albán Holguín*  
*[Versión en Castellano]*

*Educação crítica em direitos humanos para a construção da paz: uma experiência na escola Carlos Albán Holguín*

Paula-Andrea Sanabria-Rodríguez

.....

69 Parenting Practices in Hearing Mothers with Deaf Children  
Who Use Colombian Sign Language  
[*English Version*]

*Prácticas de crianza en madres oyentes, con hijos Sordos usuarios de  
Lengua de Señas Colombiana*  
[*Versión en Castellano*]

*Práticas parentais em mães ouvintes com crianças surdas que usam a  
língua de sinais colombiana*

Luz-Yeisiri Amaya-Montoya · Laura-Katerine Agudelo-Gutiérrez ·  
Luisa-Fernanda Suarez-Monsalve

.....

93 The Liberation of Mother Earth: More than Taking the  
Territory [*English Version*]

*La liberación de la Madre Tierra: más que la toma de un territorio*  
[*Versión en Castellano*]

*A libertação da Mãe Terra: mais do que a tomada de um território*

Adriana López-Camacho

.....

115 “The Country We Carry Inside”: Narratives of Psychology  
Students’ Violence as a Challenge to Professional Work [*English  
Version*]

*“El País que llevamos dentro”: narrativas de violencias de estudiantes  
de psicología como desafío para el quehacer profesional* [*Versión en  
Castellano*]

*“El país que llevamos dentro”: narrativas de violência de estudantes de  
psicologia como desafio para o trabalho profissional*

Rayen-Amanda Rovira-Rubio · Daniela Giraldo-Hernández

.....



- 143 Colombian Regions and Armed Conflict: A Socio-economic Study in a Center-periphery Model 2000-2017 [*English Version*]

*Regiones colombianas y conflicto armado: estudio socioeconómico en un modelo de centro y periferia años 2000-2017* [*Versión en Castellano*]

*Regiões colombianas e conflito armado: estudo socioeconômico em um modelo de centro e periferia anos 2000-2017*

María-Elvira Arboleda-Castro · Andrea Pavas-Llano ·  
Sebastián Hidalgo-Dager

.....

- 163 The Narrative Methodological Contribution of the Lived Body toward the Deliberative Processes in Bioethics. A Study Composed of Physicians as Observers of Bullying [*English Version*]

*Contribución metodológica de la narrativa del cuerpo vivido a los procesos deliberativos en bioética. Un estudio situado en médicos espectadores del acoso escolar* [*Versión en Castellano*]

*Contribuição metodológica da narrativa do corpo vivido aos processos deliberativos em bioética. Un estudio situado en médicos espectadores del acoso escolar*

Guillermo-Alberto Freydell-Montoya

.....

**INVESTIGACIONES EN OTRAS TEMÁTICAS • RESEARCH  
ON OTHER TOPICS • INVESTIGAÇÕES SOBRE OUTROS TÓPICOS**

194 Dual State in Colombia: Administrative Department of Security  
(DAS). Information and Espionage Technologies  
[*English Version*]

*Estado Dual en Colombia: Departamento Administrativo de  
Seguridad (D.A.S). Tecnologías de la información y espionaje  
[Versión en Castellano]*

*O Estado Dual na Colômbia: Departamento Administrativo de  
Segurança (DAS). Tecnologia da Informação e Espionagem*

Andrés-Fernando Orozco-Macías  
.....

216 Mexico 2018: Politics, Elections and Youth [*English Version*]

*México 2018: política, elecciones y juventud [Versión en Castellano]*

*México 2018: Política; Eleições; Participação; Juventude*

Anna-María Fernández-Poncela  
.....

# EDITORIAL

## Retos de inclusión comunitaria

Jazmín Muñoz Gálvez

Profesora del Departamento de Ciencias Humanas  
de la Universidad Autónoma de Manizales

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1735-8693>

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anf.v28.n51.2021.852>

La película *Xala* (1975), del escritor, director y activista político senegalés *Ousmane Sembène*, retrata con sarcasmo y potencia la corrupción de la nueva clase política y burguesa africana—en un contexto posterior a la independencia y constituido por democracias apenas nacientes—, un tema recurrente en sus películas que permite trazar una similitud con el actual destino geopolítico de América Latina dentro del panorama global de acumulación de capital financiero y de dependencias externas a los intereses de los Estados.

En *Xala*, El Hadji Abdou Kader Bèye es un hombre de negocios a punto de ser expulsado de la esfera empresarial y política debido a un conflicto de intereses con otros saqueadores de bienes públicos, lo que constituye para él una racha de mala suerte más que una impugnación de responsabilidades administrativas y legales. La connivencia entre las élites económicas y políticas que amenazan hoy la democracia a servicio de intereses privados, se representa en la siguiente declaración de El Hadji en la Cámara de Comercio de esta “ficticia” realidad Senegalesa:

—¿Qué somos nosotros?

—Somos los cazafortunas del mundo de los negocios. No redistribuimos más que sobras.

Hemos estado en el tráfico de arroz, y durante la sequía hemos desviado fondos destinados a los necesitados. El ejército e incluso las fuerzas de seguridad están en nuestra nómina. Democracia, igualdad y justicia son palabras que somos demasiado bajos para conocer.

La surreal confesión de El Hadji encarna una de las disfuncionalidades de las democracias actuales que coexisten con un creciente monopolio corporativo,

restricciones financieras y corrupción que erosionan el terreno de la acción interventora de los Estados para preservar los derechos sociales y económicos de la población, y así, constituirse como un filtro ante la globalización económica. La división política, económica y cultural del mundo actual ha implicado que los ganadores de la globalización—al igual que en la película de *Sembène*—puedan crear las reglas de su propio distanciamiento social y, que al haber recogido “los frutos de la bonanza económica de los mercados, de las cadenas de suministro y de los flujos del capital globalizado dependan cada vez menos de sus conciudadanos, ya sea como productores o como consumidores” (Sandel, 2020; p.13). La burguesía senegalesa es representada por *Sembène* como poco productiva; su falta de visión paraliza el desarrollo y es un catalizador de la alienación cultural de la nación.

Esta representación es también paralela a la crítica de la retórica del ascenso social que prima en el imaginario de la sociedad estadounidense, realizada por Michael Sandel en *La tiranía del mérito*, según la cual la sociedad que goza de amplios derechos actúa bajo la creencia de que el éxito o fracaso social en un sistema de libre mercado es producto del mérito, y que la desigualdad no requiere de un principio reparador, lo cual imposibilita la solidaridad. No obstante, el mérito se origina en una distribución desigual de oportunidades con base en privilegios hereditarios, naturales y de origen; y no meramente como producto del esfuerzo personal. Esto implica que se debe volcar la mirada al acceso a oportunidades, y poner en cuestión la defectuosa ética competitiva del mérito que gobierna el imaginario occidental y que confina a muchos ciudadanos a la clase social en la que nacen, cuyo objetivo no incentiva la movilidad social.

Además, la globalización orientada al mercado ha mostrado ser poco exitosa a la hora de enfrentarse a una crisis laboral, de salud pública y a la degradación ecológica generalizada que requiere de una acción conjunta; de acuerdo a fines que van más allá de la reafirmación de los intereses nacionales. Por ello, la democracia sigue constituyendo una meta para delimitar legítimamente los discursos, intereses y preocupaciones normativas enfrentadas a partir de la demanda creciente de variados sectores sociales de ampliar los beneficios de la producción de capital, generalizar el progreso y posibilitar una interacción más prudente y ética entre la sociedad y el medio ambiente. Esto permitiría la reestructuración de la confianza entre la población y el restablecimiento del tejido social roto por el poder monopólico.

Recientemente, la Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL, 2021) indicó la importancia de “Impulsar políticas transversales y sectoriales para avanzar hacia un nuevo modelo de desarrollo” en Latinoamérica que permita la recuperación de una década de avance perdida para la región, debido a la crisis ambiental, social, económica y sanitaria propiciada por la Covid

19. En su informe, incluye aspectos esenciales como la producción de políticas industriales y tecnológicas, la inversión estatal y la reestructuración del sistema educativo, sanitario y laboral. Además, debido a que la región soporta la mayor carga de la deuda externa en el PIB (56.3%) se insta a la creación de “una nueva arquitectura financiera internacional que responda a la emergencia y al desarrollo de la región”. El enfoque de la CEPAL (Cuevas, H., Julián, D., Rojas, J., 2018, p. 16) ha considerado que, si bien el desarrollo de Latinoamérica está supeditado a una dinámica global, es necesaria la inserción de la región en la competencia internacional, por lo que ha recomendado la implementación de una democracia desarrollista que permita expandir las posibilidades económicas más allá de las élites, y maximizar los recursos disponibles. También cuestiona el estancamiento de la región en un modelo agroexportador, así como la excesiva acumulación de la tierra.

No obstante, pese a las alternativas propuestas por académicos y movimientos sociales, se le sigue dando prioridad a la explotación de recursos por medio de industrias multinacionales, y “se delega el direccionamiento de la economía a las grandes empresas y al capital financiero” (Soussa, 2017, p. 292).

Es así como los verdaderos perdedores de la globalización no pueden vender su fuerza de trabajo ni comprar medios baratos con el fin de aumentar su productividad para su propio sostenimiento, como sucede con un amplio sector de la población rural pobre de muchos países de la periferia del desarrollo global. En la película *Fango Suave* (2016), del director letón *Renars Vimba*, se representa efectivamente esta polarización del desarrollo global y nacional, mediante un contexto muy cercano a la realidad de Letonia que hereda la desigualdad económica después de independizarse de la URSS, perdiendo gran parte de su población debido a la migración económica. Mediante una microhistoria, en esta película vemos cómo una joven adolescente y su hermano se enfrentan a la exclusión de un sistema que ofrece una educación incapaz de salvarlos de las circunstancias de desigualdad asociadas a su origen y ausencias paterna y materna. Las oportunidades de educación por sí mismas devienen infructuosas ante necesidades insatisfechas, vínculos emocionales rotos y paisajes erosionados. Este ejemplo de la ficción cinematográfica, insertado también en la realidad, permite plantear que la libertad de elección necesita de un análisis simétrico en el campo de la economía y de las relaciones sociales que integran lo político. Además, la equidad y la preocupación por la inclusión implican que los derechos políticos, sociales y económicos sean interdependientes.

Así, ante la crisis de dignidad de un contexto global en el que una gran mayoría de personas no son sujetos de derechos humanos y, pese a la confianza en el principio de autonomía democrática institucional, incluida en el enfoque de la CEPAL, este principio debe ser complementado con las demandas sociales de

participación e inclusión por medio de variadas formas de un ejercicio democrático representativo, participativo, comunitario y discursivo. Por lo cual, persiste la contradicción existente entre las fuerzas y relaciones de producción, y una segunda contradicción entre fuerzas productivas y condiciones de producción que son palpables en la actual crisis social y ecológica que afecta a la región y al mundo. Las consecuencias socioambientales del modelo neoextractivo no son fácilmente reversibles, y es la sociedad civil históricamente excluida un actor activo que desafía la postura predominante sobre los límites para un desarrollo equitativo.

En este contexto, los procesos sociales y comunitarios locales son un actor participativo de regulación social no estatal. En dichos procesos existe una conciencia crítica de lo que está en juego mediante la generalización del neoextractivismo que considera al inversor como el protagonista de la vida económico-política. También se mantiene una amplia crítica a la consideración del crecimiento económico como un fin y no como un medio con ingentes sacrificios del nivel de vida, de la vida política y de la cosmovisión tradicional de las comunidades raizales que buscan no solo representación, sino participación institucional democrática.

A esto se suma que el modelo económico predominante ofrece muy poco al progreso fuera y dentro del mercado, para sectores principalmente rurales donde prevalece un mercado interno o local marginal; generalmente vinculado a procesos de asociación comunitarios pero que requieren de engranajes institucionales para constituir un desarrollo que proporcione un bienestar integral, de la mano de un enfoque de justicia territorial y social.

En el filme *El vuelco del cangrejo* (2009), del director *Oscar Ruiz Navia*, muestra una imagen cercana al documental de las comunidades afro descendientes del pacífico colombiano vallecaucano, ubicado en La Barra. Esta película suscita la reflexión sobre el papel del Estado en el acceso a derechos y en el desarrollo turístico y económico potencial de la región, mediante el fortalecimiento de las organizaciones comunitarias como una posibilidad de prosperidad viable en armonía con la memoria ancestral, la protección de la pluralidad cultural y étnica, el cuidado del medio ambiente y el acceso a oportunidades plurales de educación, cualificación técnica y acceso a medios de producción baratos.

Por ello, la creación de experiencias de desarrollo piloto que puedan ser monitoreadas por los Estados y evaluadas por los ciudadanos, desde los procesos de participación comunitaria, constituyen un reto de los Estados que no quieran perder su identidad definida bajo una paz democrática, en consonancia con múltiples formas de economía popular y fortalecimiento del tejido social. Con ocasión de este tipo de problemáticas, la revista *Ánfora* espera que las múltiples propuestas elaboradas en los artículos sirvan de inspiración para nuevas maneras de generar inclusión en las comunidades desde distintos frentes académicos y de reflexión.

## Referencias

- CEPAL. (julio de 2021). *La paradoja de la recuperación en América Latina y el Caribe. Crecimiento con persistentes problemas estructurales: desigualdad, pobreza, poca inversión y baja productividad*. <https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/47043-la-paradoja-la-recuperacion-america-latina-caribe-crecimiento-persistentes>
- Cuevas, H., Julián, D., Rojas, J. (2018). *América latina: expansión capitalista conflictos sociales y ecológicos*. RIL Editores.
- Ruiz, N. O. (Director). (2009). *El vuelco del cangrejo* [Película]. Contravía Films, Diana Bustamante Arizona Films
- Sandel, M. (2020). *La tiranía del mérito. ¿Qué ha sido del bien común?* Debate.
- Sousa, S. B. (2017). *Democracia y transformación social*. Siglo XXI Editores.
- Sembène, O. (Director). (1975). *Xala* [Película]. Filmi Domireve SNC
- Vimba, R. (Director). (2016). *Es esmu šeit* [Fango Suave] [Película]. Tasse Film

# Investigaciones

Research · Investigações

(RETOS COMUNITARIOS E  
INCLUSIÓN)



# Emotionalities in Tension: From Militarized Masculinity to Forms of Relationship among Genders that Build Cultures of Peace\*

[English Version]

Emocionalidades en tensión: de la masculinidad militarizada a formas de relación entre los géneros que construyan culturas de paz

Emocionalidades em tensão: da masculinidade militarizada às formas de relacionamento entre os gêneros que constroem culturas de paz

Received June 29, 2020, accepted December 7, 2020.

› To cite this article: Patiño-Gaviria, Carlos-Darío; Cadavid-Marulanda, Yuliana- María; Pabon-Valencia, Laura-Vanessa; Duque-Monsalve, Luisa-Fernanda; Sandoval-Casilimas, Carlos-Arturo. (2021). Emotionalities in Tension: from Militarized Masculinity to Forms of Relationships Among Genders that Build Cultures of Peace. *Ánfora*, 28(51), 17-48.  
<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv.28.n51.2021.720>  
Universidad Autónoma de Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538. E-ISSN 2248-6941. CC BY-NC-SA 4.

**Carlos-Darío Patiño-Gaviria\*\***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7094-1955>

Colombia

**Yuliana-María Cadavid-Marulanda\*\*\***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0940-0276>

Colombia

**Laura-Vanessa Pabón-Valencia\*\*\*\***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7171-0788>

Colombia

**Luisa-Fernanda Duque-Monsalve\*\*\*\*\***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5362-6723>

Colombia

**Carlos-Arturo Sandoval-Casilimas\*\*\*\*\***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0675-1289>

Colombia

\* Progress of the Doctoral Thesis in Psychology carried out by the main author, registered with the Research Directorate of the Universidad de San Buenaventura, Medellín, with registration 951-17.01. D01, carried out between 2015 and 2019. In this research, the people named in footnotes 3 and 4 acted as research assistants, as a requirement of the University when supporting research projects of its teachers. Professor Luisa Duque acted as a co-investigator, being a young researcher appointed by the USB in 2016 and continued in the project until 2019, assigned to the line of research in social psychology. Professor Sandoval has been the director of the doctoral thesis project.

\*\* Sociologist from the Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín. Master of education and Human Development. Research professor at the Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín. Research group: Clinical and social studies in psychology. Email: [carlospatiogaviria@gmail.com](mailto:carlospatiogaviria@gmail.com)

\*\*\* Psychologist Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín. Email: [yulicm65@gmail.com](mailto:yulicm65@gmail.com)

\*\*\*\* Psychologist. Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín. Email: [pabonvalencialaura@gmail.com](mailto:pabonvalencialaura@gmail.com)

\*\*\*\*\* Psychologist. Master of Philosophy from the Universidad de Antioquia. Research Coordinator of the Faculty of Psychology of the Universidad de San Buenaventura, Medellín headquarters. Research group: Clinical and social studies in psychology. Email: [luisa.duque@usbmed.edu.co](mailto:luisa.duque@usbmed.edu.co)

\*\*\*\*\* Psychologist. Doctor of Education from the Universidad de Antioquia. Research professor at the Universidad de San Buenaventura Medellín. Research group: Clinical and social studies in psychology. Email: [carlos.sandoval@udea.edu.co](mailto:carlos.sandoval@udea.edu.co)

## Abstract

**Objective:** to understand the historical horizon of the feelings that are produced regarding the provision of military service, antimilitarist resistance and masculinity alternatives in a peacebuilding and post-conflict context in Colombia. **Methodology:** the study was carried out from a constructionist perspective, with a hermeneutical orientation. Data were generated through participant observation, interviews, and focus groups with 10 groups of youth antimilitarists in different cities in Colombia. Some of the young men gave an account of their experiences serving in the military. **Results:** the study describes the ways in which the feelings and subjectivities of young people are molded in military socialization under the referent of hegemonic masculinity (HM). Likewise, the daily practices of resistance and peacebuilding of these young people are presented, possibly thanks to the subjective and affective transformations that occur by resisting the patriarchal and militaristic culture. **Conclusions:** antimilitarism, hand in hand with non-violence, configures human relationships of respect, love, solidarity, compassion, fraternity and tenderness (feelings that are repressed by the HM model), thereby favoring the change of militaristic values towards other values such as peace, equity and freedom.

**Keywords:** Feelings; Antimilitarism; Masculinity; Peace culture.

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** comprender el horizonte histórico de los sentimientos que se producen con respecto a la prestación del servicio militar, las resistencias antimilitaristas y las alternativas de masculinidad en un contexto de construcción de paz y postconflicto en Colombia. **Metodología:** el estudio se realizó en perspectiva construccionista, con orientación hermenéutica. Se generaron los datos mediante observación participante, entrevistas y grupos focales con 10 colectivos de jóvenes antimilitaristas en diferentes ciudades de Colombia. Algunos de los jóvenes dieron cuenta de sus experiencias prestando el servicio militar. **Resultados:** se describen los modos cómo los sentimientos y subjetividades de los jóvenes son moldeados en la socialización militar bajo el referente de la masculinidad hegemónica (MH). Así mismo, se presentan las prácticas cotidianas de resistencia y construcción de paz de estos jóvenes, posibles gracias a las transformaciones subjetivas y afectivas que se producen haciendo resistencia a la cultura patriarcal y militarista. **Conclusiones:** el antimilitarismo, de la mano de la no violencia, configuran relaciones humanas de respeto, amor, solidaridad, compasión, fraternidad y ternura (sentimientos que son reprimidos por el modelo de MH), con lo que se favorece el cambio de los valores militaristas hacia otros valores como la paz, la equidad y la libertad.

**Palabras clave:** Sentimientos; Antimilitarismo; Masculinidad; Cultura de paz.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** compreender o horizonte histórico dos sentimentos que se produzem a respeito da prestação do serviço militar, da resistência antimilitarista e das alternativas de masculinidade em um contexto de construção da paz e pós-conflito na Colômbia.

**Metodologia:** o estudo foi realizado em uma perspectiva construcionista, com uma orientação hermenêutica. Os dados foram gerados por meio de observação participante, entrevistas e grupos focais com 10 grupos de jovens antimilitaristas em diferentes cidades da Colômbia. Alguns dos rapazes relataram suas experiências no serviço militar.

**Resultados:** descreve as formas pelas quais os sentimentos e subjetividades dos jovens são moldados na socialização militar sob o referente da masculinidade hegemônica (MH). Da mesma forma, são apresentadas as práticas cotidianas de resistência e construção da paz desses jovens, possíveis graças às transformações subjetivas e afetivas que são produzidas pela resistência à cultura patriarcal e militarista. **Conclusões:** o antimilitarismo, de mãos dadas com a não violência, configura relações humanas de respeito, amor, solidariedade, compaixão, fraternidade e ternura (sentimentos reprimidos pelo modelo MH), favorecendo a mudança de valores militaristas para outros valores como paz, equidade e liberdade.

**Palavras-chave:** Sentimientos; Antimilitarismo; Masculinidad; Cultura de paz.

## Introduction

Is there a relationship between peacebuilding, new masculinities and anti-militarism? This question is asked in relation to political actions carried out by young people who challenge the performance of military service and advocate civil disobedience and non-violence. Answering it requires the support of different knowledge. Here, a critically grounded psychosocial perspective that seeks to understand the stakes against the use of weapons, the maintenance of war logic and the exaltation of warrior masculinity is appealed to, as part of alternative peace proposals among Colombians. Next, what the literature in social sciences has been raising regarding the complex nucleus of problematization is outlined: patriarchy/hegemonic masculinity/militarization/ the construction of peace relations.

## Theoretical Framework

One of the categories that guides the construction of identity is gender (Rambla, 2002), which is reproduced through discourses and practices. It is based on sexual difference and determines the characteristics of masculinity as opposed to femininity (Connell, 1995). On gender as a category, as performativity and as a social construction (Héritier, 1996; Bourdieu, 2000; Butler, 2006) studies and reflections have been advanced. This research emphasizes the construction of hegemonic masculinities (HM), in the patriarchal organization of society, and its link with militarism.

Patriarchy is a system of gender relations that promotes a hierarchical order of the masculine over the feminine, the same one that holds a privilege that results in affective and bodily emergences in the relational spaces of the subjects involved, according to their personal and collective histories (Connell, 1995). Patriarchy promotes masculinity, called “hegemonic” (HM), used and reinforced by the militaristic culture. The HM has base beliefs, that is to say: a) a heroic bellicosity, the place allocated to others is the one of a potential adversary or humiliator; b) respect of the value of the hierarchy, associated with the internalization of the code of humiliation; c) superiority over women (Bonino, 2002).

Militarism is configured as a system of military domination that consists of the influence, presence of and penetration into various forms, norms, ideology and military purposes in civil society; its logic is determined by violent conflict resolution. It includes growing military spending (Ortega, Gómez, 2010; Molina, 2014), the number of troops (Isaza, 2013), arms purchases (Ortega, Gómez, 2010), provision of compulsory military service for young men (some countries include women), patrols on public roads and private armies (Yuste, 2004). In everyday life a hegemony of the military model grows, contributing to the reproduction of an exclusive gender system and a hegemonic masculinity model.

There are binding characteristics between patriarchy and militarism, such as the construction of male/female hierarchies and the protector/protected relationship (Espitia, 2018). While militarism establishes the friend/enemy logic, the latter being the object of elimination, patriarchy contributes with androcentric institutions that are based on obedience (Ospina et al., 2011). Articulated, militarism and patriarchy, they have the possibility of generating violence, discrimination and privileges, which preserve the status quo.

Affectivity has acquired investigative relevance in topics such as political emotionality (Bonvillani, 2013). This emphasis has been called "the affective turn"; some authors have generated distinctions between the concepts of emotion and feeling. For Rosas (2011), feelings are not reduced to secondary effects of immediate emotions, rather they constitute tendencies or affective dispositions referred to intentional objects that concern the subjects and for which some inclination or sensitivity is expressed. Feeling, unlike emotion, is always a cognition about what happens in emotion, a cognition about what excites us and that facilitates rational decision-making (Cruz, 2012). The feeling, therefore, is sustained in the interpretation.

Scheve and Ismer (2013) propose an understanding of collective feelings (they call them emotions) as the synchronic convergence in the affective response of individuals toward a specific event or object. On collective emotions, they emphasize the presence of four key mechanisms: a) group membership, b) the influence of lasting group feelings, c) the contribution of social norms to generate collective emotions, d) the contribution of cultural practices to the dissemination and validation of appropriate and expected feelings.

Here it is accepted that feelings have a collective character insofar as they inhabit the relational intersubjective space to which one belongs; as collective productions they inhabit the symbolic world, which is accounted for by the metaphors and expressions of everyday life, which are not logical but sensitive.

It is essential to be careful with regard to cultures of peace. Peace is more than the absence of war, it integrates the capacity to transform conflicts (Fisas, 2011). The creation of cultures of peace implies generating constructive

changes, reducing margins of violence, stimulating relationships based on equity and justice. That the world of daily life is a generative, constitutive and dynamic force of the public sphere has been proposed. Therefore, the construction of integral peace implies a horizontal dialogue between local experiences of peace, various social sectors and institutional agents – including the State – without restricting itself to the efforts made by the communities (Granados, 2021). From other approaches, peace constructions continue to be vindicated *from below*, such as the one shown in the study by Acosta-Navas (2021) with the leading women peace builders of Comuna 1 of Medellín, who transcend the discourse of liberal peace and take a critical approach to human rights, which builds peace in a feminine key, through community participation, exercising their leadership in the territory they inhabit, and making use of their popular knowledge.

Peace cultures question male cultures that value toughness and competition, legitimize violence as a way of managing differences and conflicts, and is associated with family abuse and domestic violence (Ubillos, Beristain, Garaigordobil, Halperin, 2011). While male cultures focus on individual achievement and honor valuation and are characterized by higher rates of collective violence, female cultures emphasize interpersonal harmony and communal relationships (Basabe, Valencia, Bobowik, 2011).

The culture of peace (de Rivera, cited by Basabe, Valencia, Bobowik, 2011) is defined based on a mosaic of identities, attitudes, values, beliefs, and institutional patterns that make people take care of each other, share resources, and live their differences. Therefore, it depends on social, political and cultural factors such as: education in the peaceful resolution of conflicts; respect for human rights; gender equality; political participation; acceptance of minorities; the free flow of information; freedom of expression; international peace; safety; and the promotion of values such as cooperation and mutual care.

## State of the Art

The military institution is based on the existence of massive and permanent armies, a bureaucratic and hierarchical structure, a structured doctrine and the obligatory nature of military service (Zarzuri, Lecourt, 2007). The army is the military force organized for the defense of the State and the preservation of internal order. It implies a human grouping governed by hierarchy, discipline, honor and value; values that differentiate those who enter the ranks and are part of a secondary socialization process (Serrano, 1972).

Armies and barracks are configured as total institutions, characterized by confinement and tight control over the daily routines of those who compose them, subject to a control and surveillance regime that requires an adaptation of the identity and body of its members. Integrated subjects tend to experience a negative modification of their identities, as the conception that they had previously constructed of themselves in other social settings is endangered (Goffman, 2001).

Mabee and Vucetic (2018), following Mann, suggest that there are three types of militarism co-existing today: State/Nation militarism (armed forces under the figure of the State); the militarism of civil society (includes “vigilante” type paramilitary groups against crime or counterinsurgents, organized military violence supported by the State); finally, neoliberal militarism that involves the commodification of military activity, the privatization of defense at the hands of neo-mercenaries and security companies that compete in the market for weapons and high-end military technology.

Different authors see the military institution and militarism as a source of construction of hegemonic masculinities. The body is a constructed object with an appearance of masculinity, including: gait, posture, gestures, tone of voice; those who become the object of the formative work, in a kind of theatricality that includes at the same time the disposition of the other's body (Sirimarco, 2004; Sandoval, Otálora, 2015). Military training points to professional values, which arise “naturally” from the regulated relationship of command and obedience between superiors and subordinates, and from its ultimate purpose: the defense of the homeland (Ruiz, 2012). Those values would be: order, decision, rectitude, maturity, courage, and leadership. Therefore, the army does not refer only to the handling of weapons or the wearing of insignia, but also to a game of relationships, which are instituted as legitimate, and usually natural, establishing the recognition of the majority of the other; which means that the mandates do not give rise to an opinion or assessment of what is commanded (Pérez, 2015).

HM's style connotes the dominant position of certain men and the subordination of women (Connell, 1995, p. 12). Such male subjectivity is built by participating in different social spaces, in which a normative–evaluative–affective system prevails. In agreement, Garay (2014) supports the idea that masculinity implies accepting a series of impositions regarding the manifestation of affectivity, with feelings related to fear, sadness, and frequently, even tenderness. Bonino (2002) argues that the network of affections that is created around the beliefs of hegemonic masculinity, includes the illusion that one day the subject will be the authority and owner of someone/something. This network also comprises loyalty, honor, generosity (protectiveness), endurance/patience, admiration/fearful respect, and the pain of submission as well.

The same men who monitor and regulate a standard, respond to the masculine condition as something to be conquered. As Figuera (2005) points out, the dominant male model defends heterosexuality and actively rejects homosexuality as something to be avoided. The HM related to aggressiveness and violence naturalizes the figure of the military and superior man, “aggressive heterosexism” (Donoso, 2015; Rodríguez, 2011).

From a feminist perspective, Suárez (2015) studied how women's human rights are violated by paramilitaries who gave free rein to their machismo. She adds that young people joined paramilitarism to achieve their interests of exalting masculinity and power. Rodríguez (2011) and Hernández (2003) agree with this, demonstrating that, in wars, women are not only subjected to rape, but also a battlefield, both physically and symbolically. The anti-militarist group Women in Black from Belgrade denounced the use of force and violence in the Kosovo War, according to the experience of the warlike climate in Milosevic's Serbia (Hernández, 2003). Bjarnegård and Melander (2011) agree that gender roles glorify and reinforce militarism and legitimize the subordination of women.

One of the most striking characteristics of the HM is the need for man to approach the model of the warrior, the natural holder of power; society legitimizes him and gives rise to his domination over women and over other non-hegemonic masculinities. The internalization of such ideals and the symbols of omnipotence that accompany the configuration of this masculinity, are what justify the exercise of control and domination of it (Ruíz, 2003). In this context, subordinate masculinities are also created, an example is gay masculinity (Sharoni, 2008). On this, Gallego (2018) reaches the following conclusions: a) perpetuating the archetype of the warrior creating armies keeps gender violence in force; b) hegemonic masculinity threatens the dignity of man; c) not perpetuating hegemonic masculinity is the slogan of a conscientious objector in Colombia. Carreño (2019) also concludes that antimilitarism questions militarism and patriarchy,



especially gender relations, the production of the masculine and feminine, and the production of social differences based on the image of the military.

Finally, Henry (2017), as well as Parpart and Partridge (2014), and Sharoni (2008), from an intersectional perspective, are questioned by other types of domination that intersect with militarized masculinity (for reasons of race, ethnicity, sex, age, social class). Because the significance and practices associated with militarized masculinity are influenced as much by the context as by the social place and the political point of view adopted by men in relation to a political conflict (Sharoni, 2008). Within this framework, military service is created and imposed so that the "new heroes" act as defenders of "the mother country" (thus in feminine), dominate the weapons and make violence a method for the resolution of conflicts (Ruíz, 2003; Salazar, 2013; Theidon, 2009).

## **Problem Statement**

As can be seen, there have been a series of approaches that question the construction of masculinity, the bases of patriarchy, and the different forms of domination, indicating the places of privilege, control and subordination of a masculine stereotype, over other options of masculinity and over the feminine with values, behaviors, warrior symbols, body formations, and in addition, in a framework of relationships in which patriarchy is equivalent to militarism. However, the authors do not sufficiently recognize feelings as constitutive of the military man, and when they do, they assimilate them to values, so affectivity is excluded from the possibilities of transformation of that masculinity in question.

This leaves room for the following assumption: those feelings are constituents of militarized subjectivities and have a social character, given their construction process, which is nothing other than a process of habituation and significance that is institutionalized in the set of social practices (Berger, Luckmann, 1986). Our frame of reference accepts that there are three feelings that are encouraged by the military institution: the ethical feeling of patriotism, associated with the defense of the community; the military spirit, related to efficiency; and the feeling of honor that has to do with the duty of cooperating with the strengthening of the army (Fernández, 1986). Furthermore, military practice attributes prestige to bravery (Rambla, 2002).

Now, there are two reasons reference has been made to all these ideas that circulate in the social science literature. One is to show that the theoretical and investigative tradition has acknowledged the relationships between masculinity and militarism. However, the fact that these come from places of confrontation regarding the effects of HM domination and power on women and on other masculinities – or, on other sub-alternated actors – the role of the emotions as a perspective on peace processes, for the sake of transforming such militarized masculinities has been neglected. The second is the concern regarding the contributions of feminist, new masculine, antimilitaristic (conscientious objectors) and critical social psychology (vis-à-vis the modes of expression of power) perspectives made toward the construction of cultures of peace arising from this study.

It is time to raise another assumption: the restructuring of masculinities is an option for peace as long as it also includes transformations in the ways of feeling and expressing human emotions. Deconstructing the militaristic patriarchy – and the inequalities it engenders – requires putting in check feelings of honor, bravery, courage, suicidal patriotism and humiliation of the other, and proposing others in accordance with equity, respect, solidarity.

Now, a process of recognition of male feelings by men, is a way to undertake the demilitarization of imposed affections, to build peaceful relationships (in the midst of conflict) and to resist this model that has been talked about. Feelings are the object of militarization when men are limited to experiencing them in the service of domination and repressing or transforming others. Therefore, connecting with their own emotions in other relational spaces, apart from the military, becomes a possibility of demilitarizing themselves (Theidon, 2009), transcending the honor and courage that military socialization gives men. Colombia has experienced this specific situation for decades, the armed conflict was protected by the imposition of emotionalities, such as revenge, hatred, resentment and social disgust, on others such as brotherhood, affection or trust.

The foregoing assumes that masculinity has to do with a set of articulated emotionalities, which exalt the military male model and limit the possibility of alternate male emotionalities being built. For this, affectivity is understood as a collective construction (Fernández, 2000), which crosses interactions and bodies (Bonvillani, 2013; Urzúa, 2011), becomes performative in relational practices (Belli and Íñiguez, 2008), integrates with collective ideals (Cruz, 2012; Rodríguez, 2008), they signify in public life and shape social ties (Nussbaum, 2014). Affectivity acquires a political character when it intervenes in the relationship of power and alliance, when it occupies the public arenas (Cefai, 2011), to promote relationship of domination or emancipation, and when it mediates relations between the genders.

For this reason, the present study has inquired about the historical horizon of the feelings that are produced with respect to the provision of military service, regarding the affections that accompany antimilitarist resistance, and the contributions that, from different feminisms and different alternatives of masculinity, can contribute to a proposal for the demilitarization of affections leading to the construction of cultures of peace (even between genders).

## Methodology

This report is the result of a study conducted within the framework of a broader investigation into the sentiments that are produced among antimilitarists, who oppose the provision of compulsory military service and the imposition of a model of militarized masculinity. The general approach is interpretive (Vain, 2012), according to which subjects produce interrelated realities and interpretations (situations) on a historical horizon. A qualitative design is adopted (Creswell, 1994), which adopts the perspective of the known subject (Vasilachis, 2007), and the use of procedures to construct and analyze data expressed in reports and records of observations of actions in situ, through spiral moments.

The theoretical-methodological assumption is that human action, like its dimensions of gender and affections, become social, historical and performative constructions in constant tension. These aforementioned forms define places for subjects in power relationships and are carriers of frameworks for interpretation and action. It was also guided by a constructionist theoretical perspective following a hermeneutical approach.

According to the study problem, there are two methodological movements: one with antimilitarists from four cities in Colombia, and another with a set of research and reflections by authors from different national and international contexts. With the first movement we approach the actions and experiences of young people, adopting them as texts, on which communicable meanings must be built. Actions and experiences that are expressed in stories guided by a flexible and open interview guide, which unfolds according to the aspects discussed and emerging in it, without limiting it to a rigid structure. These themes changed over the course of the research, but they revolved around four axes: personal experiences in the army, antimilitarist actions, the role of

certain interpretive categories (patriarchy, conscientious objection, masculinity, non-violence) and shared feelings. The gradual observation on the actions and the informal conversations were giving rise to themes of the same.

An ensemble of organized groups was approached, each of which represents their way of placing themselves in relation to the antimilitarist proposal that follows. These groups were: Collective Action for Conscientious Objection (ACOC); District Process of Conscientious Objection (PD-OC), Bogotá; Medellín Antimilitarist Collective (KAM); Woven by Conscientious Objection; Kolectivo Clown Nariz Obrera (KCNO), Medellín; Antimilitarist Feminist Network, Medellín; Fifth Commandment, Barrancabermeja; and members of Mennonite and Evangelical churches in Barranquilla, Medellín, and Bogotá. In addition, activists from two campaigns participated: “Get off the truck,” from Medellín and “Without discretion,” at the national level, as well as antimilitarists present at the Second National Meeting of Conscientious Objectors (ENOC), held in Bogotá in 2014. Four young people participated independently, two who provided their service and two who refused to perform military service: one by Conscientious Objection, who was disqualified by a decision of a court of law, and another who abstained from appearing because of being against the military institution, without being a political activist. Their respective names are substituted to hide their identity.

For the information analysis, the categories were generated from analytical induction (Schettini, Cortazzo, 2015). The information obtained from conversations and field journal notes was previously thematized defining categories of affections: fear or panic, indignation, enthusiasm and power. Content organizing subcategories: homosexuality, masculinity, hegemonic masculinity, militarism, militarization, women, conscientious objection. Then categories of situations were constructed: militarism, militarization, resistance and patriarchy.

The analysis process was oriented by adopting the position of interpreters of the collaborators' stories, following a procedure of relating the testimonies to each other, in relation to the political context from which they assume their antimilitarist position, and as young people who refuse to "look like" strong and vigorous male soldiers. It was also assumed that their stories are not objective, but involve their shared ways of understanding the military experience, whether they have lived it directly or not. In this sense, it is possible to discover interpretative tendencies among young people that are codified as emerging categories, the same ones that exemplify the description of results.

For all this process, the procedures of investigative ethics that are specified in the informed consent were followed, in addition, different meetings were held with the participating group, where partial results of the research process were socialized.

## Results

In what follows, what constitutes the military institution will be outlined from the understanding of conscientious objectors and antimilitarists.

### **Militarization: Obedient Men with Sculpted Bodies**

The antimilitarist youthful subjectivity conceives of the army as the scenario where control and aggressiveness prevail over the soldier: "it began in itself as mental control, as here it is something else and here what the commander says is done; don't ask, do; do not question my orders, do" (Andrés, ex-soldier, personal interview, March 15, 2017). In these spaces, those who exercise authority are those who define what is done and who the subordinates become: "the soldier has three mandates, what he orders, how he orders it and that his order is fulfilled" (Julio, ex-soldier, personal interview August 5, 2016). Discipline and routines act as tools of submission, where everything that works in that space must be aligned under the directive of authority, and guided by intimidation, fear of punishment and surveillance of the acts: "everything there is directed, lace your boots, take a shower, get dressed, polish, you always have another person who is telling you what to do" (Julio, ex-soldier, personal interview, August 5, 2016).

Military service is lived as learning submission and self-denial internalized through rituals. The uniform and the shave represent renouncing the construction of their own subjectivity, in this regard a young man points out: "The soldier has to be shaved every day, his hair cut, his nails cut, he has to have his boots shined" (Andrés, ex-soldier, personal interview, March 15, 2017). In this way, the soldier is a metaphor for the logic of the army and his body becomes a territory of control and military shaping.

Obedience is the only modality connection for the soldier; whoever does not obey becomes the object of offense and intimidation by superiors:

Few had the character of saying 'I don't want to', the fact that you said no to a command, meant that the command would turn the entire squad against you and threaten you saying that they would inform the captain" (Andrés, ex-soldier, personal interview, March 15, 2017).

Obedying without question is compliance to commands, action without reflection, which favors the formation of an aggressive and violent character: "it is what the one who gives orders says, the more obedient the soldier is, the cooler he lives" (Julio, ex-soldier, personal communication, August 5, 2016). This molding is legitimized by the family: "when I came home, I was already a very different person, yes; so I arrived and they [the parents] somehow they had a perception of me as, oh yes, a real, little man! My father happy" (Andrés, ex-soldier, personal interview, March 15, 2017).

The army forms a legitimate community of men in which collective feelings are created, such as military honor associated with the duty to cooperate with the strengthening of the army, with its public prestige and popular recognition (Fernández, 1986).

By contrast, for the pacifists, the feeling is of frustration and betrayal of themselves: "being a soldier is stupid because I am a pawn of the State, you're not worth anything, the rifle is worth more than you, because that is something that they always ask you about, the rifle" (Andrés, ex-soldier, personal interview, March 15, 2017).

The result of becoming a soldier is the configuration of the disciplined, virile and courageous man that allows us to understand how the patriarchal society reproduces the relational logic of the army and its typical emotionalities. For the antimilitarists, the army represents the scenario where the relationship is based on obedience and the observance of commands, which at the same time, becomes the language of the soldier. Self-denial and submission is understood as the commitment to make the army the means of socialization of men, not only obedient but also warmongers. Military culture is submission and not freedom.

These findings coincide with Goffman's approach (2001) regarding the effects of the total institution – in this case the army – concerning the subjects' identity and corporeality. As a consequence of the initiation ritual, the various losses – in their own name, the objects and daily interactions that made the subject's previous identity plausible – through humiliation, corporal abuse and continuous demands for examples of submission, a series of "humiliations" of self and negative transformations of identity, from which it is extremely difficult to recover. In short, militarization and militarism signify modes of relationship, action and symbolization, both share the same logic (control), and represent the patriarchal values of strength and domination. For the antimilitarists, it is in this logic where hegemonic masculinity is reinforced, emotionally questioned and rejected.

## Masculinity, Symbol of Power Relations, Violence and Submission

In social settings where war practices are legitimized and reproduced, hegemonic masculinity is the only reference of “a real man”: “for them (men) if the practice of war is very involved, [what] makes you more masculine” (María, Kolectivo Antimilitarista from Medellín, personal communication, January 22, 2017). Violence is related to “masculine” values such as the exaltation of strength, virility, aggressiveness, manliness, sexism, homophobia, etc.

"Being crude, with a very violent temperament, they recognize you as whoa, a real man ..., more man" (Andrés, ex-soldier, personal interview, 2017). "Young people who go to the army think it's macho, they think it's the man on the block" (ENOC, 2014).

The masculine value is inversely proportional to the feminine devaluation. While the feminine is natural, the masculine must be achieved and tested through acts of virility (Ospina, H., Muñoz, S. & Castillo, J., 2011). The cult of masculinity is characterized by physical and verbal transgression between men and sexual offense against women (Ruíz, 2003). In a war context, women are spoils of war and men, on the contrary, position themselves as beings of superiority, protection and domination, as an ex-soldier understands it:

The man is strong, he does not cry, he cannot be weak, he has to deny his emotions while the woman is sensitive, protective, caring and, therefore, also expresses herself as an extension of that construction of a man believing that it is necessary to take care of her, protect her, stalk her and control her (Julio, ex-soldier, personal interview, August 5, 2016).

From the antimilitarist side it is objected: “that qualifier marks a lot to women because... what do you mean we are weak?! We are so weak that we are capable of giving life” (Woman in National Encuentro Nacional de Objetores de Conciencia, Group Interview 3, June 15, 2014)

The rejection of homosexuals<sup>1</sup> is interpreted as a matter of chauvinist culture: “if you are homosexual it means that you are not a man, then we are not going to force you to do men's things” (Andrés, ex-soldier, personal interview, March 15, 2017). Faced with this logic of relationship, feelings of disgust are activated, and resistance to hegemonic masculinity through practices of collective solidarity is activated as well:

---

1. On the Todelar network, Admiral García (2012) expressed: “It would not look good a couple of soldiers holding hands, kissing, that runs against the common sense and against ethics, morality and that is more or less what we always look for it to be safe in the institution”.

"We relate to each other to be able to contribute to a change in this society because we are annoyed, we are fed up with this society, because it is a society where the rule that presides is that of the strong male over the weak, so from weakness we come together and become strong and en masse we confront the force." (Payaso 01, KCNO member, Objector, personal interview, June 15, 2014).

The questioning of hegemonic institutions and models of masculinity coincides with the emergence of feelings such as love, solidarity, and trust among antimilitarists; feelings necessary for the practice of resistance and for cultures of peace.

### **Everyday Life Peacebuilding: Other Emotions to De-militarize Life Emotional Transformations of Hegemonic Masculinity**

Emotions are militarized when men are limited in experiencing them; therefore, connecting with their feelings, which are denied because they are men, makes de-militarizing them a possibility (Theidon, 2009). Emotions are valued by antimilitarists and conscientious objectors who resist the militarization of life. The passion of political struggle, the conviction and diversity of emotions (solidarity, friendship, frustrations, fears and joys) are mutually shared. They are politically created and are the drivers for empowerment (strength) and continuous collective struggles as well, thus considering that emotions are the motivational strength of awareness: "The legal procedure may not have any impact if the young person has not been empowered in his feelings, from everything that fear causes" (Member 03, ACOC, Bogotá, group interview, July 17, 2016).

Antimilitarists and objectors are exposed to a series of emotional experiences by different kinds of struggles: "I think, the conviction and the passion we had at that moment for such an issue led us to carry out those actions of resistance" (Jorge, objector, Mennonite Church, Barranquilla, personal interview, July 21, 2016). Direct action as political action (antimilitarist) is strengthened by the collective impetus which inspires courage despite fear. The achievements become reasons for satisfaction, pleasure and dignity (feelings of power) since the objective to be heard is accomplished: "one goes to different places and there are also those actions that are seeds to evoke passion in others" (Raúl, objector, Quinto Mandamiento, Barrancabermeja, personal interview, June 18, 2016). Their wagers for peacebuilding from scratch claim these feelings.



Regarding their practices of resistance to everything symbolizing militarism and barriers to expressing their masculinity, the antimilitarists claim to be mobilized by feelings of courage and serenity in order to create new relationship practices: "I love my friends very much and I have no problem kissing my group colleagues on the cheek. It is a relationship that we've nurtured over a long time" (Payaso 01, pponent, personal interview, May 15 2014).

In their experience resisting the militarization of life, bonds of brotherhood are established through the struggles in which antimilitarists participate, contrary to the mutual group understanding of violence which is common in the armies (Rodríguez, 2011). "One establishes a brotherhood similar to the theme of AgroArte. They are people with whom one has lived struggles [...] the ties of friendship in the army were somehow quite strategic ones." (Juan, unconfined, objectors, AgroArte, Medellín, personal interview, September 22, 2016). Those fraternal relationships within the group drive subjective transformations and strengthen the movement.

Feelings such as love and solidarity emerge in group work, alien to militarism and war: "I bet on other values of freedom, love, awareness, other things that definitely have nothing to do with such militaristic society." (Gloria, antimilitarist, Taller de Redacción de declaración de objeción. Campaña Bájate del Camión. May 7, 2015). It is a strong feeling; the action must be immediate as solidarity demands it: "It is time to stop this slaughter among partners and start listening to each other, learn from love and solidarity, companionship, begin to build culture among everyone" (Ana María, antimilitarist, Campaña Bájate del Camión. May 7, 2015. Taller de Redacción de Declaración de objeción, 2015).

The HM model involves suppressing the men's feelings and expressions that are usually considered "feminine." The antimilitarists, on the contrary, show love, solidarity and empathy toward their fellow group members, and others without gender distinction:

"I think this is also a way to directly face the patriarchal and macho system in which we have been taught to live, [...] it is to break schemes where I cannot hug my partner, [...] where I can treat the girl as a friend, I don't have to be the dominant male over and opposite her. It's time to stop this shit!" (Payaso, group interview KCNO, November 23, 2014).

Therefore, the expression of tenderness has been normalized among men and they refuse to follow the heteronormativity commands. They recognize and celebrate diversity in gender and sexual orientations, both with the group members and with all the people they interact with outside the institution. This flexibility is a daily peacebuilding exercise. As other researchers propose (Bonino,

2002), the transformation of hegemonic male identities assumes the vindication of an ethics of equality, based on respect for difference, the denial of militaristic values (honor, courage, virility, aggressiveness) and the daily life establishment of new values and ideals such as peace, equity, freedom and antidogmatism.

### **Horizontal Relationships Framed in Non-violence**

In contrast to blind obedience and submission, young people follow other practices. They resist any explicit warmongering mandate (military service, wars) or implicit one (daily life militarization), and demand disobedience of social institutions that perpetuate patriarchal or militaristic practices. During their daily life, antimilitarist groups strive to create an environment of democratic coexistence to be free from any relationship of subordination, domination or instrumentalization. Therefore, they are not organized hierarchically; their relationships are characterized by horizontality, autonomy, freedom of thought, participatory decision-making, and debate of ideas. These characteristics guide antimilitarists in different parts of the country: "Here relationships are horizontal, we all have the same salary and equal contribution. There is no boss but there is a schedule. There is group commitment." (Member 03, ACOC, Bogotá, group interview, June 17, 2016).

"We, in a certain way, look for the construction of our daily life in our surroundings, [...] but not because of any political party guideline or orientation, rather it is our thinking, our autonomy, [...] we have neither commanders or leaders, because each of us contributes with something, [...] therefore, the Kolectivo Antimilitarista is a response to a vertical construction, but we have a horizontal one. We do not believe in militarism as an army does to solve conflicts, instead we do believe in dialogue." (Voz 04, Kolectivo Antimilitarista from Medellín, Group interview August 15, 2014).

In their relationships with others (groups, NGOs, agents of the State or the public force, armed groups), they assert their rights and express their political convictions. The antimilitarists exhibit a nonviolent position when confronting the institutions that represent warmongering and patriarchy:

"Thinking of a peaceful non-violent answer [...] to deal with injustices. It is more insubordination than an uprising involvement of raised weapons, [...]. It is non-violent because it is not put in the same field of force, [...] and if I am

going to speak with a military man, with an armed actor and I get involved in the same kind of violent and angry discourse, he will pick on me, because he does what he knows; our position is different” (María, Kolectivo Antimilitarista from Medellín, personal interview, January 23, 2014).

As with the antimilitarist groups, there are other options in Colombia. According to Campuzano (2018) they participate in daily peacebuilding processes, not only in public actions to confront the armed actors, but when they learn not to attack their peers in their families or communities, thus prioritizing dialogue as a dispute resolution mechanism. Here peace is not a speech, but a daily practice:

“We are going to create all the methods possible but never crossed with violence, [...] How do I establish relationships of affection, and what do I have to articulate above and beyond a policy of war? This is a policy that considers emotions and how are we going to adopt it. Because it is difficult, we live in a patriarchal, violent society that has accustomed us to some dynamics. Well, let’s try to break those dynamics little by little” (Miembro 01, ACOC, Bogotá, group interview, June 17, 2016).

According to these young anti-militarists, non-violence is a daily way of relating to others which is different from “peace” as a speech that can be manipulated by the State, that covertly continue to support warlike practices:

“Many times, they say that peace is based on dialogue and other things, however history tells us this is a lie, that is, whoever uses the peace speech is manipulating minds, and [...] They have manipulated them for centuries” (Voz 04, Kolectivo Antimilitarista from Medellín, Group interview August 15, 2014).

## Claims on Gender Equity and Diversity

In the same direction of building a culture of peace, antimilitarists oppose the dominance over women which is evidenced in war contexts (Suárez, 2015). The historically constructed gender hierarchy determines the way of thinking about oneself and relating to others. This patriarchal scenario is developed in social, economic and institutional structures (Connell, 2018) where the interest in reproducing exclusion practices and upholding the privileges of masculinity prevails. This same order also conditions their daily life. This implies, primarily, a subjective transformation, even for women, to de-naturalize gender violence:

“When you understand that there is a dominating system, you get upset. Once you manage to interpret the logic of competition or the logic of suspicion of the holy whore ‘Who knows why they killed her? Who knows why they raped her?’ Once you start to interpret such logic [...] it becomes unacceptable” (Ana, Red Feminista Antimilitarista, Medellín, personal interview, October 18, 2016).

Violence against women becomes a reason of outrage and action. In antimilitarist groups, men promote equality of conditions vis-à-vis their partners, and on a daily basis, they strive to break down stereotypes, prejudices and gender roles that place women in social “inferiority.” According to Tidy (2015), antimilitarist groups require processes of self-criticism in order not to reproduce within themselves the gender privileges and subordinations that militarism sustains. The antimilitarists who participated in the study state that they reject all forms of violence against women in any public or private sphere of life. In this sense, they recognize that peacebuilding implies the dismantling of armies or illegal armed groups, and also the eradication of the mistreatment, objectification, sexual exploitation of women, and their stigmatization as “weak and inferior” beings at all levels: educational, labor, and cultural.

This is part of the efforts to build a “feminist culture of peace” (Checa, Cid, 2003) stemming from “pacifistic feminism” (Rodríguez, 2011), which argues that militarism reinforces male domination and that, in order to attack the root causes of war, it is necessary to erode gender inequalities. Indeed, some research has identified that gender equality contributes to peace building in post-conflict situations (Bjarnegård and Melander, 2011), unveiling male domination gives rise to the recognition of other forms of exclusion that are at the basis of armed conflicts (Connell, 1995). With all this, it is not strange that overcoming injustices derived from the gender hierarchy is a necessary moment of the construction of cultures of peace (Tidy, 2015). Hence the importance of the articulation

of the antimilitarist and feminist movements, and of the active participation of women in both fields:

“Women, also actors, recipients and promoters of militarization and machismo exercises [...] have a strong political role as subjects of social transformation. They also have a political-ethical stance against the war and this is different from accompanying a man who is going through the objection process [...] this is important in creating links between objectors and feminist organizations.” (Woman at Encuentro Nacional de Objetores de Conciencia, Group Interview N° 3, May 15, 2014).

Instead of contempt or hatred toward what is considered feminine or weak, antimilitarists express solidarity, which extends beyond their collective, as they often contribute to other social struggles such as those involving feminists, indigenous populations, rural populations issues, environmental, workers, and those of the LGBTI community among others. In this sense, attention has been drawn to the importance of the intersectional perspective of the movement (Henry, 2017).

### **Political and Artistic Practices as an Alternative to Militarization of Life**

As mentioned previously, the military institution reinforces traditional gender roles, as well as the assignment of activities in the same logical scheme. In opposition to this predetermination, those who make up antimilitarist collectives frequently develop their life projects around activism, art, community participation or the construction of knowledge in the field of social sciences. The daily construction of peace becomes, as some say, a way of life:

“I have been working on reconciliation with victims and perpetrators, in other processes I am working on non-violence, in others on conscientious objection. For me, it is all one thing, a whole process with the objective of building peace. So, today I can say that [...] it is a way of life, for me it is that, not a paid job [...] it is almost like a calling.” (Jorge, objector, Mennonite Church, Barranquilla, personal interview, June 21, 2016).

Through their collective practices, especially artistic ones, young antimilitarists seek to spread their antimilitarist and antipatriarchal convictions and, in

that sense, to achieve the reconfiguration of their own subjectivity and that of their audiences:

“Although from the oral discourse we often do not have the capacity to express what we feel, a feeling of creativity is generated that is materialized in the artistic [...] we are denouncing, at the same time we are proposing another way of establishing this relationship” (Payaso 07, KCNO member, Workshop on anti-militarist sentiments, dramatization, September 19, 2015).

But it is not only about artistic practices; pedagogical, political, communicative and legal actions, and especially nonviolent direct actions, are also part of the practices of these young activists: "there is the whole issue of nonviolent direct actions as a manifestation of the need to touch people's sensibility through totally different actions that break the everyday routine" (Member 01, ACOC, Bogotá, Group interview, June 17, 2016).

All these actions generate a feeling of strength that accompanies the daily work of the activists. As has been argued, in their practices of resistance to everything that symbolizes the militarization of life, antimilitarists recognize affections as the motive of their resistance actions, since allowing themselves to feel and build relationships in affections such as love, solidarity and freedom makes it possible to transform the relational logic of militarized and patriarchal societies.

## Conclusions

This study has been proposed that social relations in patriarchy are structured on a gender regime that consists of the imposition of classification rules that regulate social practices and determine the unequal distribution of power, which are extended throughout the constitution of androcentric institutions, such as the military institution, founded on relationships of authority and obedience (Yuste, 2004; Otálora, 2015).

As a patriarchal institution, the army produces and promotes an HM model. It promotes the socialization of obedient and warlike men who, because of a supposed obligation acquired with the nation, enter the military forces. There they are involved in relationships marked by threats, intimidation and submission, which in themselves become expressions of militarization.

The relational logic of the military institution are studied without delving into the affective spheres, particularly those who resist being part of war. However, in this research, feelings such as fear, frustration, self-betrayal, among others, make sense as transversal affects (and subsumed) into the military experience. This study has managed to understand, following the voices of antimilitarists – some of whom served in the military – that the army is experienced as an organization that socializes its members through routines and disciplines that govern and control bodies, having as a horizon of meaning the formation of a (masculine) identity based on military feelings such as honor, pride and strength. The army is a total institution, where an abstraction of civilian life takes place so that soldiers learn new routines and modify their behavior. The feeling body of the soldiers is the first territory of militarization, through rituals that seek the subjugation of subjectivity. Military socialization recognizes these bodies and their affects and engraves in them discipline as a virtue, so that they can become agents for the subjugation of others. Soldiers are trained to obey and be obeyed. In the total institution, suffering is the protagonist and physical sanctions are legitimized with a view to the formation of soldiers.

Young people who oppose this expression of the patriarchal system – their bodies being turned into objects of homogenization and uniformity, and their territories into spaces of control and subjugation – construct practices of resistance to war, militarism and hegemonic masculinity, with which they oppose the reproduction of authoritarianism and subjugation, in a horizon of construction of relationships based on values alien to military contexts.

In this context of resistance (as a totality), the reciprocal affections of solidarity – friendship, love, companionship – are constituted as an emotional support in the face of the suffering to which the youth bodies are subjected. The collectives, which are located outside the barracks, are formed with few members around a system of emotions, supported by the relationships within the barracks and the culture of peace they help to create.

As antimilitarists they question the State's discourse of "peace," and additionally become agents of peace building in everyday life, through the different practices they develop in their collectives that have an impact on their communities: Nonviolent direct actions, popular pedagogy, artistic, legal, and other actions.

In the relational spaces of the collectives, they experience transformations of their subjectivity and feelings, previously shaped by the militarist and patriarchal culture. In this scenario of relationships and daily dialogues they have understood that *resisting war and patriarchal discourse* means welcoming social actors historically excluded or invalidated, such as women, and questioning aspects such as gender roles. They recognize that women have an active role,

both in the delegitimization of the discourse of war and in its deconstruction, and that the profound inequality promoted by the HM is a form of violence.

Rejecting all forms of violence against women, giving expression to the "feminine" affections that patriarchal culture has made them repress, they construct identities, orientations and expressions of gender and sexuality that escape the impositions of that culture. They construct alternative subjectivities and corporealities associated with their political activism as antimilitarists and, in many cases, with their projects as artists or community leaders. Likewise, these young people oppose all forms of authoritarianism and build horizontal, democratic relationships among themselves, based on dialogue, freedom and consensus, thus materializing their convictions around non-violence<sup>2</sup>.

In line with this, Sharoni (2008) proposes that changes in meanings and practices are not a matter of personal decisions or choices, nor do they take place in a vacuum, but are related to social and political ideals. For her, there is a great difference between masculinities that are formed in the context of domination and those that are formed in a context of emancipation.

---

2. For an extension of the concept of nonviolence (different from no violence), as a value and argument of pacifism, consult: López M., Mario (2004; 2013).



## References

- Acosta-Navas, J. P. (2021). Mujeres lideresas constructoras de paz en la comuna 1 de Medellín: una aproximación a las paces cotidianas construidas desde abajo. *Ánfora*, 28(50), 75-102. <https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora/article/view/712/532>
- Basabe, N. De Rivera (Eds.). (n.d.). *Superando la violencia colectiva y construyendo cultura de paz* (pp. 69-1001). Fundamentos. [http://www.psicosocial.net/historico/index.php?option=com\\_docman&view=download&alias=755-superando-la-violencia-colectiva-y-construyendo-cultura-de-paz&category\\_slug=justicia-verdad-y-reparacion&Itemid=100225](http://www.psicosocial.net/historico/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=755-superando-la-violencia-colectiva-y-construyendo-cultura-de-paz&category_slug=justicia-verdad-y-reparacion&Itemid=100225)
- Basabe, N.; Valencia, J.; Bobowik, M. (2011). Valores y actitudes: cultura de violencia y paz. In D. Páez., C. Martín-Beristain, J. L. González, N. Basabe, J. De Rivera. (Eds.), *Superando la violencia colectiva y construyendo cultura de paz* (pp. 69-1001). Fundamentos. [http://www.psicosocial.net/historico/index.php?option=com\\_docman&view=download&alias=755-superando-la-violencia-colectiva-y-construyendo-cultura-de-paz&category\\_slug=justicia-verdad-y-reparacion&Itemid=100225](http://www.psicosocial.net/historico/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=755-superando-la-violencia-colectiva-y-construyendo-cultura-de-paz&category_slug=justicia-verdad-y-reparacion&Itemid=100225)
- Belli, S.; Íñiguez, L. (2008). El estudio psicosocial de las emociones: una revisión y discusión de la investigación actual. *PSICO*, 39(2), 139 -151. <https://core.ac.uk/reader/132084624>
- Berger, P.; Luckman, T. (1986). *La construcción social de la realidad*. Amorrortu.
- Bjarnegård, E.; Melander, E. (2011). Disentangling Gender, Peace and Democratization: The Negative Effects of Militarized Masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 20(2), 139-154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2011.565194>
- Bonino, L. (2002). Masculinidad hegemónica e identidad masculina. *Dossiers feministes*, 6, 7-36. <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/DossiersFeministes/article/viewFile/102434/153629>

- Bonvillani, A. (2013). Cuerpos en marcha: emocionalidad política en las formas festivas de protesta juvenil. *Nómadas*, 39, 90-103.  
<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4702061>
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *La dominación masculina*. Anagrama.
- Butler, J. (2006). *El Género en disputa: el feminismo y la subversión de la identidad*. Paidós.
- Campuzano, G. (2018). Infancias y juventudes en contextos de vulnerabilidad: Prácticas y sentidos de paz frente a múltiples violencias. In L. López, M. Salazar (Eds.), *Políticas de construcción de paz: tránsitos, tensiones y lecciones aprendidas* (pp. 89-104). Universidad Pedagógica Nacional; Fundación Centro Internacional de Educación y Desarrollo Humano (CINDE); Universidad de Manizales; Colciencias. [http://ceanj.cinde.org.co/programa/Archivos/publicaciones/Coleccion\\_virtual/5\\_POLITICAS\\_DE\\_CONSTRUCCION\\_DE\\_PAZ.pdf](http://ceanj.cinde.org.co/programa/Archivos/publicaciones/Coleccion_virtual/5_POLITICAS_DE_CONSTRUCCION_DE_PAZ.pdf)
- Carreño, D.F. (2019). *Narrativas antimilitaristas de la objeción de conciencia en Colombia* [Master Thesis]. Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Bogotá.  
<http://repository.pedagogica.edu.co/bitstream/handle/20.500.12209/10934/TO-23635.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Cefai, D. (2011). Diez propuestas para el estudio de las movilizaciones colectivas. De la experiencia al compromiso. *Revista de Sociología*, 26, 137-166.  
<https://doi.org/10.5354/0719-529X.2011.27491>
- Checa, V., Cid del Prado, R. (2003). Nueva Masculinidad: Identidad, Necesidades Humanas y Paz. Asparkía: *Investigación Feminista*, 14, 33-43.  
<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Asparkia/article/view/108678/155040>
- Connell, R. W. (1995). La organización social de la masculinidad. In T. Valdes, J. Olavarría (Eds.). *Masculinidad/es: poder y crisis* (pp. 31-48). ISIS-FLACSO: Ediciones de las Mujeres N° 24. [https://scholar.google.es/scholar?hl=es&as\\_sdt=0%2C5&q=La+organizaci%C3%B3n+social+de+la+masculinidad&btnG=](https://scholar.google.es/scholar?hl=es&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=La+organizaci%C3%B3n+social+de+la+masculinidad&btnG=)
- Connell, R.W. (2018). *Género: Desde una perspectiva global*. Universidad de Valencia Publications PUV.

- Crespo, E. (2018). Un enfoque social sobre las emociones. In J. L. Álvaro (Coord.). *La interacción social. Escritos en homenaje a José Ramón Torregrosa* (pp.165-183). CIS. <https://eprints.ucm.es/57172/1/Eduardo%20Crespo%202018%20Un%20enfoque%20social%20sobre%20las%20emociones.pdf>
- Creswell, J. (1994): *Research Design. Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*. Sage.
- Cruz, A. (2012). La razón de las emociones. Formación social, política y cultural de las emociones. *Eleuthera*, 6, 64 – 81. [http://eleuthera.ucaldas.edu.co/downloads/Eleuthera6\\_6.pdf](http://eleuthera.ucaldas.edu.co/downloads/Eleuthera6_6.pdf)
- Donoso, I. (2015). *Nuevas Masculinidades. Una mirada transformadora de género* [Undergraduate work]. Universitat Jaume. <http://repositori.uji.es/xmlui/handle/10234/136546>
- Espitia, L. (2018). *La relación entre el patriarcado y el militarismo en la política de defensa y seguridad democrática (2002-2004)* [Master thesis]. Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Fernández, F. (1986). El perfil diferencial de la escala de valores de la institución militar. *Revista de estudios políticos*, 51, 79-126. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=26897>
- Fernández, P. (2000). *La afectividad colectiva*. Taurus
- Figuera, J. G. (2005). Elementos para el estudio de la sexualidad y la salud de los varones integrantes de las fuerzas armadas. In E. López, E. Pantelides (Comp.), *Varones Latinoamericanos. Estudios sobre sexualidad y reproducción* (pp. 47-80). Paidós.
- Fisas, V. (2011). Educar para una Cultura de Paz. *Quaderns de construcció de pau*, 20, 2-8. [https://escolapau.uab.cat/img/qcp/educar\\_cultura\\_paz.pdf](https://escolapau.uab.cat/img/qcp/educar_cultura_paz.pdf)
- Fuerzas militares. (March 5, 2012). *Almirante Roberto García Márquez rechaza gays en la Armada Nacional*. <http://www.fuerzasmilitares.org/notas/colombia/armada-nacional/357-almirante-roberto-garcia-marquez-rechaza-gays-en-la-armada-nacional.html>

- Gallego, A. M. (2018). El arquetipo del guerrero como factor determinante para la creación de la masculinidad hegemónica. *Revistas Unaula*, 4(7), 59-78. <https://publicaciones.unaula.edu.co/index.php/indisciplinas/article/view/669/884>
- Garay, F. (2014). *El hacerse hombre en la guerra: la construcción de las masculinidades en el caso de Bahía Portete* [Undergraduate Degree Project]. Universidad del Rosario. <https://repository.urosario.edu.co/handle/10336/6375>
- Goffman, I. (2001). *Sobre las características de las instituciones totales. En Internados. Ensayos sobre la situación social de los enfermos mentales*. Amorrortu.
- Granados, A. (2021). Prolegómenos para un enfoque de paces cotidianas. *Ánfora*, 28(50), 17-44. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7808883>
- Henry, M. (2017). Problematizing Military Masculinity, Intersectionality and Male Vulnerability in Feminist Critical Military Studies. *Critical Military Studies*, 3(2), 182-199. [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/79648/1/Henry\\_Problematizing%20military%20masculinity\\_2017.pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/79648/1/Henry_Problematizing%20military%20masculinity_2017.pdf)
- Héritier, F. (1996). *Masculino/femenino: el pensamiento de la diferencia*. Ariel.
- Hernández, I.; Luna, J. A.; Cadena, M. C. (2017). Cultura de paz: Una construcción desde la educación. *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana*, 19(28), 149 – 172. <http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/rhel/v19n28/v19n28a09.pdf>
- Hernández; F. (2003). *Miseria del militarismo. Una crítica del discurso de la guerra*. Virus editorial. <https://viruseditorial.net/paginas/pdf.php?pdf=miseria-del-militarismo.pdf>
- Isaza, J. (November 20, 2013). Militarismo. *El Espectador*. <http://www.elespectador.com/opinion/militarismo-columna-459572>
- López M. (2004). Poder, política y noviolencia. In B. Molina, F., Muñoz, (Eds.), *Manual de paz y conflictos* (pp. 357-384). Universidad de Granada. [http://www.ugr.es/~mariol/files/publicaciones/capitulos\\_de\\_libro/noviolencia/46.pdf](http://www.ugr.es/~mariol/files/publicaciones/capitulos_de_libro/noviolencia/46.pdf)

- López M. (2013), Introducción a la no-violencia. *Vectores de investigación*, 7(7), 12-21. <https://revista-vectores-de-investigacion.com/gallery/7%20rvi%207%20revista.pdf>
- Mabee, B.; Vucetic, S. (2018). Varieties of militarism: Towards a *Typology*. *Security Dialogue*, 1- 13. [https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0967010617730948?casa\\_token=AdKrXmye64gAAAAA%3ALQGAwhAT3ng6wJ1PGrAxoNDRWfIwBKepDoflDBX9roIoEu4KIXQkv24ayqrXl1YsXWxpn9QyMNgPg](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0967010617730948?casa_token=AdKrXmye64gAAAAA%3ALQGAwhAT3ng6wJ1PGrAxoNDRWfIwBKepDoflDBX9roIoEu4KIXQkv24ayqrXl1YsXWxpn9QyMNgPg)
- Molina, T. (April 21, 2014). El gasto militar en Colombia en un escenario de posconflicto. *El Espectador*. <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/nacional/el-gasto-militar-colombia-un-escenario-de-posconflicto-articulo-487367>
- Nussbaum, M. (2014). *Emociones políticas: ¿por qué el amor es importante para la justicia?* Paidós.
- Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura. (s.f.). *¿Qué es la cultura de paz?* <http://unescopaz.uprrp.edu/documentos/culturapaz.pdf>
- Ortega, P.; Gomez, J. (2010). *Militarismo en América Latina*. Justicia i Pau.
- Ospina, H.; Muñoz, S.; Castillo, J. (2011). Red Juvenil de Medellín: prácticas de desobediencia y resistencia al patriarcado y al militarismo. In *Experiencias alternativas de acción política con participación de jóvenes en Colombia* (pp. 43-61). Center for Advanced Studies in Childhood and Youth, a partnership between the Universidad de Manizales and CINDE. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/35215549.pdf>
- Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura. (n.d.). *¿Qué es la cultura de paz?* <http://unescopaz.uprrp.edu/documentos/culturapaz.pdf>
- Otálora, M. (2015). *Llevar el ejército en el pecho*. Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

- Parpart, J.; Partridge K. (2014). Soldiering on: Pushing Militarized Masculinities into New Territory. In M. Evans, C. Hemmings, M. Henry, H. Johnstone, S. Madhok, A. Plomien, S. Wearing. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Feminist Theory* (pp. 550-565). SAGE. <https://sk.sagepub.com/reference/the-sage-handbook-of-feminist-theory/n32.xml>
- Pérez, C. (2015). Una lectura de la autoridad a propósito de tres registros de la experiencia de mujeres cadetes en la escuela matriz del Ejército de Chile. *Revista de la Academia*, 19, 187-208. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6073849>
- Rambla, X. (2002). Soldados con género: clase social y masculinidad en el entrenamiento militar. *INGURUAK*, 34, 147-166. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=698130>
- Rodríguez, T. (2008). El valor de las emociones para el análisis cultural. *Papers*, 87, 145-159. <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/26259>
- Rodríguez, M. (2011). Hegemonic Masculinity and Counter-hegemonic Feminist Discourses for Peace. *Prisma Social*, 7, 369-405. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3804917>
- Rosas, O. (2011). La estructura disposicional de los sentimientos. *Ideas y Valores*, 145, 5-31. [http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci\\_abstract&pid=S0120-00622011000100001&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=es](http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S0120-00622011000100001&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=es)
- Ruiz, R. (2003). *Por una masculinidad sin violencia*. CEAMEG- Chamber of Deputies.
- Ruiz, J. A. (2012). Calidad en la educación militar, estabilidad en la democracia: un recorrido histórico por las aulas de la Escuela Militar colombiana. In H. Klepak (Comp.) *Formación y educación militar: los futuros oficiales y la democracia* (p.135-168). RESDAL.
- Salazar, O. (2013). *Masculinidades y ciudadanía: Los hombres también tenemos género*. Dykinson.
- Sandoval, L.; Otálora, M. (2015). Desarrollo corporal y liderazgo en el proceso de formación militar. *Revista Científica General José María Córdova*, 13(16), 33-53. <http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/recig/v13n16/v13n16a03.pdf>

- Scheve, C.; Ismer, S. (2013). Towards a Theory of Collective Emotions. *Emotion Review*, 5(4), 406-413.  
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258997923>
- Serrano, E. (1972). El Ejército, institución social, jurídica y política. *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, 185, 65-108.  
<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=1710580>
- Schettini, P.; Cortazzo, I. (2015). *Análisis de datos cualitativos en la investigación social: procedimientos y herramientas para la interpretación de información*. Universidad Nacional de La Plata.
- Sharoni, S. (2008). De-Militarizing Masculinities in the Age of Empire. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 37(2), 147-164.  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290741490\\_De-Militarizing\\_Masculinities\\_in\\_the\\_Age\\_of\\_Empire](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290741490_De-Militarizing_Masculinities_in_the_Age_of_Empire)
- Sirimarco, M. (2004). Marcas de género, cuerpos de poder. Discursos de producción de masculinidad en la conformación del sujeto policial. *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, 20, 61-78.  
<https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/1809/180913912005.pdf>
- Suárez, I. (2015). Violencia de género y violencia sexual del conflicto armado colombiano. *Cambios y Permanencias*, 6, 173-203.  
<https://revistas.uis.edu.co/index.php/revistacyp/article/view/7097>
- Tidy, J. (2015). Gender, Dissenting Subjectivity and the Contemporary Military Peace Movement in Body of War. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17(3), 454-472. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2014.967128>
- Theidon, K. (2009). Reconstrucción de la masculinidad y reintegración de excombatientes en Colombia. *Fundación Ideas para la paz, Serie Working papers*, 5, 3-28. <http://www.bivipas.unal.edu.co/bitstream/10720/642/1/266-theidon%2C%20kimberly.pdf>
- Ubillos, S.; Beristain, M.; Garaigordobil, M.; Halperin, E. (2011). Agresión, odio, conflictos intergrupales y violencia colectiva. In D. Páez, D. Martín-Beristain, C. González, J. L.

- Urzúa, S. (2011). Cuerpos en confrontación. Hacia un análisis del cuerpo y las emociones en la manifestación política en Chile neoliberal. *Persona y Sociedad*, 25(2), 101-123.  
<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3752876>
- Vain, D. (2012). El enfoque interpretativo en investigación educativa: algunas consideraciones teórico-metodológicas. *Revista de Educación*, 4, 37-46.  
[http://fh.mdp.edu.ar/revistas/index.php/r\\_educ/article/viewFile/83/146](http://fh.mdp.edu.ar/revistas/index.php/r_educ/article/viewFile/83/146)
- Vasilachis, I. (2007). El aporte de la epistemología del sujeto conocido al estudio cualitativo de las situaciones de pobreza, de la identidad y de las representaciones sociales. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 8(3), 1-29.  
<https://ri.conicet.gov.ar/handle/11336/74736>
- Yuste, J. (August 16, 2004). *Antimilitarismo y feminismo: el cuestionamiento a la cultura patriarcal de dominación*. Tortuga Animalist Group.  
<http://www.grupotortuga.com/Antimilitarismo-y-feminismo-el>
- Zarzuri, R.; Lecourt, J. (2007). *Jóvenes, servicio militar y objeción de conciencia: notas introductorias*. Editorial Hombre Nuevo. [http://www.archivochile.com/Poder\\_Dominante/ffaa\\_y\\_orden/Sobre/PDffaa sobre0025.pdf](http://www.archivochile.com/Poder_Dominante/ffaa_y_orden/Sobre/PDffaa sobre0025.pdf)



# Critical Education in Human Rights for the Construction of Peace: an Experience at the Carlos Albán Holguín School<sup>1</sup>

[English version]

Educación crítica en Derechos Humanos para la construcción de paz:  
una experiencia en el colegio Carlos Albán Holguín

Educação crítica em direitos humanos para a construção da paz:  
uma experiência na escola Carlos Albán Holguín

*Received May 29, 2020, accepted April 5, 2021.*

Paula-Andrea Sanabria-Rodríguez\*\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7054-7579>

Colombia

## Abstract

**Objective:** to promote human rights education from critical theory as a contribution to peacebuilding with eighth grade students at the Carlos Albán Holguín school. **Methodology:** educational ethnography was used as a research method, using information gathering instruments such as a field diary, participant observation, interviews and surveys. **Results:** these show the data obtained from the surveys, a comparison and the results of the informative projects carried out by the students. **Conclusions:** the reflections achieved with the students are shown, noting the importance of education and the defense of human rights; all aimed at achieving peace.

› To cite this article:

Sanabria-Rodríguez, Paula-Andrea.

Critical Education  
in Human Rights for the  
Construction of Peace: an  
Experience at the Carlos Albán  
Holguín School. (2021).  
*Ánfora*, 28(51), 49-68.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.708>

Universidad Autónoma de  
Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.

E-ISSN 2248-6941.

CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

\* Result of the research conducted within the framework of the degree work "Paz al aula: educación en Derechos Humanos en el colegio Carlos Albán Holguín" to qualify for the Bachelor's degree in Basic Education with an Emphasis on Social Sciences from the Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas. It started in March 2018 and ended in January 2020.

\*\* Degree in Basic Education with an Emphasis in Social Sciences from the Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas. Email: [pasanabriar@correo.udistrital.edu.co](mailto:pasanabriar@correo.udistrital.edu.co)

**Keywords:** Human Rights Education; Peace; Critical pedagogy; Critical Theory.

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** promover la educación en Derechos Humanos desde la teoría crítica como aporte a la construcción de paz con los estudiantes de grado octavo del colegio Carlos Albán Holguín. **Metodología:** se tomó la etnografía educativa como método de investigación, utilizando instrumentos de recolección de información como diario de campo, observación participante, entrevista y encuesta. **Resultados:** se muestran los datos obtenidos de las encuestas, la comparación entre ellas y los resultados de los proyectos informativos que realizaron los y las estudiantes. **Conclusiones:** se muestran las reflexiones logradas con los y las estudiantes, notando la importancia de la educación y defensa de los Derechos Humanos; todo ello encaminado a la búsqueda de la paz.

**Palabras clave:** Educación en Derechos Humanos; Paz; Pedagogía crítica; Teoría crítica.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** promover a educação em Direitos Humanos a partir da teoria crítica como contribuição para a construção da paz com alunos da oitava série da escola Carlos Albán Holguín. **Metodologia:** etnografia educacional foi utilizada como método de pesquisa, utilizando instrumentos de coleta de informações como diário de campo, observação participante, entrevista e inqueritos. **Resultados:** mostra os dados obtidos nas pesquisas, a comparação entre elas e os resultados dos projetos informativos realizados pelos alunos. **Conclusões:** são apresentadas as reflexões alcançadas com os alunos, ressaltando a importância da educação e defesa dos Direitos Humanos; todos voltados para a busca da paz.

**Palavras-chave:** Educação em direitos humanos; Paz; Pedagogia crítica; Teoria crítica.

## Introduction

Immersed in violence and misery, in recent years, Colombia had the opportunity to change its history, thanks to the peace agreement signed between the Colombian government and the FARC-EP, from which different initiatives were started that have had peace as their center. A peace chairmanship was established with the aim of “creating and consolidating a space for learning, reflection and dialogue on the culture of peace” (Law 1732, 2014). This is enabling analysis and its repercussions on the territories and the context "with the purpose of rebuilding the social fabric, promoting general prosperity and guaranteeing the effectiveness of the principles, rights and duties enshrined in the Constitution" (Decree 1038, 2015).

Despite this, currently in the Colombian panorama, human rights violations and murders of social leaders are daily and recurrent. According to *El Espectador*; based on the report “All Names, All Faces” of the Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz (Indepaz) and the Patriotic March, “there have been 837 people murdered between January 2016 and May 2019. Of this number, 702 are social leaders and 135 are ex-FARC combatants.” (El Espectador, 2019). Also, Indepaz compiled a report on the murders of human rights defenders and social leaders in 2020, reaching 138 murders, plus six relatives or people close to the murdered leaders and defenders. Likewise, to date 25 former FARC-EP combatants who signed the peace agreement had been assassinated. (González Perafán, 2020).

When tracing investigative works on human rights education in schools in Bogotá, it was possible to find relevant starting points. Beatriz Cadena (2017) developed tools that allow teachers to address conflicts by taking historical memory as an identity forger and observing the transformational potential in the subjects. Cindy Jiménez (2013) highlighted critical education on human rights in contexts of violence as a way to promote actions that transform these dynamics. Active participation was highlighted, understanding the student as a transformational subject, the contextual approach and the relevance of critical pedagogy.

Arles Bello (2016) identified an imbalance between legal discourse and practice, observing that, in several institutions, there is no depth when talking about human rights, based on a juxtaposed vision that, according to Helio Gallardo (2011), only that which is legally consigned is valid, but ends up being irrelevant for the students as they do not really understand what human rights are or how they have been constituted throughout history. While Inéride Álvarez

(2012) proposed that human rights education must have a clear intention in the formation of the political subject of rights, overcoming the “simplistic” vision of history.

The Carlos Albán Holguín school is located in Bosa, an area in the southwest of Bogotá. This sector has many problems such as fights, insecurity, trafficking of psychoactive substances, the difficulty of access to the healthcare system and spaces for participation, among others. In the midst of this, the possibility of redefining the teaching of human rights from critical theory was found, addressing them in a contextual way with a view toward building peace in the classroom.

According to Castillo (2017) School is considered a setting where young people "create new ways of living politics, of interacting with institutions, dealing with conflicts, confronting other generations, living sexuality and, in general, organizing collective life." (p.67). [Own translation]. Developing a training process was found to be necessary, starting from joint critical reflection that comprised the students' context as its starting point, allowing students to take part from a human rights perspective in the construction of peace, based on a more participatory education where peace is a flag, memory an instrument and indignation a weapon to unite them and claim the rights of youth, children and adults.

The main objective of the Pedagogical-investigative project was to promote human rights education from critical theory as a contribution to peacebuilding with eighth grade students at the Carlos Albán Holguín school. For this, inquiring about the human rights training practices offered by the institution and its association with peacebuilding was first necessary, then subsequently, generating a pedagogical proposal for the construction of peace from human rights for the eighth grade students. And finally, the training practices needed to reflect and discuss critical human rights theory as the result of the students' informative and artistic projects and the workshops carried out.

## **Human Rights from Critical Theory**

It is known that there is not a single way to understand human rights, one of the first documents that is known about the subject is the Declaration of Rights of Virginia in 1776, as a result of which in the French Revolution consolidated the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen in 1789, laying the foundations for the so-called civil and political rights, located in a naturalistic position that assumes that, by the very fact of being born, rights are already

conferred, linked to obligations and duties. Thus, by constituting rights acquired by all men at birth, the State only intervenes in "the effects of recognizing, declaring and normatively protecting them, but not conferring or granting them." (Manili, 2012, p. 6). [Own translation]. Therefore, no one can take away or grant the rights.

Later, in the framework of the Russian Revolution in 1917, the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People" appears, which positions so-called economic, social and cultural rights. For 1981 the "African Charter of Human Rights and the Rights of the Peoples" appeared, from which collective rights were proclaimed. (Camargo, 2012). There is also the legal positivism vision that conceives as valid only the rights consigned in treaties or legal documents with international approval, thus having some instances where they can be legally demanded. (Gallardo, 2011).

Critical theory states that: "Nobody gives, concedes or grants rights, insofar as they are a work that is reached through extended struggles and social tensions. Human rights are, then, human constructions at the service of humanizing the human being" (Restrepo Domínguez, M. 2010, p. 14). [Own translation]. This implies recognizing that they are not only a norm or an official document, but that they collect the mobilizations and social demands of oppressed people or workers without comfortable or sufficient material conditions, who identified a shared problem and decided to act to seek guarantees and improvements to the situation.

Furthermore, as it is a social production that has been construed through history, they are not finished, they continue to be elaborated, they continue to evoke new guarantees for society that will then be the impetus to achieve more. It happens in this way, while, in the search for dignity and good living, the material and mental conditions that human beings needs must be taken into account, proceeding hand-in-hand with the context in which it develops. Likewise, from critical theory human rights are not understood in isolation from each other, as human beings require all living conditions for their full development and dignified existence.

### **Critical Education in Human Rights**

It is essential to remember that, within critical pedagogy, teaching-knowledge-learning is considered an intentional and not neutral practice, insofar as different interests are at stake. It is important, then, to recognize within what context the educational process takes place and what are the discourses that

are presented. Starting from Popular Education, but applied completely to the interests in this project, “invites an epistemological rethinking (from the student as subject) and ethical (the unequal power relationship in the traditional educational act and in the choice of the contents, among others).” (Solano, 2016, p.97). [Author’s translation]. This proposal is presented as an ethical-political commitment. Ethically, this is based on the recognition of the other as legitimate within the coexistence from the non-denial of the subject (Maturana, 1997) giving way to open and respectful dialogue, seeking the empowerment and participation of subjects who are recognized and affirmed from their differences – which historically have given way to social, economic and political inequality – such as their gender preferences, their class or racial situation (Ortega Valencia, 2009, p. 27) [Author’s translation] seeking the elimination of inequalities.

This commitment from the political field leads to the creation of spaces in the classrooms where “students can imagine a different world outside the capitalist law of value, in which alternatives to capitalism and its institutions can be discussed and debated.” (McLaren, 2012, p. 45). [Author’s translation] Likewise, Giroux says, citing Marcuse, that any form of political action requires a political education that advocates a “new language, qualitatively different social relations and a new set of values” (Giroux, 2004, p. 65) [Author’s translation] to create a radically different environment and context. Human Rights education is not conducted in a neutral way. This is not possible as a pedagogical exercise, and the position from which it approaches Human Rights are loaded with intentionality. Not only is knowledge about Human Rights sought, but the knowledge itself is also committed to its defense and promotion with the entire community. Abraham Magendzo (2008) defines that human rights education “aims to develop in individuals and peoples their maximum capacities as subjects of rights and to provide them with the tools and elements to make them effective” (p. 20). [Author’s translation]

This exercise within a classroom must be accompanied by coherent dynamics that seek active participation, discussion, analysis, reflection and recognition of everyone's knowledge. This is why the educational institution “as a teaching-learning space will then be a center for discussions of ideas, solutions, reflections, where the popular organization systematizes its own experience.” (Freire 1997, p. 19). [Author’s translation] In addition, it is essential that this process be linked to the context and, therefore, to the realities of the students, and that it allows for situating rights, so that they stop being something abstract. Both in the school and in the neighborhoods, identifying situations in which human dignity and good living are strongly affected is possible. This must come

from these situations that allow analysis and critical reflection, as well as actions for defense and memory that will advocate non-repetition.

### **Peace: Beyond the Absence of War**

Mentioning peace becomes difficult as many times it is referred to without really knowing what it refers to, becoming a mobile concept serving the interests of those who use it. In general terms, three main lines or types of peace have been identified, the first refers to the so-called “negative peace” from which the absence of war or armed conflict is prioritized, but which ignores other types of violence such as psychological or the structural. (Hernández, Luna, Cadena, 2017, p. 153) [Author’s translation]. On the other hand, there is the so-called imperfect peace, which seeks the satisfaction of some human needs without really eliminating conflicts (Hernández, Luna, Cadena, 2017, p. 154) [Author’s translation]. And finally, from which the approach for this investigative work is based, positive peace. This recognizes the absence of war, and also includes many other factors from which "social harmony, equality, justice and, therefore, the radical transformation of society are pursued" (Hernández, Luna, Cadena., 2017, p. 153) [Author’s translation]. Thus, to be able to speak of peace, the psychological, structural, sexual, and economic aspects, among others, are important within this approach.

According to this perspective, the emergence of war should be prevented, as well as eliminating the conditions that may cause it, such as excessive authority by the armed forces, discrimination, violence and gender subordination, labor exploitation, poverty and oppression. Understanding that “the peace of slaves” can never be a good peace since it will always be a peace that has war embedded within it” (Quesada, 2016, p. 8). That is, as long as unequal and unjust conditions exist, there will be a high probability of war conflict and people will not really be at peace.

## Methodology

The research was carried out from the analytical-interpretive approach and the methodology of educational ethnography was used. Although ethnography has been developing and consolidating not only as a technique but also as a research methodology over the years, the branch of educational ethnography is much more recent, and has been defined as the “study and analysis of institutions and educational processes using the ethnographic method. Or more specifically, the description and interpretation of the culture of an educational institution” (Yuni, Ciucci, Urbano, 2014, p. 112). [Author’s translation]

Likewise, this study comprised field diary, the interview and participant observation as data collection instruments. These were used in this research together with two surveys that allowed, primarily, an initial approach to the students’ knowledge to be made, and subsequently, the identification of changes at the end of the workshops in the conceptions about the addressed concepts. The pedagogical process and the training proposal were built from critical pedagogy and critical education in human rights.

The work was carried out at headquarters ‘A’ of the Carlos Albán Holguín school, taking into account the problems that arise in the area mentioned above, and the possibility of contributing to the mitigation of some of these, as well as to their analysis of the human rights. The group assigned by the school was class 805<sup>1</sup>, made up of 35 students between 13 and 16 years of age; 19 of them men and 16 women. Of these, two students presented difficulty in following instructions and performing activities, without knowledge of what disability they had, and without receiving any information in this regard from the school either. These two students withdrew from the school before the end of the workshops, and two new students arrived for the last session.

---

1. The approval of the school was obtained to carry out the workshops. A support teacher from the institution was assigned, and of the courses with which he had class, 805 was chosen because it had more hours assigned to the teacher and this not interfere with the study plan.



**Table 1.** Participating population

	Age				Country of Origin		Disability Condition
	13	14	15	16	Colombia	Venezuela	
<b>Women</b>	3	9	4	0	15	1	0
<b>Men</b>	1	12	5	1	19	0	2
<b>Total</b>	4	21	9	1	34	1	2

10 sessions of 2 hours were carried out. The first exercise was a diagnosis and characterization, based on the recognition of the participants and their knowledge. They were asked to answer an open questionnaire of five questions: what do you know or believe that human rights are? What are conflict situations? What do you believe or know that peace is? How can you participate in school, at home or the your neighborhood to generate peace? And is it possible to build peace from school? Finding that in many cases they claimed not to have knowledge or clarity about it. Each answer to each question was analyzed, locating the similar answers for each question, in some cases with differences in writing, but which in essence pointed to the same idea. Thus categorizing the answers to systematize each point of the questionnaire was possible. Subsequently, the students were organized into work groups of four students, in which they discussed how they would like to share the reflections and knowledge that would be built throughout the sessions with more people.

For the next session, work groups were organized that spoke about participation (definition, forms, mechanisms and spaces) and reflected on the role of students in spaces of participation. For the third session, they began to talk about conflict, understanding that it is not only war or armed confrontation, but that it can be seen in various aspects of life. Several flipcharts were placed on the walls of the room where the students wrote examples, thoughts or definitions of the form of conflict that the flipchart carried (interpersonal conflict, political/ideological conflict, religious conflict and armed conflict) giving way to the analysis from the perspectives of each student. Then, a topic was chosen for debate, in which half of the course was in favor and the other half against. Each

group prepared some arguments and elected three representatives who would argue to win the debate.

The fourth session focused on human rights. Students were asked to form groups of three, each group was given a balloon on which they wrote after it was inflated it – except for a group that had skewer sticks. The instruction to the last group was to pop as many balloons as possible in five minutes while the others tried to protect them. This exercise opened the conversation to theoretical positions on human rights, and then to reflection from critical theory. It highlights the integrality of rights, which are necessary to ensure good living conditions for the community, it requires defended in their entirety and not being separate.

The fifth session was focused on the matter of peace. By groups students received a definition of peace, they discussed whether they thought it was appropriate or not, and then wrote a story that reflected its definition. At the end, the stories were exchanged for the other groups to try to identify what was the definition in each story. The sixth session was devoted to the planning of initiatives to share knowledge on human rights and peace with the rest of the educational community.

In the seventh session the origin of human rights was discussed. Many of the contributions referred to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but it started to identify that the constitution of rights has had a lot to do with mobilizations or societal requirements that ended in social struggles.

In the eighth session, to continue with the topic of peace, each student was asked to write in only one word something they considered fundamental for peace, then they were divided into groups of four and tried to give a definition of peace from the words they had; they had to imagine that they landed on a desert island along with 96 other people they did not know, so they had to organize three agreements that would allow coexistence in peace. Finally, each group socialized their work by reviewing the concepts of peace. Students were able to discuss and reflect on the importance of creating agreements that truly measure coexistence, and that allow for equity and participation for all and reduce potential conflicts that may arise.

At the ninth session, sheets of paper were given to the groups, each one drew a human body silhouette in which they identified people's needs: food, health, education, housing, family, from there they began to write the rights that person should have to achieve living well and in dignity around the silhouette. Then, each group shared their reflections with others.

For the last session, the final initiatives and activities were presented, some students were interviewed and a final survey was conducted with three multiple choice questions. What are human rights?: a. Things people need to live well, all together and that have been achieved by the struggle of the people; b. Are they

privileges given by the government to some people; c. Are they a list of things that involve people's duties. What is peace? a. Not having wars or fighting; b. people living well, in harmony, in tranquility, with rights and without war; c. a treaty. What is conflict? a. War and fighting; b. People with disagreements and discussions; c. both options.

## Results

To the first question of the first questionnaire: "What do you think or know human rights are?", the most common response was "I don't know" (16.7%) followed by "Duty of the State" (13.9%), and a perhaps unclear response "rights we have" (13.9%). When talking about the responses, a lack of confidence about what was said was noted.

Identifying that there is no dialogue or training on the subject at school was possible. There is maybe only reference to human rights in a few classes, but nothing in depth or in context. It made understanding their importance difficult for students. The systematization table for the first questionnaire is presented below.

Table 2. Systematization of questionnaire responses No. 1

Student	1. What do you think or know about human rights?	2. What are conflict situations?	3. What do you believe or know peace to be?	4. How can you participate at school, at home, or in your neighborhood in generating peace?	5. Is building peace from school possible?
1	They must be fulfilled by citizens	Time of problem	No wars, protest to be well	-	Yes, dedication and effort
2	Men and women. To be happy. What we want	-	Reconciliation of all	Treating us in a good way	Yes, mutual help
3	Guideline that reports the rights we have	Time of problem	Treaty to end a war	Not generating conflict	Yes, non-conflict commitment

Student	1. What do you think or know about human rights?	2. What are conflict situations?	3. What do you believe or know peace to be?	4. How can you participate at school, at home, or in your neighborhood in generating peace?	5. Is building peace from school possible?
4	To enforce duties and values	Gossip	Everyone's duty	Not generating conflict	Yes
5	Fundamentals to human beings	Fights, threats, disagreements that become worst	Action to be quiet	Respect, speak well, do not wish bad things	Yes
6	Rules to comply with	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	No wars	-	Fights
8	The State makes it mandatory to help the integrity of people	Intolerance, corruption, disrespect and mistrust	Place where there are no conflicts, corruption and coordination	Encourage not to fight, to steal. The law to be better and present	Yes
9	The duty of the State	Corruption, disrespect, migration, intolerance	Labor of peacefulness	No gossip, to get along with everyone	Yes
10	The State does it mandatory to help the integrity of people	Intolerance, corruption, disrespect and mistrust	Harmony and peacefulness, without problems	Respect for others, to tolerate likes and economic situation	Yes, to obey and be quiet
11	It must be fulfilled by citizens	War, displacement	No wars	Solving problems without rudeness	Yes
12	-	-	No wars, no fights	-	Yes
13	To do what you want and to enforce what you want	Fights	No fights	No fights, no gossip, to participate in neighborhood activities	Yes, to talk to each other
14	Rights we have	No to think about what they say and treat each other badly	End of conflict and to have harmony	Equality	Yes
15	-	-	Respect for others	-	Yes

Student	1. What do you think or know about human rights?	2. What are conflict situations?	3. What do you believe or know peace to be?	4. How can you participate at school, at home, or in your neighborhood in generating peace?	5. Is building peace from school possible?
16	Rights we have	-	-	-	-
17	Rules to comply with	Discrimination, racism, to criticize	Respect for others	Charity actions, to help poverty and animals, respect	Yes
18	Duties	Discussions that turn into physical acts	To live in peace, without fear	Respecting others' opinion and being kind	Yes
19	Rules to comply	Discrimination, racism, fights	Respect for others, don't make conflicts and live in harmony	Respect for others and share with the community	Yes
20	Respect people's decisions and opinions	Fights	Reconciliation of all	To talk not to fight	-
21	To have the same as others	Fights	No wars	Not generating conflict	Yes, non-conflict commitment
22	-	-	To be well with the people and the world	Creating activities, talking, proposing ideas	Yes
23	The duty of the State	Fights	End of conflict and harmony	Honesty, sincerity, love	Yes, with campaigns
24	-	Fights	Treaty to end a war	Not generating conflict	Yes
24	-	Fights	Treaty to end a war	Not generating conflict	Yes
25	Rights we have	Discussions	Good relationship	Mutual arrangement	Yes
26	The duty of the State	Fights, corruption, migration	Peacefulness without using weapons	-	Yes, with training
27	To protect and to enforce duties	Fights, mistreatment	To govern for others fairly	Giving us value and being united	Yes, there are peace builders
28	To protect society with laws	There is no peace in a society	Constitution Law for no more conflicts	Union, hear to other people's opinions	Yes, companionship

Student	1. What do you think or know about human rights?	2. What are conflict situations?	3. What do you believe or know peace to be?	4. How can you participate at school, at home, or in your neighborhood in generating peace?	5. Is building peace from school possible?
29	Rights we have	Protests, wars, fights, conflicts	No wars, no fights	No Israeli fighting (constant conflict), no drugs, no bullying	Yes, it is difficult
30	To people's satisfaction	War	Someone's at peace.	No fights	Yes
31	-	Fights, mistreatment	Respect for others	Respect and be a model	Yes
32	Rights we have	Fights	No racism	No gossip	Yes, self-knowing without judging
33	To know whether or not if you can do something	Problems	No war	No fights, assault, disagreements	Yes, no violence, no fighting
34	They must be respected	-	No fights	To be a model of not fighting, love and friendship. No evil	Yes, to be a model
35	The duty of the State	There is not assertive communication	Everyone wants, few come true	Assertive communication	Yes
36	The duty of the State	There is no equality or hearing	End of conflict and harmony	To take human rights into account always with respect and equality	Yes

The third question inquired about the students' knowledge regarding peace, and the relationship with the absence of war, with 19.4% as the most recurrent answer. Respect for other people was 11.1%, as well as other peaceful and harmonic situations. Only two students reported not knowing the meaning of peace. This evidenced a negative position toward peace for most of the students, along with just understanding conflict as fighting and war without considering other aspects or ways in which the conflict might arise. With respect to the answers regarding conflict, 22.2% (eight students) claimed that they did not know what conflict was, and 16.7% stated that it was wars and fighting.

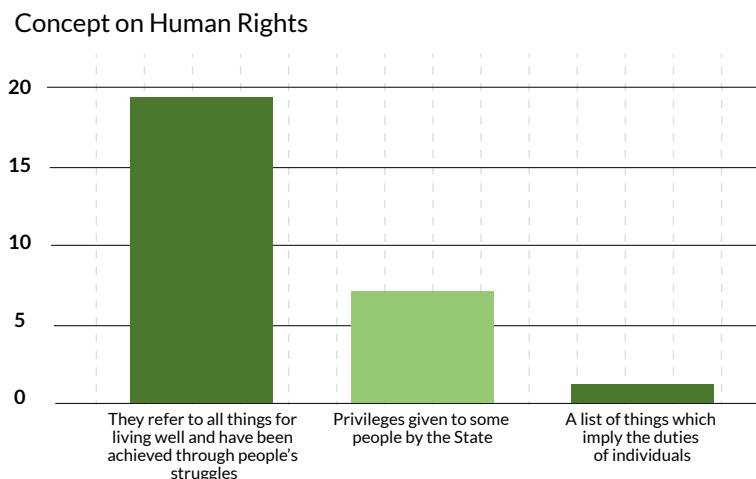
During the last session, the students presented activities with the purpose of fostering discussion and reflection on these issues among the educational

community. Some chose traditional games such as “hot potato”, others recreated a radio interview, and some others made billboards, cards and handicrafts to reflect their ideas and recommendations to address the subject issues.

These initiatives illustrated learning during the sessions. The importance of human rights and its relationship with peace achievement were observed as well. The need to learn about human rights and defend them to improve the living conditions of the entire community were also highlighted. One of the students stated that “one can help people when informing them about the ways to have their rights like other people” (personal interview, July 26, 2019).

Finally, a multiple choice questionnaire was applied in order to identify the changes in the students' conceptions of human rights and peace. They had the possibility of not answering if they disagreed with any of the options or did not know. Thus, according to the question on human rights, the majority of the students considered that they referred to all things for living well and have been achieved through people’s struggles. Contrary to the first questionnaire in which the majority of the students said they did not know what they were.

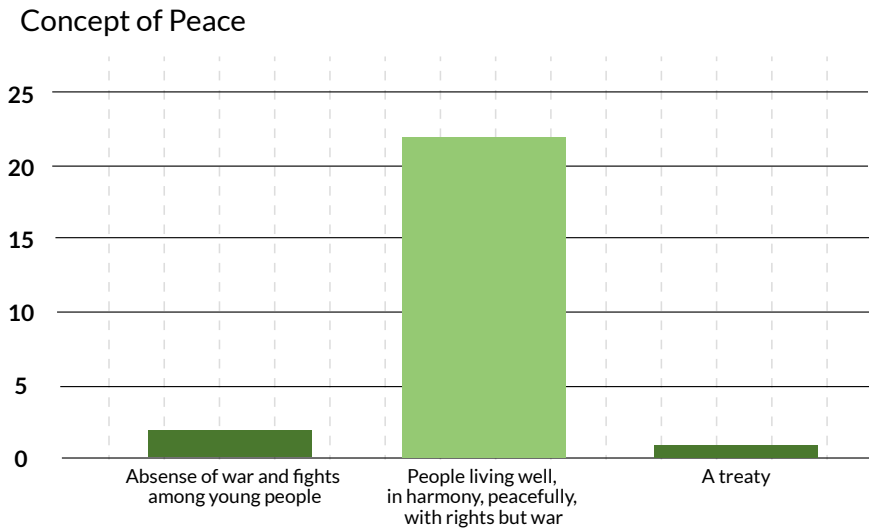
**Figure 1.** This shows the first part’s results of the second questionnaire applied to students



On the other hand, when asked about the concept of peace, most of the students considered that it implied people living well, in harmony, peacefully with rights and without war. When discussing and analyzing this answer, the

students suggested the need for all of these factors combined to certainly talk about being at peace; otherwise it was not really achieved. This corresponds to positive peace, considering aspects covered by human rights for living well as essential for peace.

**Figure 2.** This shows the results of the second questionnaire applied to students



## Conclusions

Prior to this study, several studies on human rights education as a central axis from a critical pedagogy were reviewed and findings showed meaningful and appropriate proposals for their developmental contexts, and some proposals were mentioned previously. This review did not show a clear proposal on critical education in human rights and peacebuilding<sup>2</sup>, which motivated conducting this study with the eighth-grade students of the Carlos Albán Holguín school.

---

2. It refers to positive peace.



At first, within the framework of critical pedagogies, students' prior knowledge was examined and different notions or ignorance regarding human rights and peace were observed. Similarly, despite the fact that the school's website comprises the proposal for Peace Education Performances of the Ministry of National Education, in practice students do not thoroughly manage these concepts to be able to generate critical reflections.

The pedagogical proposal that was developed in ten class sessions of the didactic unit began with the student's prior knowledge. They debated and analyzed definitions and theoretical perspectives through activities that also fostered active participation for knowledge building.

Changing the common classroom seating arrangement, generating discussion and doing different activities were well-received. Although at first active participation was difficult as they did not feel sure they knew the "right answers," little by little, they allowed themselves to consider their thoughts and knowledge without feeling judged or graded all the time. Teamwork was of utmost importance to freely dialogue and to accomplish the activities.

From the first sessions, class teams were organized with the purpose of developing a final project regarding the notions built on human rights and peace to be considered within the educational community. In this way, they showed the need to guarantee and defend human rights together – and not individually – in order to achieve a dignified life for the entire population, placing themselves as enablers for the defense and dissemination of the peace concepts. It was concluded that peace is not just the absence of armed conflict, but implies a good life, therefore, it is directly related to the protection of human rights.

These activities intended to inform and also to reflect the context of these issues, so that these concepts would make sense in people's daily lives instead of being a document isolated from reality itself.

Involving other professionals is considered appropriate for human rights education from the pedagogical and critical theory perspective, and as Inéride Álvarez (2012) suggests, human rights are the result of struggles for freedom which have been undertaken throughout history by individuals in search of a changing society. These correspond to concrete realities in addition to their identification with human rights' dialectical capacity for transformation.

It can be affirmed, in response to this study's general objective, that human rights education from critical theory in the classroom and through developing workshops and contextualized activities that enable dialogue, debate and proposals to replicate and build knowledge can be achievable. This raises both knowledge and the defense of rights in all the participating scenarios.

According to the previous information, a notion of peace is created and far from only being understood as the absence of war, is based on the confluence

of factors that allow for well-being. The guarantee of human rights allows for a dignified life for communities, thus decreasing structural violence and other types of violence as well as conflicts that affect everyone's good life.

This means peace is not external to the school's reality, the neighborhoods and the community, but rather, the need to guarantee human rights for decent living conditions has implications in individual's immediate reality. If so, these reflections allow students to seek the reconstruction of the social fabric and community organization intended to improve the living conditions of all people in the different places where they participate.

## References

- Álvarez-Suescún, I. (2012). *Educación en Derechos Humanos: La realidad en la escuela - estudio de caso en un colegio distrital de Bogotá*. (Master Thesis). Universidad de los Andes. <https://repositorio.uniandes.edu.co/handle/1992/11799>
- Bello-Galvis, A (2016). *Pensar, crear, transformar y proyectar la formación en y para los derechos humanos en la I.E.D San Agustín*. (Unadergraduate Thesis Project). Universidad Pedagógica Nacional. <http://repository.pedagogica.edu.co/handle/20.500.12209/2309>
- Cadena-Cubides, B. (2017). *El papel de la educación en derechos humanos como propuesta de intervención pedagógica dirigida a los maestros promotores de derechos humanos en el colegio Nueva Colombia IED*. (Master Thesis). Universidad Santo Tomás. <https://repository.usta.edu.co/handle/11634/2219>
- Camargo, P. (2012). *Manual de Derechos Humanos*. Leyer editores.
- Castillo-García, J. R. (2017). Las aulas escolares como escenario de formación en ciudadanía. *Ánfora*, 14(23), 59-76. <https://doi.org/10.30854/anf.v14.n23.2007.196>
- Decree 1038 de 2015. Por el cual se reglamenta la Cátedra de Paz. May 7, 2015D.O. No. 49522.

El Espectador. (May 23 , 2019). 702 líderes sociales y 135 excombatientes habrían sido asesinados desde firma del Acuerdo. *El Espectador*. <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/702-lideres-sociales-y-135-excombatientes-habrian-sido-asesinados-desde-firma-del-acuerdo-articulo-862367>

Freire, P. (1997). *Pedagogía de la autonomía*. Siglo XXI.

Gallardo, H. (2011). Teoría crítica y derechos humanos: una lectura latinoamericana. In Defensoría del Pueblo, *Los Derechos Humanos desde el enfoque crítico: Reflexiones para el abordaje de la realidad venezolana y latinoamericana* (pp. 37 - 76). Pentagráfica.

Giroux, H. (2004). *Teoría y resistencia en educación*. Siglo XXI.

González-Perafán, L. (June 19, 2020). *Líderes sociales y defensores de Derechos Humanos asesinados en 2020*. <http://www.indepaz.org.co/paz-al-liderazgo-social/>

Hernández-Arteaga, I.; Luna Hernández, J.; Cadena Chala, M. (2017). Cultura de paz: una construcción desde la educación. *Revista historia de la educación latinoamericana* (19)28, 149 - 172. <https://doi.org/10.19053/01227238.5596>

Jiménez, C. (2013). *La educación crítica en derechos humanos como proceso de formación de sujetos políticos*. (Unadergraduate Thesis Project). Universidad Pedagógica Nacional. <http://repositorio.pedagogica.edu.co/handle/20.500.12209/3132>

Law 1732 of 2014. Por la cual se establece la Cátedra de Paz en todas las Instituciones educativas del país. 1 de septiembre de 2014 D.O. No. 49261

Magendzo, A. (2008). *La escuela y los derechos humanos*. Cal y arena.

Manili, P. (2012). *Manual interamericano de derechos humanos. Teoría general, historia, recepción en las constituciones, Comisión y Corte Interamericanas de Derechos Humanos*. Ediciones Doctrina y Ley Ltda.

- Maturana, H. (1997). *Emociones y lenguaje en educación y política*. Centro de Estudios de Desarrollo.
- McLaren, P. (2012). *La pedagogía crítica revolucionaria, el socialismo y los desafíos actuales*. Ediciones herramienta.
- Ortega-Valencia, P. (2009). La Pedagogía Crítica: Reflexiones en torno a sus prácticas y sus desafíos. *Pedagogía y Saberes*, (31), 26- 33.  
<https://doi.org/10.17227/01212494.31pys26.33>
- Quesada, F. (2016). *Paz para la paz. Prolegomenos a una filosofía contemporánea sobre la guerra*. Alfaomega.
- Restrepo-Dominguez, M. (2010). Los derechos humanos con perspectiva crítica. In Manuel Humberto Restrepo Domínguez (Comp.), *Teoría crítica de los derechos humanos* (pp. 13 - 36). UPTC.
- Solano-Salinas, R. (2016). Educación para el desarrollo: una mirada desde el sur por la construcción de una educación para el cambio. *Ánfora*, 18(30), 87-120. <https://doi.org/10.30854/anf.v18.n30.2011.92>
- Yuni, J.; Ciucci, M.; Urbano, C. (2014). La etnografía educativa. In J. Yuni, M.; C. Urbano (Comp.), *Mapas y herramientas para conocer la escuela: investigación etnográfica e investigación-acción* (pp. 105-130). Editorial Brujas.

# Parenting Practices in Hearing Mothers with Deaf Children Who Use Colombian Sign Language<sup>1</sup>

[English Version]

Prácticas de crianza en madres oyentes con hijos Sordos usuarios de Lengua de Señas Colombiana

Práticas parentais em mães ouvintes com crianças surdas que usam a linguagem de sinais colombiana

*Received November 11, 2020, accepted April 19, 2021.*

Luz-Yeisiri Amaya-Montoya\*\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2218-7131>

Colombia

Laura-Katerine Agudelo-Gutiérrez\*\*\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4368-5532>

Colombia

Luisa-Fernanda Suarez-Monsalve\*\*\*\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2415-594X>

Colombia

› To cite this article

Amaya-Montoya, Luz-Yeisiri;  
Agudelo-Gutiérrez, Laura-Katerine;  
Suarez-Monsalve, Luisa-Fernanda.  
(2021). Parenting Practices in  
Hearing Mothers with  
Deaf Children Who Use Colombian  
Sign Language  
*Ánfora*, 28(51), 69-92.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.770>

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

## Abstract

**Objective:** to describe the parenting practices of hearing parents who have Deaf children through the narrative of two hearing mothers without communicational competence in Colombian Sign

\* Independent, unfunded research - Completed. This research did not present a conflict of interest in its conduct.

\*\* Professional in Psychology of the Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios.

\*\*\* Professional in psychology from the Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios.

\*\*\*\* Master in psychotherapy from Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios. Belongs to the UNIMINUTO clinical psychology research group.

Language. **Methodology:** phenomenological research of descriptive scope. The technique used to collect the narratives was the application of a semi-structured interview with the mothers of the Deaf people, the data analysis was carried out by means of a handmade categorical matrix where the mothers' discourse was systematized in the different categories (affective support, behavior regulation, family relationships, communication). **Results:** the parenting practices exercised from the mothers' narratives were mediated by affective support, manifested through strategies such as play and caresses, regulation of behavior oriented by strategies such as reinforcement-punishment, family relationships oriented to favor spaces of integration in the family environment, spaces that were not perceived as favorable actions for the development of personal security and trust in their children. In this communication, nonverbal strategies emerged (signs or nonverbal language) which were adjusted according to the hearing capacity of the child. **Conclusions:** the parenting practices reported by the mothers are not very far from the actions normally exercised by parents of hearing children, since their practices are mediated by filial love, salutary bonding, creativity, recursion and accompaniment. Nevertheless, the importance of learning Sign Language as a mother tongue for the conscious and reasoned formation of children, for the adequate recognition of their Deaf culture and for their appropriate social inclusion is highlighted.

**Keywords:** Deaf; Child rearing; Communication.

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** describir las prácticas de crianza impartidas a personas Sordas desde la narrativa de dos madres oyentes, sin competencia comunicacional en Lengua de Señas Colombiana. **Metodología:** investigación fenomenológica de alcance descriptivo. Como técnica de recolección de las narrativas se acudió a la aplicación de una entrevista semiestructurada dirigidas a las madres de las personas Sordas, el análisis de los datos se efectuó por medio de una matriz categorial artesanal donde se sistematizó el discurso de las madres en las diferentes categorías (apoyo afectivo, regulación del comportamiento, relaciones familiares, comunicación). **Resultados:** las prácticas de crianza ejercidas desde la narrativa de las madres estuvieron mediadas por apoyo afectivo, manifestado a través de estrategias como el juego y las caricias, regulación del comportamiento orientado por estrategias como el refuerzo – castigo, relaciones familiares orientadas a favorecer espacios de integración en el entorno familiar, espacios que no se percibieron como acciones

favorables para el desarrollo de la seguridad personal y confianza en sus hijos. En esta comunicación emergieron estrategias no verbales (signos o lenguaje no verbal) las cuales se ajustaban de acuerdo a la capacidad auditiva del menor. **Conclusiones:** las prácticas de crianza narradas por las madres no están muy alejadas de las acciones que normalmente ejercen los padres de hijos oyentes, pues sus prácticas están mediadas por un amor filial, vínculo salúfero, creatividad, recursividad y acompañamiento. No obstante, se resalta la importancia que tiene el aprendizaje del Lenguaje de Señas como lengua materna para la formación consciente y argumentada de los niños y las niñas, para el adecuado reconocimiento de su cultura Sorda y para su apropiada inclusión social.

**Palabras-claves:** Sordo; Crianza del niño; Comunicación.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** descrever as práticas parentais ensinadas a surdos a partir da narrativa de duas mães ouvintes, sem competência comunicacional em Língua de Sinais Colombiana. **Metodologia:** pesquisa fenomenológica descritiva. Como técnica de coleta das narrativas, foi aplicada uma entrevista semiestruturada às mães de surdos, a análise dos dados foi realizada por meio de uma matriz categorial artesanal onde o discurso das mães foi sistematizado nas diferentes categorias (apoio afetivo, regulação do comportamento, relações familiares, comunicação). **Resultados:** as práticas parentais exercidas a partir da narrativa das mães foram mediadas pelo apoio afetivo, manifestado por estratégias como brincadeiras e carícias, regulação do comportamento pautada por estratégias como reforço - punição, relações familiares visando favorecer espaços de integração no ambiente familiar, espaços que não foram percebidos como ações favoráveis para o desenvolvimento da segurança pessoal e da confiança dos filhos. Nessa comunicação emergiram estratégias não verbais (sinais ou linguagem não verbal) que foram ajustadas de acordo com a capacidade auditiva da criança. **Conclusões:** as práticas parentais narradas pelas mães não estão muito distantes das ações normalmente realizadas pelos pais de filhos ouvintes, pois suas práticas são mediadas por amor filial, vínculo saudável, criatividade, desenvoltura e acompanhamento. No entanto, destaca-se a importância da aprendizagem da Língua de Sinais como língua materna para a formação consciente e racional de meninos e meninas, para o adequado reconhecimento de sua cultura surda e para sua adequada inclusão social.

**Palavras-chave:** Surdo; Educação da criança; Comunicação

## Introduction

According to the World Health Organization (2021), “worldwide, 1.5 billion people live with some degree of hearing loss, of whom about 430 million are in need of rehabilitation services.” In Colombia, figures estimated by the Instituto Nacional para Sordos (INSOR) in 2020 estimate a total of 560,029 people with hearing impairment, of which 95% belong to hearing families (Quiceno, Arbeláez, 2016) and only 11% (Alcaldía mayor de Bogotá, INSOR, 2016) have access to Colombian Sign Language.

The above justifies the importance of professional guidance as well as state and governmental entities in the acquisition of Colombian Sign Language for families, in accordance with Law 982 of 2005, Chapter IV, Article 24 which states that “parents, spouses and siblings of Deaf and deaf-blind people who so desire, the State will provide them with access to Colombian Sign Language, through bilingual education programs for the Deaf” (p. 1).

Although the law that guarantees the acquisition of Colombian Sign Language to the family nucleus has been published, the real situation regarding its use is not coherent with respect to the numbers of families with moderate or extensive use of Sign Language in Colombia. This may be due, as Maritza Valladares (2011) points out, to the fact that Sign Language is a different language for parents, although useful, it may imply resistance to its learning, given the effort involved in its acquisition, the complexity of its system, and how different it is from the natural communication of hearing people. Unlike Spanish, Sign Language is three-dimensional, ungrammatical, and has its own vocabulary, grammar and syntax.

It is considerable to note that, in terms of parenting practices, communication is vital, as it fosters family relationships and prevents children from suffering potential emotional damage that may be caused by lack of interaction, for as Mary Flaherty (2015) concludes, “difficulties in communication between hearing parents and their deaf children can result in less than optimal psychological health in children” (p. 73).

In this context, it is important to understand that the fact that mothers or main caregivers do not share the same language with the infant may hinder parenting practices, and may represent a communication barrier around rules and agreements. As Diego Rodríguez (2018) states: “well-guided parenting practices strengthen autonomy, social skills, guide behaviors and strengthen communication between parents and children” (p. 113). That is why it is necessary for



mothers or caregivers to learn Colombian Sign Language as a communicative tool for the formation of the self.

Parenting practices without language or communication change family dynamics with respect to social and family beliefs and meanings, what Dora Manjarrés, Elvia León, Rosanna Martínez, and Andrés Gaitán (2013) call conjugal relationships. They state that when communication is hindered these relationships in the family environment of a child with a special condition may present feelings of guilt, indifference, alienation and neglect of minors. In addition, hindered communication may generate specific emotions such as anger, exhaustion and failure in their role as caregivers. Or as Katerina Antonopoulou, Kika Hadjikakou, Aglaia Stampoltzis, and Nicoletta Nicolau (2012) concluded, these families may adopt a predominantly authoritarian parenting style.

Everything mentioned thus far seems to confirm the importance of communication in parenting practices, either in a language such as Spanish or Colombian Sign Language. This leads to the question: How have parenting practices developed in two deaf signers from the perspective of their hearing mothers who do not have communication skills in Colombian Sign Language?

For the resolution of the research question, first, the parenting practices adopted by the mothers were identified, and then the main factors that affected communication between each dyad in the study were recognized.

Based on the above, this research highlights the importance of the family as a support network in early childhood, centering on the fact that family is the first nucleus of relationships and is the bearer of customs, values and habits that act as an instrument of construction and survival in the social context (Martínez, 2012). Meanwhile, the absence of communication can come to represent the disengagement of the person in terms of habits, customs and family beliefs, so the deaf person may decide to access their own culture, not only in the social environment, but also family; hence, the State, society and families are challenged to promote the rights of children with hearing impairment and their social and family inclusion (Rodríguez, 2018).

Identifying the way in which parenting practices were generated in hearing caregivers who are not users of Colombian Sign Language makes a method of categorical analysis of the practices exercised in relation to affective factors, communication, orientation to the norm, and its impact on the family environment possible.

In addition, the research allows for reflection on compliance with Law 1346 of 2009 issued by the Council of the Republic of Colombia at the national level, which states that persons with disabilities and their families should receive the necessary protection and assistance so that families can contribute to persons with disabilities enjoying their rights.

Regarding the learning of Colombian Sign Language, the research highlights that mothers recognize the importance of Colombian Sign Language for communication with their deaf children, but admit the difficulty in learning it, so they declare that oral language becomes the main means of communication. As a result, this can lead to communication difficulties and frustration on the part of the mothers when they do not understand the child's messages. Therefore, it is necessary for parents to have guidance addressing the deafness of their children (Valladares, 2011).

Law 982 of 2005 establishes that a deaf person is someone who does not have sufficient hearing, and who, in some cases, cannot sustain natural and fluent communication and socialization in any spoken language, regardless of any audiometric evaluation that may be performed. The same law establishes that the priority form of communication and social identity of the deaf person is defined around community and cultural values of the Deaf community, and that the use of Colombian Sign Language is their natural language.

It is important to clarify that there is a difference between deaf (with a lowercase d) and Deaf (with a capital D). The first, as named in Chistian Huerta, Julio Varela, Ruben Soltero, Gonzalo Nava (2018) corresponds: "to the person who lacks hearing, seen from the medical and oralist model" (p. 72). And the second is used to refer to: "people who have a Sign Language, Culture and sense of belonging to a Deaf Community" (p.72). According to Luz Elena Patiño (2010), language "is the capacity of human beings to communicate and share knowledge in dialogue. It is constructed through interaction in socialization contexts" (p. 14-15). Since Colombian Sign Language is the means by which the signing Deaf population communicates, it is also their main means of communication.

Parenting, according to Romina Izzedin and Alejandro Pachajoa (2009) involves three psycho-social processes: parenting guidelines understood as: "that which is allowed or not allowed within the family, regularly established by parents and which constitutes norms or limits of behavior, coexistence and control" (Infante, Martínez, 2016, p. 33). Beliefs about parenting related to: "knowledge about how a child should be raised, to the explanations parents provide about how they channel their children's actions" (Rodríguez, 2018, p. 110). And parenting practices, which "are expressed in specific actions aimed at guaranteeing the integration, adaptation and survival of the individual in his social context, as well as the construction and consolidation of his identity as a unique and individual being and as a member of society" (Aguirre, Castro, 2007, p.14). These actions lead to the generation of a bond between the primary caregiver and the child, a bond that in the current research was named dyad, a

term that refers to “a pair of two beings or things closely and especially linked to each other” (Rae, 2020).

Cultural dynamics can make a big difference in each family’s parenting practices, so parenting practices can be very different from one family to the next:

they are not static actions and reactions of parents and children, nor forms of repetitive behaviors, but rather parenting practices are transformed by the effect of children’s development and changes in the social environment (García, Salazar, 2013, p. 43). [Author translation]

Parenting practices are generated by the primary caregiver, the person who on a daily basis is responsible for meeting the fundamental and psycho-social needs of a child, and on whom greater responsibility falls (Pascual, Garzón, Silva, 2015). When reference is made to the listening caregiver, this indicates the person who performs these actions and who has the ability to listen.

To understand the current state of the study phenomenon, a review of the existing literature was conducted through the Ebsco, ProQuest, Dialnet, Jstor, ScienceDirect databases, using the descriptors “parenting practices, hearing impairment, parenting and disability, hearing families with Deaf children, parenting styles in disability, deafness and parenting.” And the Booleans AND, NOT, OR. A total of twelve publications were found, of which seven were written in English. After classifying the documents found, four works were discarded because, although they addressed the issue of disability within the parenting process, they did not involve the deaf population. A total of eight antecedents were finally selected.

In 2019, an article derived from a theoretical review of studies developed in the United States about early exposure of Deaf children to Sign Language was published. This work showed the importance of supporting parents of hearing impaired children, especially in learning Sign Language. According to Tom Humphries et al. (2019) one of the main actions that parents can exercise for the recognition of their children’s deafness is to learn Sign Language, which enables a family relationship and better communication, also allows the child to create a family identity, including him/her in affective, sports and home activities.

Additionally, learning Sign Language by parents decreases the possibility that children may suffer from some type of disorder, and provides them with spaces for positive early childhood development (Humphries et al., 2019).

In the same year, a longitudinal investigation was published in Belgium with a sample of three mothers and children during the first two years of life. The research allowed us to learn the main strategies used by both Deaf and

hearing parents in communicating with their Deaf children. In the results it was established that visual strategies may be affected by initial difficulties in communication, so the initial contact, which mothers exercise more actively than fathers, is of great relevance (Willer, Van, Van, 2019).

In Colombia, Diego Rodríguez (2018) published a study on parenting practices and hearing impairment, conducted under a mixed design and including a sample of 101 families, located between strata 1, 2, 3 and 4, from five institutions for the Deaf in the city of Bogotá. The results show the relevance of communication in families and the importance of parents learning Colombian Sign Language, since it favors family communication and the development of parenting practices, which, in turn, helps children develop social and communication skills that consolidate family interaction.

In addition, the study highlights the significance of bonding and suggests that parents of deaf children should avoid overprotection. Therefore, it is necessary that the manifestations of affection are given in an adequate manner, otherwise, this bond will not allow the development of independence. This is why it is recommended that, in the presence of difficulties in the parenting process with Deaf children, parents access professional guidance, which prevents the fragmentation of the affective bond. The research, in addition to the factors already mentioned, highlights the importance of the inclusion of Deaf people in society.

In the United States Amy, Szarkowski and Patrick J. Brice (2016) conducted research with a sample of 11 hearing parents and Deaf children, highlighting the favorable experiences that parents may experience in raising a Deaf child. Data collection for this research took place through interviews, where hearing parents recognized that the difficulties that may arise in daily parenting are positive, since the child's hearing condition leads them to be more committed to the parenting process. One of the greatest experiences that parents describe raising a deaf child is the feeling of change and personal growth; they develop a reflective attitude towards the life offered to them.

In the same way, in Australia, Mary Flaherty (2015) published an article in which she shows the relevance of accompanying the hearing parents for the understanding and approval diagnosis of the deaf child in a family where the parents have little information. Flaherty emphasizes the high significance of parents receiving professional advice and entering spaces that allow them to share their experience with other families. Therefore, the research results highlight, when the parents adapt to the child's hearing condition, they access the understanding of the environment. They allow themselves to relate to the deaf community and more easily access the sign language. This not only

facilitates the communication but also allows feelings of hostility and anguish to disappear, thus favoring different family environments (Flaherty, 2015).

Also in Colombia Dora Manjarres (2012) published an article about the support and the strengthening that families should have to raise a child with a disability. In it she highlights the importance of the view that parents create in relation to the disability of their children, since this can affect the parenting style adopted by parents. In this sense, Manjarres argues that the parent's actions should answer to the necessary resources for the raising of their children. In the same way, the parents should try to promote respect for the differences in the social hearing environment in which the deaf child exists. Finally, the family relationship favors progress in all its members (Manjarres 2012).

In the Republic of Cyprus, Atonopoulou, Hadjkakou, Stampoltzis, and Nicolaou (2012) published an article with a sample of 30 mothers with deaf and hearing children, which asks if there is any difference raising a child according to his/her hearing condition. As one method, the PSDQ questionnaire (Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire) was used, which assesses the raising model that parents adapt that results in an authoritarian parenting style in the sample. The research conclusions recognize that the child rearing style adopted by the parents depends to a large extent on the demands of the children and their emotions, so that the Deaf child has more demands in terms of care and communication. Faced with this, mothers exercise more favorable actions in their child rearing. The previous approach recognizes that there are differences in the actions applied by parents in raising their children, determined by the hearing difference.

In Venezuela, Maritza Valladares (2011) published a master's thesis written under a qualitative approach, which included a sample of seven hearing mothers and three fathers with deaf children. Regarding the family relationships, the research highlights the changes that can be generated inside a family by the presence of a Deaf child, since parents must spend a large part of their time exploring the child's demands, which denotes greater fatigue and commitment, especially in mothers, since they adopt a more active role than fathers in understanding the needs and demands of their children.

## Methodology

For the development of the research, a qualitative approach was chosen with a phenomenological-narrative approach from the perspective of two hearing mothers without communicational competence in Colombian Sign Language.

Mothers of deaf people with different characteristics were interviewed. The first is the mother of a 27-year-old man, prelingual deaf with profound bilateral hypoacusis, not articulated, without the use of hearing aids, with a wide and sufficient communicational capacity in Colombian Sign Language, belonging to the Deaf community where he learned the Colombian Sign Language. He completed his baccalaureate without technical or higher studies, his basic and secondary education was at a school for Deaf people in the city of Medellín with the accompaniment of a culture and language model.

The second woman is mother to a 37-year-old prelingual deaf woman, with profound hypoacusis in the right ear and moderate hearing loss in the left, without the use of a hearing aid or cochlear implant, with a broad and sufficient communicational capacity in Colombian Sign Language, belonging to the Deaf community where she learned Colombian Sign Language. She completed high school without technical or higher studies; her basic and secondary education was at a school for Deaf people in the city of Medellín with the accompaniment of a culture and language model.

The mothers of both deaf people completed high school. They tried to do a free course in a school for deaf people in the city of Medellín, but dropped out and decided to interact with their children without using Colombian Sign Language, due to the perception of complexity in the learning process of this (motor skills, memory, grammatical structure, among other elements). In addition, both mothers report that they took note of their children's deafness through growth and development checkups.

As a data collection technique, the semi-structured interview was used. Afterward, personal stories were manually grouped into four pre-established categories (Table 1) and an emerging category (Table 2).

**Table 1.** Preestablished Categories

Category	Definition	Textual Transcription of Participant Narrative	
		P1	P2
Affective Support	“Related to the expression of affections from the parents to their children (...) Generally manifested by physical proximity, caresses, games, gestures, verbalizations of affection, among other forms of positive relationship” (Aguirre, 2010, p.15).	P1	P2
Behavior Regulation	“Makes reference to the way parents exercise control over their children, through discipline & demands of maturity for independent acts” (Aguirre, 2010).	P1	P2
Family Relationships	“The integration spaces that generate the family environment, which serves to provide spaces for communication between family members. This relationship allows the personal security development and trust with children” (Aguirre y Rodriguez in Rodriguez,2018).	P1	P2
Communication	“Interactions established by the families either through verbal or non-verbal strategies, which allow individuals to develop social skills and create family ties” (Sobrinó, 2008).	P1	P2

**Table 2.** Emerging Category

Oriented Category	Emerging Category	Definition
Behavior Regulation	About Protection	“Over protection is not necessarily spoiling children, but is an intense and intensive emotional intention to control the child. This leads to an independence as much as in the children as in the parents (...) Excessive care, according to some specialists, is due to the fear in the adult regarding their children growing up and becoming independent.” (Diana Borja, 2013, p.12,13)

Once the interviews were transcribed, the analysis of the narratives was carried out through a categorical matrix in Microsoft Excel, where the participants' narratives were collected and organized. Additionally, an emerging category was identified and, in accordance with this, the analysis was carried out from the mothers' perception of their parenting practices.

## Results

In light of the categorical analysis and the participants' narrative, a description was obtained of how parenting practices have generated in two hearing mothers who don't sign with their deaf children who do use Colombian Sign Language. The results of any qualitative study reflect the experience and the perspective of the participants as described by them. In this case, the results reflected the point of view of the caregivers without communicational competence in Colombian Sign Language.

The emotional support understood by the contact between dyads is mediated by hugs and caresses, experienced by P1: "yes, hugging him, being more aware of him than before was like overprotecting him more" (personal Communication, December 22, 2019). In this case it can be identified that the child's hearing condition generated a change in the frequency of physical contact and an increase in protection. P2 recognized the contact beyond the physical, understood as the maternal fetal bond: "Since pregnancy I have had contact with her and I have never forgotten her, my love for her was great" (P2, Personal Communication, February 14, 2020). Here the mother reports a positive physical proximity that strengthened the affective relationship.

The affective interaction between the dyads was also generated through play areas, which allowed the children to feel included inside their home by dedicating exclusive time to enjoy with them: "yes, all the time, all the time. We played with cars, I sat him in one corner and I sat down in the other one to throw the car at him so he would give it back to me" (P1 Personal Communication, December 22, 2019). "Playing that with her was my life" (P2, personal Communication, February 14, 2020). According to Humphries et al, this interaction allowed the boy and girl, (2019) to express their emotions, develop their creativity,



strengthen their imagination, show their vision for the world and favored the bond between the dyads. It should be noted that this also protects the youth from the appearance of depressive or anxiety disorders.

Regarding the expressions of affections, both participants expressed ease showing love to their children, both non-verbally and through facial lip reading: “all day and every day, even he and I looked husband and wife (...) he has been very affectionate, because he was a child full of love, now he is a tender man” (P1, Personal Communication, December 22, 2019) “daily and still (laugh), it’s logical” (P2 personal Communication, February 14, 2020). What was transmitted in demonstrations of affections in childhood, became a filial love between the dyads.

In general, an expression of positive affection was identified through the participants’ narratives between the dyads expressed through games and caresses, non-verbal strategies allowed for a healthy bond in the parenting practices.

The affective aspect is not the only constituent element in the parenting practices, regulation of behavior is a normalized factor, as well as an understanding of social limits. Among the actions the participants named, different strategies and actions were able to be identified that instill discipline in their children; actions that are mediated by their experience around deafness, the parenting and the support they have had, either through institutions or professionals.

P1 named a number of non-verbal strategies that allowed her child to understand the physical area of her house, from then the rules were established:

“When he was little we put pictures of things on everything (..), this house looked like a school, because of him (...) I showed him (..) that we should eat here and not there and so on with everything, we asked him to look at us a lot” (P1, Personal Communication, December 22, 2019).

In addition to that the caregiver pointed out the importance of using their own signs at home, which were not Colombian Sign Language. These facilitated that the child, through what was expressed, recognized the actions to be corrected.

“When he was doing something that was not correct, I let him know by gestures that it was not well done, I punished him by withdrawing something he liked, on the contrary, when he was doing a correct action or corrected something he had done wrong I rewarded him with a sweet or something he liked” (P1, Personal Communication, December 22, 2019).

The strategies and actions named by P2 were mediated by psychological professional support:

“In therapies, I had her in therapy until she was very, very, very old (...) In Prodebiles, the psychologist taught me how to handle her, because she was very neurasthenic, and when you didn’t know, you just fought. So there, they told us that we couldn’t fight (...) so when she calmed down, I talked to her” (P2, personal Communication, February 14,2020).

This facilitated the development of strategies different from physical punishment vis-a-vis the demands of discipline, and favoring communication to explain to the child through communication signs established at home, what is well or badly done.

Regarding the independence and autonomy provided by the mothers to their children, the participants reported an autonomy and independence significant in terms of parenting practices such as “accompaniment,” “keeping an eye on him or her.” This results in neither independence nor autonomy for the children, since the discourse is mediated by practices aimed at controlling the activities done by their children at least during the first stage of development. Participants mentioned that when asked if they allowed their children to do things alone without supervision, they responded: “but when he was older, around finishing elementary school or starting high school, not before” (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019). “Some things she had to do, but while she was in rehabilitation (therapies at the foundation) she had to be aware, obviously. If I was going out alone, she would not allow her to be alone, then” (P2, Personal Communication, February 14,2020).

At a general level it was possible to identify that within the actions taken by the mothers to instill behaviors in their children, actions that gave way to positive results in accord with the demands of discipline prevailed. Because the caregivers recognized different practices to regulate the behavior that were favored within the parenting practices, actions that went beyond the physical punishment and focused on correcting the negative acts and encouraging positive behavior through reinforcement-punishment, according to their reports.

Through the mothers’ narratives on the independence demands toward their children, it was identified that the control prevailed, more than the actions that favored independence and autonomy in the children. So it can be affirmed that, on one part of the caregivers there was no greater demand for maturity and independence toward their children, and on the contrary, of overprotection and control traits were identified.

All of this can have a significant impact on the exploration of the world for boys and girls, as well as on their way of relating to society. That is why it is important for caregivers to employ balanced parenting practices that favor the security and independence in their children, but also their autonomy.

Parenting practices also allow integration spaces that are generated as means of family relationship (Sobrino, 2008). Regarding this, it was possible to identify in mothers a willingness to generate communication with their children, well, inquiring if there was any time during the week to generate communication, they answered: "every day, when I came home from work" (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019). "daily, I have never failed her, daily, daily, daily, daily. When there was a space left in the afternoon, when I did not make arepas" (P2, Personal Communication, February 14, 2020). This allowed for a better knowledge between the dyad and strengthened the family bond.

Within the expression and communication forms for family relationships, non-verbal communication strategies prevailed, in which there were oral and written dynamics, and a language transformation through body gestures and their own signs created in familiar environment to achieve an interaction with a deaf person. As narrated by the participants: "he would drop the bag and the first thing was to tell him today whether what happened was good or bad (shows in signs proper to the home) and he would already tell me whether it was good or bad" (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019).

"I didn't have sign language, but I learned how to make her understand me, I was struggling, but she understood me, I would tell her - write like this (makes gestures and simulates as if she were writing) (...) with language, talking to her and making sounds and that's how I would talk to her" (P2, personal communication, February 14, 2020).

Although this does not constitute a full communication where the deaf person can express his or her thoughts, it does show a functional interaction in specific contexts.

Family relationships should facilitate the development of personal security and confidence in infants, which mothers employ as social skills or relating to others. P1 shows a dual thinking constituted by expressions such as: "Of course I do, of course I think I do. Although he is sometimes very sad and feels bored because no one knows sign language." (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019). This reflects insecurity as a state of mind influenced by external situations, due to a family relationship marked by the difference in the language of their Deaf child with hearing children, so that the state or feeling of personal

security is perceived as a product of the acceptance that an external person makes of the child's hearing condition.

For its part, P2 named security as synonymous with order and empathy, the latter significantly directed to the other. This does not correspond to personal self-confidence, but to communication skills, in her words: "to be organized and empathetic because what she learned she teaches to her niece" (P2, personal communication, February 14, 2020).

Communication within parenting practices facilitates the development of social and family skills through verbal and nonverbal strategies. Among the verbal strategies used by the dyads, the use of oral language by the mothers, being hearing and Spanish speakers, and lip-facial reading by the children, being deaf and signers, stood out. Verbal strategies were configured as the basis for communication between the dyads.

For the case of P1, communication strategies were generated not only through verbal strategies, but there was support in visual strategies: "we had a folder full of images in which I would tell him, for example, this is the glass so that he would learn to articulate" (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019). This facilitated the infant's recognition of objects, a recognition that was reinforced by the caregiver's naming of the objects so that the child could express them.

P2 practices were oriented to stimulate the infant's articulation using repetitive strategies to seek comprehension of what was expressed; consequently, the infant was overwhelmed by the lack of understanding of the content:

"I repeated to her, I repeated to her, she was confused and sometimes I had to cut her off because she was getting confused and rebelling (...) with that she learned to understand the hearing in one way and to understand the Deaf in another" (P2, personal communication, February 14, 2020).

These attitudes established a communicative barrier, given the generation of strategies based on actions that did not favor the understanding of what was communicated between the dyad.

Within the non-verbal communication strategies exercised by the dyads, written communication, body gestures and signs created in the family environment were highlighted as strategies that established a shared symbolic meaning within family communication, and that allowed the constitution of practices that adjusted to the communication demands of the child.

P1 adopted nonverbal communication strategies that involved a signification of objects by her son through actions represented by gestures and signs, with the intention of generating a course of action in the infant: "with the

clothes, to teach him to dress I would point them out to him” (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019).

The nonverbal communication practices adopted by P2 were mediated by signs, which are not recognized within the meaning of the Colombian Sign Language of the Deaf population, but from the capacity of the listener: “everything is with language and signs (...) like any listener who also signs” (P2, personal communication, February 14, 2020).

In the non-verbal communication strategies mentioned by the participants, the construction of communicative practices based on creativity – established as a tool that allows the generation of an intercommunication of senses and emotions – was evidenced in order to face the challenges of their children’s hearing impairment.

P1 recognized nonverbal communication practices as an important element for her son’s interaction with the external world, which made it easier for the infant to adapt to different social environments such as hearing: “when he was younger he would go to teach classes at the library and he has always related very easily” (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019).

For P2 the nonverbal strategies established in the family relationship did not favor social skills in her daughter, since the strategies were oriented more from the capacity of the hearing person: “she does not have those skills, she is not patient, she is not patient, she gets very upset when she does not understand anyone” (P2, personal communication, February 14, 2020). Therefore, this generated impatience and irritation in the infant due to the difference in communication – due to the lack of understanding of the message.

The communication strategies that prevailed among the dyads were nonverbal (gestures, writing, home signs), which the caregivers adjusted according to the hearing ability of the child. Furthermore, the parenting practices exercised by the caregivers are not far removed from the actions normally exercised by parents of hearing children to instill discipline (punishment, scolding, physical punishment), in order to show their affection (hugs, caresses, play) or to establish a family bond (family integration, communication), as their actions are oriented toward the inclusion of children in household activities, which, according to the results presented by Humphries et al. (2019) decreases the possibility that Deaf children may suffer from some type of disorder. However, to adopt this argument it would be advisable to have the Deaf person’s perspective, as he or she may have a different representation regarding his or her parenting experience.

In the research conducted by Rodriguez (2018), it was concluded that physical proximity allows the development of social and communication skills in children that consolidate family interaction. While it is true that within the

results of the current research a physical proximity between the dyads was identified, this proximity does not in all cases favor social skills and family interaction; as could be identified in expressions such as: “he sometimes tells me that he is sad because when we all get together no one knows signs, so he feels very lonely” (P1, personal communication, December 22, 2019). “She is not good with social skills, she is not patient, she is not patient” (P2, personal communication, February 14, 2020).

Therefore, it is appropriate to recognize that in the dynamics of the household there must be a significant alteration in the existence of a Deaf person, since this implies that not only the caregivers, but also the other members of the nuclear family recognize and adapt to the demands of the child. This could result in the Deaf person feeling accompanied and understood, thus favoring the family relationship and the development of social skills outside the family environment.

In relation to the results presented by Valladares (2011), parents recognize the importance of Colombian Sign Language for communication with their Deaf children, but admit the difficulty in learning it. This coincides with the experiences narrated by the participants regarding communication with their children, given that there is a recognition of the difficulty in accessing Colombian Sign Language, and they use their own signs at home as a fundamental means of communication with their children.

Two main factors affecting healthy communication between the dyads in the study were identified. In the first place, there is a difference in communication, as the caregivers do not have access to Colombian Sign Language, which their children have adopted as their main means of communication and which is also part of their Deaf culture, which generates a communication barrier. While it is true that caregivers can learn to mediate and cope with the situation, it is still a breakdown in communication. Secondly, the lack of use of sign language stands out as a lack of knowledge of the Deaf culture on the part of the caregivers, for this reason the results exposed by Humphries et al., (2019) are confirmed, where it was established that one of the main actions that parents can exercise for the proper recognition of the deafness of their children is the access to Colombian Sign Language.

It is important that families, and especially the main caregivers of Deaf people, have access to Colombian Sign Language, as an act of recognition of their children’s deafness, because this, as Flaherty (2015) concludes, not only favors communication, but also allows the disappearance of feelings of hostility and anguish in children, which can be experienced when they do not understand the hearing person.

It was possible to establish that the main strategies used for communication with their Deaf children are organizational strategies, visual strategies and some written signed Spanish words, which partially coincides with the results generated by Willer, Van and Van (2019), since, in the case of the current research, the caregivers additionally employ the home's own sign language as another means of family interaction.

It should be noted that the study obtained its results from the mothers' narratives, their perception of their parenting practices and the effectiveness of these practices. Therefore, it would be necessary to include the experience of Deaf people and their perspective on the incorporation of the norm, the interaction with the hearing culture at home, the strengthening of their social skills, among other aspects of parenting practices.

The family cannot be ignored as the first support network of the Deaf person, but if the family does not know the Colombian Sign Language, their first support network could be the members of the Deaf community, since it generates a direct communication in Colombian Sign Language, thus allowing the appropriation of their own culture, values, set of beliefs and way of interpreting reality, different from the way in which the hearing mother can do it.

Colombian Sign Language allows Deaf people to express their thoughts, beliefs, share phrases of affection, etc. It also allows the hearing person, when he or she has communication skills in Colombian Sign Language, to impart clear rules, teach values, verify understanding of an instruction, and correct inappropriate behavior with arguments, not simply with an empirically designed program of punishments and reinforcements.

The experience of the two hearing mothers who are not users of Colombian Sign Language is not a simple reflection of two existing cases in Colombia, and although the characterization as of the current year has not been officially provided, it is a common phenomenon to find mothers who do not know Colombian Sign Language, even though they are aware that this is the mother tongue of their Deaf son or daughter.

Both mothers of Deaf people and family members in general, upon learning that a hearing impaired person has arrived in the family, can assume two paths: the first is to learn to communicate with the use of their mother tongue (Colombian Sign Language), typical of the Deaf community, which involves an effort in time, dedication, fine motor skills training, understanding of a language other than Spanish, among others; and second, not learning Colombian Sign Language. Whatever path families take will have a direct effect on parenting practices.

While it is true, as reported by the mothers in the sample, that a parenting practice without the use of Colombian Sign Language can be effective in

generating hugs, caresses, kisses, playing with carts, taking turns with a ball, throwing a boomerang, regulating their behavior in a behavioral way with punishment, reinforcement or with the face of the mother upset or smiling, depending on the act committed by the Deaf person, Colombian Sign Language is an important means of communication in the process of upbringing for a person who uses it as the first mechanism to externalize his or her thoughts and feelings.

When a Deaf person can communicate with his or her family in Colombian Sign Language, behavioral regulation is generated through a process of awareness. Expressions of affection are complemented with love phrases, games with carts or dolls with dialogues within the game. And this could lead to improved effectiveness in parenting practices associated with family communication and relationships.

## Conclusions

Given the mothers' lack of access to Colombian Sign Language, they are driven to use tools, such as their own sign language, to communicate with their Deaf children. Hence the importance that these families have professional guidance to facilitate that family communication tools should not be oriented to the Deaf person adjusting to the hearing person's way of communicating, but rather that the hearing person establishes actions that facilitate and promote communication with the Deaf person as well.

The research team considers it important that state and governmental entities create strategies and tools that make it possible to include the families of Deaf people in the process of learning Colombian Sign Language. Therefore, it is advisable to create territorial plans that are based on the characteristics of the families themselves and not on the general knowledge of the population.

For studies associated with the Deaf community, whether with their families or with the population directly, a full knowledge of the researcher of the Deaf culture in relation to their beliefs, values, customs and norms is suggested, in order not to incur actions in the field that transgress their culture.

When investigating the upbringing of a Deaf person, it is not only necessary to analyze the negative or conjunctural aspects, but also the positive aspects



that they appropriate as change, personal growth, awareness of life and deep relationship.

This study was based on the narrative of mothers without communication skills in Colombian Sign Language regarding their child-rearing practices, but the perspective of deaf people regarding the same categories analyzed in the study is still needed to obtain a broader view of the phenomenon.

From the perspective of the study sample, made up of two hearing mothers with no communication skills in Colombian Sign Language, it was possible to generate child-rearing practices manifested in expressions of affection, limits through reinforcement and punishment, games, among others. Even so, communication and interaction can increase the effectiveness of parenting practices if the caregiver's command of the Deaf person's native language is added to this, which allows for increased dialogue, argumentation when inhibiting a behavior, and the accompaniment of affective phrases.

## References

- Aguirre, A. (2010). Prácticas de crianza y su relación con rasgos resilientes de niños y niñas. [Master Thesis, Universidad Nacional de Colombia]. <https://repositorio.unal.edu.co/handle/unal/6777>
- Aguirre, E.; Castro, C. (September, 2007). *La crianza en el Proceso de Inclusión Social de Niños con Déficit Sensoriomotor*. [Presentation]. 5° Reunión “Escenarios de la diversidad: Pasado y Presente” del Grupo de Trabajo: Familia e Infancia de CLACSO, México, D.F. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309378971\\_La\\_crianza\\_en\\_el\\_Proceso\\_de\\_Inclusion\\_Social\\_de\\_Ninos\\_con\\_Deficit\\_Sensoriomotor](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309378971_La_crianza_en_el_Proceso_de_Inclusion_Social_de_Ninos_con_Deficit_Sensoriomotor)
- Alcaldía mayor de Bogotá, Instituto Nacional para Sordos (INSOR). (2016). Primera infancia con discapacidad auditiva construyendo lenguaje con derechos. *Rostros y Rostros*, 4(13), 1-134. [http://www.sdp.gov.co/sites/default/files/primera\\_inf\\_2016.pdf](http://www.sdp.gov.co/sites/default/files/primera_inf_2016.pdf)
- Antonopoulou, K.; Hadjikakou, K.; Stampoltzis, A.; Nicolaou, N. (2012). Parenting Styles of Mothers with Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing Children and Hearing Siblings. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 17(3),

306. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/223982776\\_Parenting\\_Styles\\_of\\_Mothers\\_With\\_Deaf\\_or\\_Hard-of-Hearing\\_Children\\_and\\_Hearing\\_Siblings](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/223982776_Parenting_Styles_of_Mothers_With_Deaf_or_Hard-of-Hearing_Children_and_Hearing_Siblings)

Borja, D. (2013). *La sobreprotección familiar y su incidencia en el desarrollo integral de los niños y niñas del centro infantil buen vivir creciendo felices de la universidad técnica de Ambato* [Undergraduate Thesis, Universidad Técnica de Ambato]. <http://repositorio.uta.edu.ec/handle/123456789/5632>

Flaherty, M. (2015). What We Can Learn from Hearing Parents of Deaf Children. *The Australasian Journal of Special Education*, 39(1), 67-84. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jse.2014.19>

García, L.; Salazar, M. (2013). Crianza familiar en contextos margen de la ciudad de Cali: narrativas intergeneracionales. *Ánfora*, 20 (34), 37-58. <https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora/article/view/52/49>

Huerta – Solano, C.; Varela, J.; Soltero, R.; Nava, G. (2018). No a la discapacidad: la Sordera como minoría lingüística y cultural. *Revista Nacional e Internacional de Educación Inclusiva*, 11(2), 63-80. <https://revistaeducacioninclusiva.es/index.php/REI/article/view/384/360>

Humphries, T.; Kushalnagar, P.; Mathur, G.; Napoli, D.; Rathmann, C.; Smith, S. (2019). Support for Parents of Deaf Children: Common Questions and Informed, Evidence- Based Answers. *International Journal of Pediatric Otorhinolaryngology*, 118, 134-142. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijporl.2018.12.036>

Infante, A.; Martínez, J. (2016). Concepciones sobre la crianza: el pensamiento de madres y padres de familia. *Liberabit*, 22(1), 31-41. <https://doi.org/10.24265/liberabit.2016.v22n1.03>

Instituto Nacional para Sordos. *Plan estratégico institucional 2019-2022 INSOR* [PPT Presentation]. [http://www.insor.gov.co/home/descargar/plan\\_estrategico\\_INSOR\\_2019\\_2022V1.pdf](http://www.insor.gov.co/home/descargar/plan_estrategico_INSOR_2019_2022V1.pdf)

Izzedin, R.; Pachajoa, A. (2009). Pautas, prácticas y creencias acerca de la crianza. Ayer y hoy. *Liberabit*, 15(2), 109-115. <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/686/68611924005.pdf>

- Ley 982 de 2005. Por la cual se establecen normas tendientes a la equiparación de oportunidades para las personas sordas y sordociegas y se dictan otras disposiciones. August 9, 2005. D.O. No. 45995.
- Ley 1346 de 2009. Por medio de la cual se aprueba la "Convención sobre los Derechos de las personas con Discapacidad", adoptada por la Asamblea General de la Naciones Unidas. July 31, 2009. D.O. No 47427.
- Manjarres, D. (2012). Apoyo y fortalecimiento a familias para la crianza de niños con discapacidad. *Horizontes psicológicos*, 14(1), 97-118.  
<https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:mmorPL6l3QUJ:https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/4777928.pdf+&cd=1&hl=es-419&ct=clnk&gl=co>
- Manjarrés, D.; León, E.; Martínez, R.; Gaitán, A. (2013). *Crianza y discapacidad: una visión desde las vivencias y relatos de las familias en varios lugares de Colombia*. Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvfc51fp>
- Martínez, C. (2012). De nuevo la vida. *El poder de la no violencia y las transformaciones culturales*. Editorial Trillas.
- Organización Mundial de la Salud. (2 de marzo de 2021). *Sordera y pérdida de la audición*. <https://www.who.int/es/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/deafness-and-hearing-loss>
- Pascual, Y.; Garzón, M.; Silva, H. (2015). Características sociodemográficas de pacientes con enfermedad de Alzheimer y sus cuidadores principales. *Revista Cubana De Enfermería*, 31(2).  
<http://www.revenfermeria.sld.cu/index.php/enf/article/view/319/119>
- Patiño, L. (2010). *La Lengua de señas colombiana como mediadora en el proceso de conceptualización de nociones relacionadas con las ciencias sociales en niños y niñas no oyentes* [Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad de Manizales].  
<http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11907/515>

- Quiceno, Y; Arbeláez, K. (2016) *Desafíos de las aulas para sordos y calidad educativa* [Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad de Antioquia]. <http://ayura.udea.edu.co:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/2240/1/D0154.pdf>
- Real Academia Española. (s.f.). Díada. En *Diccionario de la lengua española*. <https://dle.rae.es/d%C3%ADada?m=form>
- Rodríguez, D. (2018). *Prácticas de crianza y discapacidad auditiva* [Master Thesis, Universidad Nacional de Colombia]. <https://repositorio.unal.edu.co/handle/unal/69413>
- Sobrino, L. (2008). Niveles de satisfacción familiar y de comunicación entre padres e hijos. *Av. Psicol*, 16(1), 109-137. <http://www.unife.edu.pe/publicaciones/revistas/psicologia/2008/sastisfaccionfamiliar.pdf>
- Szarkowski, A.; Brice, P. (2016). Appraisals of Parenting a Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing Child: Application of a Positive Psychology Framework. *The Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 3(21), 249–258. <https://academic.oup.com/jdsde/article/21/3/249/2404216#38872915>
- Valladares, M. (2011). *Familias y discapacidad: vivencias de madres y padres oyentes ante la deficiencia auditiva de un/a hijo/a* [Master Thesis, Universidad Central de Venezuela]. [http://repositoriodcpd.net:8080/bitstream/handle/123456789/365/Tes\\_VilladaresM\\_FamiliaDiscapacidadVivencias\\_2011.pdf?sequence=1](http://repositoriodcpd.net:8080/bitstream/handle/123456789/365/Tes_VilladaresM_FamiliaDiscapacidadVivencias_2011.pdf?sequence=1)
- Willer, B.; Van, K.; Van, M. (2019). Parental Strategies Used in Communication with Their Deaf Infants. *Ghent University, Gent, Belgium*, 35(2), 165–183. <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8617590>

# The Liberation of Mother Earth: More than Taking the Territory<sup>1</sup>

[English Version]

La liberación de la Madre Tierra: más que la toma de un territorio

A libertação da Mãe Terra: mais do que a tomada de um território

Received May 12, 2020. Accepted June 1, 2021.

Adriana López-Camacho\*\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8445-5699>

Colombia

## Abstract

› To cite this article  
López-Camacho, Adriana. (2021).  
The Liberation of the Mother Earth:  
More than Taking the Territory.  
Ánfora, 28(51), 93-114.  
<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.783>  
Universidad Autónoma de  
Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.  
E-ISSN 2248-6941.  
CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

**Objective:** this article reconfigures the dynamics of the process of the Liberation of Mother Earth by the Nasa people, making it visible in a commitment to re-territorialization that begins with the recovery of dispossessed lands. **Methodology:** this historical-hermeneutic research approach, involved participant observation, the use of techniques such as video and audio recording, the application of informal interviews with representatives of the Nasa community, and the documentary analysis of primary and secondary sources prepared by the community. **Results:** the research describes the main land disputes in the region, from colonization

to internal armed conflict. It presents the history of organization that the community

---

\* This paper belongs to the research conducted and self-funded by the author in the framework of the Master Thesis, *Ways of Resistance of the Nasa Community - Norte del Cauca* (López, 2014), and its academic interest to advance in this research process between 2015 and 2020.

\*\* PhD candidate of Instituto Pensamiento y Cultura en América Latina, Master in Interdisciplinary Social Research and a Degree in Social Sciences of the Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas. Professor of Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, Bogotá, Colombia. E-mail: alopezc@udistrital.edu.co

has put into practice there, with special emphasis on the process of the Liberation of Mother Earth; based on the accumulation of organizational experiences, responding to the de-territorialization processes led by external agents against the indigenous people of Norte del Cauca has become possible. Finally, the scenarios and gambles that have resulted from this process, and their relationship with other social movements are analyzed. **Conclusions:** the reflections and experiences around the process of Liberation of Mother Earth raise hopeful horizons for the construction of autonomous ways of life. They are focused on a different relationship with the earth which allows inquiry and confrontation of the prevailing system.

**Keywords:** Indigenous population; Cultural diversity; Community action; Land use; Resistance to oppression.

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** este artículo reconfigura las dinámicas del proceso de la Liberación de la Madre Tierra del pueblo Nasa, para visibilizarlo en una apuesta por la reterritorialización que inicia con la recuperación de tierras despojadas. **Metodología:** este trabajo investigativo de enfoque histórico-hermenéutico, implicó la observación participante, el uso de técnicas como registro de video gráfico y de audio, la aplicación de entrevistas informales con representantes de la comunidad Nasa, y el análisis documental de fuentes primarias y secundarias elaborados por la comunidad. **Resultados:** se describen las principales disputas en torno a la tierra en la región, pasando desde la colonización hasta el conflicto armado interno. Presenta la historia de organización que allí ha puesto en práctica la comunidad, haciendo especial énfasis en el proceso de Liberación de la Madre Tierra; pues a partir de este cúmulo de experiencias organizativas ha sido posible responder a los procesos de desterritorialización que han propiciado agentes externos a los pueblos indígenas del norte del Cauca. Finalmente, se analizan los escenarios y apuestas que han resultado de este proceso, y su relación con otros movimientos sociales. **Conclusiones:** las reflexiones y experiencias en torno al proceso de Liberación de la Madre Tierra plantean horizontes esperanzadores para la construcción de modos de vida autónomos, centrados en un relacionamiento distinto con la tierra, que permiten cuestionar y confrontar el sistema imperante.

**Palabras-clave:** Población indígena; Diversidad cultural; Acción comunitaria; Uso de la tierra; Resistencia a la opresión.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** este artigo reconfigura a dinâmica do processo de Libertação da Mãe Terra do povo Nasa, para torná-la visível em um compromisso de reterritorialização que se inicia com a recuperação das terras desapropriadas. **Metodologia:** este trabalho de pesquisa com abordagem histórico-hermenêutica, envolveu a observação participante, o uso de técnicas como vídeo gráfico e gravação de áudio, a aplicação de entrevistas informais com representantes da comunidade Nasa, e a análise documental de fontes primárias e secundárias elaboradas pela comunidade. **Resultados:** descreve as principais disputas de terras na região, desde a colonização até o conflito armado interno. Apresenta a história de organização que a comunidade ali colocou em prática, com especial destaque para o processo de Libertação da Mãe Terra; A partir desse acúmulo de experiências organizacionais, foi possível responder aos processos de desterritorialização que têm fomentado agentes externos aos povos indígenas do norte do Cauca. Por fim, são analisados os cenários e apostas que resultaram desse processo e sua relação com outros movimentos sociais. **Conclusões:** as reflexões e vivências em torno do processo de Libertação da Mãe Terra levantam horizontes esperançosos para a construção de modos de vida autônomos, centrados em uma relação diferenciada com a terra, que permitam questionar e confrontar o sistema vigente.

**Palavras-chave:** População indígena; Diversidade cultural; Ação comunitária; Uso da terra; Resistência à opressão.

## Introduction

*“Liberation does not come alone,  
it comes when boys and girls fall in love with the Earth,  
when we see the Earth as mother.  
It should be a liberation from being and thought”<sup>1</sup>*

In the north of the department of Cauca (Colombia), the Nasa indigenous people have originated the so-called process of Liberating Mother Earth, the result of years of struggle and organization that constitutes a gamble in search of re-territorialization based on a cultural project built from ancestral roots. It involves recovering dispossessed lands, and influences and impacts the political, economic and cultural spheres of their communities.

This article reflects on the process of Liberating Mother Earth as a manner of resistance<sup>2</sup>, in the face of the phenomenon of de-territorialization, and a way of defending the territory — a consequence of violent appropriation of indigenous lands in Cauca and the result of disputes between actors with economic interests outside the communities. It shows that building other hopeful worlds from organized collective actions is possible.

This manuscript aims to recognize the history, perseverance, and strength of the Nasa people as a model of resistance against the current situation of criminalization of social movements, against the fear systematically imposed through murders and threats of social leaders, and against the exacerbation of dispossession and land grabbing. Under this national context, highlighting the multiple resistances that are woven by native people from their ancestral wisdom is essential. It should be emphasized that such actions of struggle change over time; they are strengthened and mutated according to political, economic, and social conditions at national and local levels.

---

1. Words of a Nasa pedagogue during Food March I (Process of the Liberation of Mother Earth, March 30, 2018).

2. From an etymological perspective, resistance is defined as the action or ability to resist (RAE, 2020), however, for the purpose of this article, this concept is assumed in accordance with what Jaime Rafael told Nieto (2008), as he defined the concept as “a logic of collective action that is directed against any form of power, exploitation or oppression” (p. 267). It means that it is associated with different ways (mobilizations, popular education, protests, social mobilizations, strikes, among others) that a group of people carry out against invaders of territories, dictatorships or as Nieto (2008) states all forms of power or domination.



## Methodology

The historical-hermeneutic research approach focused on understanding the social action of the Nasa community on the process of Liberating Mother Earth as a way of resistance and territorial defense. It constitutes a qualitative research technique, as it employed an approach to the social phenomenon aiming at describing, understanding, interpreting and reflecting on the knowledge and actions of different people involved.

Methodologically, it was carried out through fieldwork in meetings, marches, conversations, *mingas* and other spaces in which, through participant observation, collecting information to reconstruct the background and dynamics of the process of the Liberation of Mother Earth of the Nasa community was possible, taking into account cultural, political and social aspects from their manner of resistance and conception of territory.

Likewise, interviews with leaders and representatives of the Nasa community were conducted. They contributed in the construction of a memory of cultural knowledge and resistance, using techniques such as a recording videos and audios, reviewing bibliographic sources related to what is evidenced in the fieldwork with the theory. They also include the analysis of testimonies and documentary analysis of primary and secondary sources elaborated by the community to show the logic of the resistance in different territories as much the Nasa community as with MST-NQL<sup>3</sup>, ARISA<sup>4</sup>, and ASDECOIN<sup>5</sup> organizations.

---

3. Landless movement: Grandchildren of Manuel Quintín Lame, made up of families from the municipalities of Caldono, Caloto, Toribío and Santander de Quilichao in the northern department of Cauca, Colombia. The actions of this Movement are related to the defense and liberation of mother earth, in addition to the participation of actions that answers to problems such as economic exclusion, agrarian exploitation, and privatization of education and health, among others.

4. Regional Association in Defense of Food Sovereignty ARISA, composed by community members from the Munchique and Caldono municipalities.

5. Association for Indigenous Economic Development

After the information collection, a hermeneutic analysis was developed based on the systematization of data, through thematic analysis as a relational thinking technique that allowed decomposing the different phenomena, processes, and concepts, through open coding and generation of conceptual categories in the qualitative information analysis software: *Atlas.ti*. The conceptual analysis and theoretical construction of findings at the ethnographic level was carried out based on different families and categories.

The development of this research from historical-hermeneutic and qualitative approaches, through ethnographic methods, involved fieldwork through participation in *mingas*, meetings, marches, conversations, meetings and other ways in which the researcher had access to information collection from participant observation that contributed in the development of the research purpose on the process of the Nasa Community's Liberation of Mother Earth. It considers cultural, political, and social aspects from its manner of resistance and territorial concept.

Additionally, the techniques such as the registration of audio and video recording, informal interviews with representatives of the Nasa community and documentary analysis of primary and secondary sources prepared by the community were used to show the logic of resistance in different territories from the community's perspective. Moreover, the review of bibliographic sources was carried out to relate what was evidenced in fieldwork with the theory.

## Results

### De-territorialization and Dispossession to Present

Nasa indigenous people, located mostly in the municipalities of Huellas, Toribío and Caldono in northern Cauca (see Figure 1), are among the 102 indigenous people recognized by the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC). According to Ducón Salas (2011), the Nasa were located in the valleys of the south of Colombia's central mountain range, then they were forced to move to high slopes of that mountain and ended up settling in northeastern Cauca. Their relocation began in the seventeenth century with a territorial institutionalization process directed by the Spanish Crown through the *resguardos*<sup>6</sup> constitution to the end of the sixteenth century. This system was the foundation of territorial distribution in force to date with variations in mobility and in land extension.

Figure 1. Process of Liberating Mother Earth

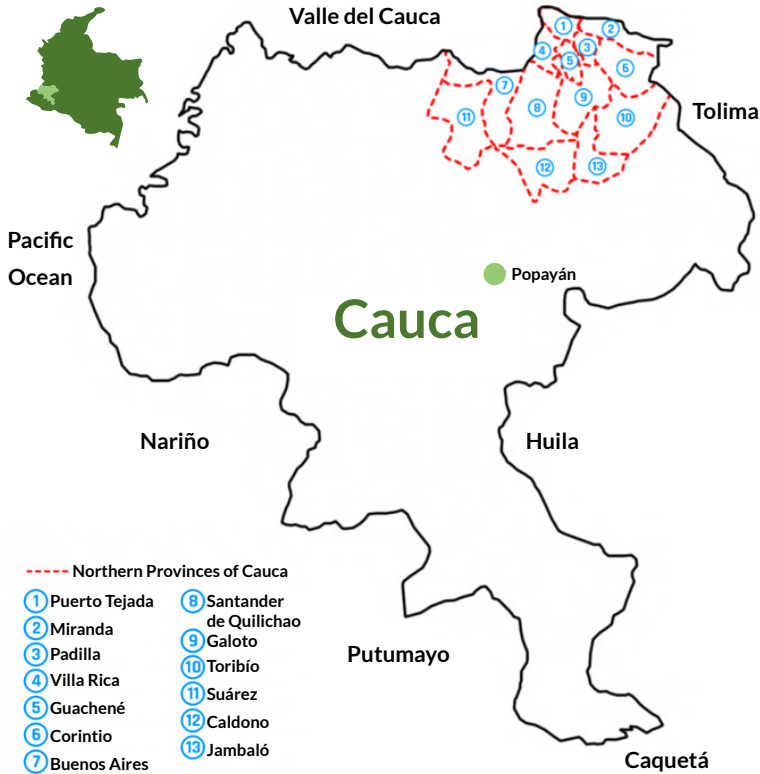


**Note.** Photograph taken by the researcher. Nasa Territory in the North of the Department of Cauca.

---

6. Indigenous reserves, according to the Constitutional Court of Colombia (2007), are defined as legal institutions of a special nature, composed by indigenous communities that own a territory, and are organized on the basis of indigenous traditions or guidelines.

Figure 2. Nasa Community Location



Note. Taken from Semanarural.com

Additionally, like other native people of Latin America, the Nasa had to face new social and environmental conditions that displacement created. They had to develop abilities for the creation of new instruments for action; this would have been impossible without an impulse in the development of thought that would lead to a response to the logic and rationality of capitalism. Thus, while retaining their traditional knowledge, they assumed a dialogue with modern Western knowledge and sectors of power (Ducón Salas, 2011, p. 13).

Later, with the imposition of land during the eighteenth century in New Granada, the indigenous people saw the community use of the land weaken: there was an individualization of land, parceled out, deprived of the possibility of its permanent possession. Landowners leased them a small plot of land

which had previously been a safe *resguardo*, which those landowners could easily appropriate at will. In this way, the tenants<sup>7</sup> only had access to small plots of land to live on, planting domestic food crops, without the possibility of any permanent cultivation, in exchange for their free work on landowner estates.

The colonizers of America created the conditions under which servitude and vassalage relationships continued through the land with the *resguardo* concept. However, as land rent increased<sup>8</sup>coexistence on the *resguardo* became linked by collective identity in time and space, in the presence and belonging to the earth; for indigenous communities, this was the geographical setting for meeting with peers.

An imminent consequence of the de-territorialization process was uprooting indigenous people from land, ethnicity and language; these were and are grounds for rejection to support the permanence in the territories and to belonging by the colonizers through dispossession. Therefore, the segregation and exclusion of indigenous people from certain places is not unfounded, and it is done in development and in the market, it weakens the dynamics of ancestral people including their organizational processes.

In this way, it is possible to highlight de-territorialization — as the total or partial crumbling of territorial processes (Deleuze and Guattari, as cited in Farina, 2018, p. 5) — to which native peoples have been subjected. At present, since the Process of Liberating Mother Earth, it has been reported that land rent continues while indigenous people are still working as laborers or “slaves with wages for employers that cannot be seen” (Process of Liberating Mother Earth, 2016). In addition, the land dispute remains the core: sugar mills and extractive projects continuously cornered indigenous communities of the territory, as they are denied access to productive land and pressure is exerted to extend crops into environmental protection areas, as they relate in their own words:

Cornered between cane and mountain climate, between plane and mountain, subjected to reduction techniques, squeezed on our own land, it forces us to take part, to solve soon and easily. that's the way it is here, there, and beyond. Northern Cauca is just a sample of the world (Process of Liberating Mother Earth, 2016).

---

7. According to Sofia del Mar Salazar Carvajal (2017) a tenant is considered the person (peasant or indigenous) who had to pay for using a small part of land, for cultivation.

8. As Luis Guillermo explains to Vasco Uribe, “the land rent was [...] a feudal, servile relationship, according to which an indigenous person had to pay in free work within the Land the right to live and enjoy a small plot of land, located on the same place that were taken from indigenous reserves by landowners, a relationship that persisted until it was definitively swept away by indigenous struggle that began to develop from 1970” (2008, p. 373).

This problem of dispossession and limiting access to land runs particularly deep within the context of the armed conflict, it has lasted in the region despite attempts by civil society and social movements to stop it. In September 2016, something happened in Colombia that was unthinkable during decades of armed conflict: an agreement between the national government and the country's oldest guerrilla group, FARC-EP. This agreement was intended to build peace in a nation of violence, forced displacement, lack of opportunities, lack of real possibility of political participation by the base population, systematic fear that has been transmitted from generation to generation, mandatory silence and indifference learned as a less compromising reaction to social change (since a more confrontational attitude could be read as threatening and be the cause of a military attack).

Despite the actions that have been carried out in Colombia within the framework of the peace agreement, especially in the department of Cauca, there has been no clarification of facts; therefore, it has not been determined precisely who have been armed actors behind constant persecutions, threats and murders of the Nasa community members and other actors involved in processes of territorial defense.

Even native people consider that the intensification of war that came with the post-agreement is part of a “policy of extermination” that is not accidental. On the contrary, it has been carefully designed to benefit foreign policies and interests that pursue the purpose of capital accumulation with the approval of the government of the current President, Iván Duque. Such a plan would seek to consolidate in Cauca territory the extra-activism of transnational companies, as well as drug actions of trafficking cartels — and Cauca Regional Indigenous Council<sup>9</sup> (CRIC) has denounced the emergence of Sinaloa Cartel in the territory — and paramilitary groups.

CRIC has also reported that, in 2020, there have been nine massacres in its territory, 36 fatal victims; and, 47 indigenous leaders have been selectively killed. There are still threats, harassment and persecution of families and communities on ancestral territories. This organization has denounced the internal armed conflict as a result of the strategy of the “Democratic Security” policy that seeks to perpetuate itself in the country (CRIC, October 30, 2020).

The facts described show a systematic persecution of indigenous resistance with the intention of breaking the collective process of building autonomous ways of life in the territory. In addition, legal and illegal armed actors attack the cohesion of people by even recruiting indigenous members who are deceived

---

9. CRIC, according to Oscar Julián Moreno Cuesta (2012), has a main role in indigenous movements. It constitutes a reference on using different media, especially indigenous radio, for dissemination and communication of identity, diversity, and cultural richness.

and impoverished, agree to threaten and kill members of their own community; in the same way, they are used so that through their networks of informants they point out those who may be a barrier to their greedy interests (CRIC, March 13, 2018, para. 2). Therefore, from this view, these are not isolated events, but a strategy of war that involves external interests and that accentuates the process of de-territorialization against the Nasa people.

### **The Liberation of Mother Earth: a Gamble for Re-territorialization**

Historically, there have been multiple “escapes” in resistance to violence imposed on daily lives of indigenous communities in general, and in particular the Nasa people. Such resistances have been marked by historical autonomies of this people, by the fact of being a constituted society and by its conception of territory without the divisions of borders.

In this way, it is not possible to speak of the Nasa community without referring to or recalling historical struggles waged jointly with other indigenous people and which have founded what is now known as the *Indigenous Social Movement*. In 60s and 70s of the twentieth century, actions of resistance were carried out by these native peoples; these actions gave rise to the organization of Cauca Regional Indigenous Council (CRIC), its importance lies in the fact that it brings together more than 90% of department’s indigenous communities.

CRIC is recognized as the traditional authority of indigenous peoples of this region, and it has led the collective projections regarding economic, social, cultural, territorial and environmental fields; in addition to leading decision-making and implementation strategies in the face of breached commitments from negotiations with the national government.

The dispute over the land has held a leading position in this history of struggle and organization of the Nasa people; therefore, from then until now, numerous exercises of resistance have taken place by dispossessed indigenous peoples. One of the most representative case is a Nasa leader Manuel Quintín Lame (born in 1880, near Popayan) who under the premise of recovery of the lands of which the indigenous had been dispossessed and the elimination of tenure payment, led actions to take land in northern Cauca. He fought against the liberation of territory and contributed to analyzing the denaturalization of a unidirectional vision legitimized for dominance.

The uprising led by Quintín Lame, in the early years of the twentieth century, has given strength and hope to landless indigenous people. Currently it is a reference in the struggle, as members of the Movimiento Sin Tierra-Nietos de Quintín Lame (MST-NQL). They organized themselves in searching for answers and strategies against economic exclusion, privatization of health and education, impunity and injustice, and land dispossession (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Grandchildren of Quintín Lame



**Note.** Nasa Territory in the North of the Department of Cauca. Taken from *El Aguijón* Edition 31, January 2017.

The Movimiento Sin Tierra-Nietos de Quintín Lame (MST-NQL), from 2005, the main purpose of which is defending the territory, has chosen to liberate Mother Earth through settlement and recovery of lands invaded by landowners, both local and regional political classes, in addition to multinationals that are in the department. It has been faced with attacks by security forces. Likewise, they have developed actions to contribute to the construction of national sovereignty as a fundamental step in reconciliation with peasants, African descendants and vulnerable populations to achieve agrarian reform.



As a result of this historic struggle against the dispossession of land and the legacy of organization of the Nasa, in 2014 the Process of Liberating Mother Earth was constituted; it arises with the aim of recovering the ancestral lands to heal them and deliver them to future generations. For this, the Nasa people invade the farms titled as the property of the sugar industry, divided by groups to assemble *cambuches* (makeshift dwellings) hidden within huge hectares that mark the area as territorial defense. In this way, liberation begins with the recovery of land usurped over centuries, currently used for sugar and agrofuel business, and which has subordinated nature to the development of capitalism.

By settling on these farms, the liberators see the need to put an end to the cane monoculture, so that it is cut and eradicated to make path for planting other crops that generate varied food for the entire population. This action not only represents a way of survival, but it is also the first step in restoring harmony of *Uma Kíwe* or Mother Earth, so that it can be healed. The Process has summarized its actions as follows:

During the recoveries, they cut cane, fertilize and sow the land, they reorganize lands to guarantee biological balance that has been destroyed for a long time. Allow animals to graze on empty land. It is a process of peasant reappropriation for autonomy and food self-sufficiency. It is a struggle that indigenous communities called “the liberation of Mother Earth,” a “simple contribution to world’s struggles to restore the balance of life, shattered by capitalist delirium.” “That’s why they murder us” and “that’s why we’re still standing up.” (Process of the Liberation of Mother Earth, 2020).

During the six years of liberation process (2014-2020), the Nasa community has faced and fought for several hours with little more than rubber tappers against public force, the National Army and the Mobile Anti-Riot Squad (ESMAD), that through excessive interventions with use of tear gas, bullets and stun grenades with all kinds of harmful material, has killed 11 liberators of the Nasa people (Process of the Liberation of Mother Earth, 2020)

Currently, the Process of the Liberation of Mother Earth is on seven farms that have been recovered:

In the North of Cauca and defended day by day by liberators of Mother Earth against attacks by the Colombian state and armed groups that want to take control of the area (Process of Liberation of Mother Earth, 2020).

To achieve liberation, permanent occupation of recovered lands is necessary. This allows for *re-territorialization*, that is, the process of rebuilding the territory (Farina, 2018), because in this way the practices and representations of the Nasa worldview and culture are extended to lands previously dispossessed. Thus, re-territorialization materializes in recovered lands when the ways of consumption, customs and habits are reproduced, as well as rituals, myths, stories and the word of the Nasa community.

For example, this re-territorialization is also enlivened through the use of the Yuwe language, a Nasa language whose learning remains a priority despite the whitening of culture. That is why the processes of recovery of traditions and their ancestral value are mainly reproduced in oral tradition that is kept with Yuwe language and with relational practices of its social organization.

On the other hand, the cultural project of life of the Nasa people is framed within cosmological guidelines of a territorial life plan and basically seeks to maintain harmony between nature, the cosmos, the earth and its human community, that is, mutual coexistence with all the spiritual beings, underground and in cosmic space; this is how all beings can fulfill their role of enduring life. This mutual coexistence is achieved through meeting spaces, traditional ritual practices that guide young people, children, and adults. There, traditional authorities and the elderly help to understand the meaning and essence of life that the earth offers.

This shows that the dispute over the territory and the search for recovery of dispossessed lands is based on the relationship that the Nasa people have with the earth and worldview that unfolds from there. A comprehensive understanding of these aspects makes it possible to identify the bases of Nasa struggles, particularly the Process of Liberating Mother Earth because, as Federico Ulcué states in his testimony: “We are territory because we are rooted in the sun, the moon, the water. To defend the territory is to defend our body [...] Our dream is to feel the territory again” (as quoted in Sulé, 2013, para. 3, 5).

This particular link that the Nasa has with the earth and the territory is created from the day of birth. Dora Muñoz, a young Nasa communicator, in conversation with Puerta Restrepo (1987), explains that, when a baby is born, the umbilical cord is buried outdoors with plants and at the foot of the stove; symbolically this gesture allows us to recognize that human beings are part of nature and our umbilical cord connects with it, since it is our origin. The entire life of an indigenous Nasa revolves around the territory. It leads one to consider that a landless indigenous is nothing, so he is willing to give his life in its defense.

Thus, far from understanding land as accumulation of property or under a desire for profit, the territory is conceived of as self-reason, as life itself. This set of representations and practices makes it possible to strengthen projects

of collective struggle that are based on respect for and defense of the territory as an ancestral mandate. This is the mandate in which the Nasa conceive of themselves as Kiwe Thegnas or caretakers of the territory, because according to Edinson Peña:

We would rather die in our territory in peaceful resistance, of unity, of organized struggle than to go begging in towns, in cities. We have been trained to defend mother earth and if necessary to die in our mother earth. That is why, they could not displace us and never will (Sulé, 2013, para. 4).

The Process of Liberating Mother Earth described here constitutes one of the forms of collective resistance of subjectivation that indigenous communities have created. The process is based on the organization for defending the earth, everything it has and what is developed in it, that is, what is planted in the earth and produced from it. The earth is the beginning of ancestral life, the foundation of a search for autonomy, in that constant de-territorialization – re-territorialization that crosses the territorial dynamics of the Nasa people.

## New Seed Sprouts Hope

Figure 4. Resilience of the Nasa Community



**Note.** Photograph taken by the researcher. Nasa Territory in the North of the Department of Cauca.

In its political actions, far from depending on negotiations with the Government, the Nasa community continues in its Process of Liberating Mother Earth. It embodies the proposal to extend ways of relating to territory and nature that make it possible to curb dispossession, precariousness and exploitation that have resulted from the imposition in northern Cauca of an economic model focused on accumulation of capital.

From the Process of Liberating Mother Earth, it has been possible to generate collective gamble between the countryside and city, as well as between the organizations of the Nasa people and other communities, civic and political organizations in the country and abroad, they participate in International Meetings of Liberators of Mother Earth convened within the framework of a Liberation Process that take place in northern Cauca. This is a meeting that has been held three times, in 2016, 2018 and 2019. Knowledge is shared between

foundation organizations in several fields (agroecology, technology, communication, etc.) to confront the capitalist system (CRIC, 2019).

Another of the collective wagers that has been made through the Process of Liberation of Mother Earth has been called the “Food March.” It has been held three times, in 2018, 2019 and 2020. The intention of the Food March is to carry out a mobilization and recognition from different cities of the country. The Nasa people share with others the fruits of popular processes in foods and learnings that have been harvested on recovered lands (Contagio Radio, 2019). It is a way of circulating the proposal for Liberating Mother Earth that the Nasa people have built through solidarity, as stated by the Association of Indigenous Councils of Northern Cauca (ACIN):

As seen, it’s been a difficult four years. Murders, injuries, persecution, repression, military attacks, legal attacks, media attacks, threats, attempts to control us, offers to leave, malicious comments, accusations, intimidation. This food that we share has cost blood. In times of truce, it has been four years of growth, learning, seeing mountains, animals, water, people grow. We have harvested a lot of food and we still harvest. There has been no lack of weaknesses, they are typical of a process such as the monster we are fighting against. We have also faced them, and we have much to do. Anyway, in four years we do not fall (sic) in several attempts to control ourselves, we do not allow ourselves to be tempted by offers of projects or lands in exchange for abandoning, we maintain self-management. [...] The liberation of Uma Kiwe, of course, is not a fight among Nasa people. We have already said: “for other beings to be, we risk our being.” And the beings are very grateful: for the lands in the process of liberation across caravans of insects, toads, frogs, snakes, guatines, birds, dogs, cats, cows; banana bushes, corn, beans, cassava, *rascadera*, pumpkin, tomato, coriander, stubble, and bush; people from different lands, energies, and struggles. And to see the face of all these beings that we draw strength from, to say that we are liberating Uma Kiwe and that this fight is not only for us (ACIN, 2018, para. 3).

In addition, these collective gambles, materialized in several scenarios of struggle and organization, are accompanied by a particular interest in maintaining their own education system. Currently with globalization and access to information with a click, one of the greatest challenges the Nasa community faces is to maintain the *tulpa* (traditional stove) as the main stage for transmitting knowledge, a meeting place and to experience everyday life.

To this end, initiatives such as *V Encuentro de Semillas de Identidad* (A Meeting of the Seeds of Identity V) and *Autoridad y Defensa Territorial* (Territorial Authority and Defense), on July 2020, have been consolidated. These spaces

aimed to experience the collective memory of Nasa people from autonomous exercise of self-government in a pedagogical manner and, through this, to cement and strengthen the role of children as seeds of identity in the fabric of thought to create wisdom.

This concern to ensure the survival of collective processes and the Nasa manner of thinking is also shared by the Process of Liberating Mother Earth. From there, children, young people, and teenagers (NNJA) are given leading roles, while criticizing the ways in which educational institutions have accentuated their disassociation with the territory. On this topic, a Nasa pedagogue reflected on this during the talk (space to share knowledge from dialogue) in the Food March:

Liberation does not progress by itself, it progresses when children fall in love with the Earth, when we see the Earth as a mother. There must be a liberation from being and thought. We are colonized men and women, they bleached our hearts and those who whitened our hearts were the school and maybe the university. Today we don't want to plant the earth, we want a computer. We have to be honest, liberation begins with children. What strategies are we going to use for a child to become a caretaker and sower of the earth? (Process of Liberating Mother Earth, 2018).

## Conclusions

The Process of Liberating Mother Earth constitutes a form of resistance to the process of de-territorialization that the Nasa people have faced to this day in the north of the department of Cauca. It is a process that has allowed for the strengthening of the internal organizational processes of the Nasa people through the recovery of land dispossessed by sugar mills. This is reflected in the impact that the Process has had as a commitment to the reconstruction of territory, the consolidation of its own economy based on solidarity and balance of life, the strengthening of its own educational system, among others. In short, it is a commitment to re-territorialization built from ancestral roots that allows for consolidation of some own ways of being that confront the prevailing capitalist system.

This process has also made building networks based on solidarity and knowledge, and shared with other popular processes in Colombia and in the

world possible. In meetings convened by the Process of the Liberation of Mother Earth, it has been possible to recognize the potential of these forms of resistance and to present proposals for the construction of hopeful horizons.

However, there are several and complex challenges the process faces. They range from the relationship and dispute with state institutions (including the armed forces), social stigmatization encouraged by hegemonic media, criminalization, continuity of armed conflict in the territory and other phenomena that put the life and integrity of liberators of Mother Earth at risk.

This situation is worrisome because in recent years, all possible forms of violence against the Nasa people have become more acute, and there have been many reports of targeted assassinations, threats, massacres, displacements, rapes of girls and other forms of violence against indigenous people. There seems to be no interest in understanding and solving these problems, since President Iván Duque refused to meet with indigenous people during the most recent mobilization of indigenous movement, the *Minga* for the Defense of Life, Territory, Democracy, Justice and Peace, which had the participation of the Nasa people and moved from Cauca to Bogotá, in 2019.

Despite the adverse circumstances, the Process of Liberating Mother Earth is undoubtedly a reference for struggles and resistances of indigenous movement and, in general, for the social movement in the country. For this reason, the academy must reflect on its role in the visibility of these practices, based on understanding the indigenous worldview that, although permeated by Westernization and colonization, has at its center a different relationship with nature, completely rooted in an undeniable interconnection with all social, cultural, and spiritual phenomena.

## References

- ACIN (Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca). (December, 2018). *La movilización de las cosechas: 2da marcha de la comida. Marzo de 2019, Proceso de Liberación de la Madre Tierra*. <https://nasaacin.org/la-movilizacion-de-las-cosechas-2da-marcha-de-la-comida-marzo-de-2019-proceso-de-liberacion-de-la-madre-tierra/>
- Contagio Radio. (March 22, 2019). *Marcha de la Comida, una apuesta del pueblo Nasa por la defensa del territorio*. <https://www.contagioradio.com/marcha-de-la-comida-una-apuesta-del-pueblo-nasa-por-la-defensa-del-territorio/>
- Corte Constitucional (2007). *Court Decision C-921. COMUNIDAD INDIGENA-Reconocimiento y protección constitucional*. Colombia.
- CRIC (Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca). (2018). *Pioyá, corazón de la resistencia*. <https://www.cric-colombia.org/portal/pioya-corazon-la-resistencia/>
- CRIC (Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca). (2019). *Crece la dignidad de los pueblos*. <https://www.cric-colombia.org/portal/crece-la-dignidad-de-los-pueblos/>
- CRIC (Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca). (2019). *Convocatoria Tercer Encuentro Internacional de Liberadoras y Liberadores de la Madre Tierra*. <https://www.cric-colombia.org/portal/convocatoria-tercer-encuentro-internacional-de-liberadoras-y-liberadores-de-la-madre-tierra/>
- Cuesta, O. (2012). Investigaciones radiofónicas: de la radio a la radio indígena. *Una revisión en Colombia y Latinoamérica. Ánfora*, 19, 165-183. <https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora/article/view/82>
- Ducón Salas, R. (2011). El proyecto educativo intercultural de Manuel Quintín Lame, el desarrollo social y las configuraciones sociales en Colombia a inicios del siglo XX. *Universitas Humanística*, 71, 55-70. <http://revistas.javeriana.edu.co/index.php/univhumanistica/article/view/2189>



- El Aguijón (2017). Asesinan a comunero miembro del movimiento sin tierras Quintín Lame, [Figure]. <http://elaguijon-klavandoladuda.blogspot.com/2017/01/asesinan-comunero-miembro-del.html>
- Farina, C. (2018). La formación del territorio. Saber del abandono y creación de un mundo. *Expomotricidad*. Access <https://revistas.udea.edu.co/index.php/expomotricidad/article/view/332898>
- López, A. (2014). *Formas de resistencia en la comunidad Nasa - norte del Cauca* [Master Thesis, Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas].
- Nieto J. (2008). *Resistencia capturas y fugas del poder*. Ediciones Desde Abajo.
- Puerta Restrepo, M. (1987). *Valores culturales de Tierradentro*. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología.
- Proceso de Liberación de la Madre Tierra. (2016). *Palabra del proceso de liberación de la Madre Tierra*. <https://liberaciondelamadretierra.org/libertad-y-alegria-con-una-kiwe/>
- Proceso de Liberación de la Madre Tierra. (2018). *Cómo nos fue en la marcha de la Comida*. <https://liberaciondelamadretierra.org/como-nos-fue-en-la-marcha-de-la-comida/>
- Proceso de Liberación de la Madre Tierra. (2020). *Sindicato francés: “justicia para los compañeros indígenas asesinados”*. <https://liberaciondelamadretierra.org/sindicato-frances-justicia-para-los-companeros-indigenas-asesinados/>
- Real Academia Española. (2020). *Resistencia*. In Diccionario de la lengua española. <https://dle.rae.es/resistencia?m=form>
- Salazar Carvajal, S. (2017). *Una aproximación sociolingüística y antropológica al concepto de Madre Tierra, una muestra poblacional del Cabildo Nasa Altos Buenavista, asentado en el barrio Alto Nápoles de la Ciudad de Cali* [Master Thesis, Escuela de Ciencias del Lenguaje].

López-Camacho, Adriana. (2021). The Liberation of the Mother Earth: More than Taking the Territory. *Ánfora*, 28(51), 93-114. <https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.783>

Semana Rural. (2017). La lucha del pueblo Nasa por la liberación de sus tierras, [Figure]. <https://semanarural.com/web/articulo/la-lucha-del-pueblo-nasa-por-la-liberacion-de-sus-tierras-en-el-cauca/241>

Sulé, J. (2013). Cuestión de tierra. *Colombia, Guerra y Paz*. <http://javiersule.wordpress.com/2013/01/30/cuestion-de-tierra/>

Vasco Uribe, L. G. (2008). Quintín Lame: resistencia y liberación. *Tabula Rasa*, 9, 371-383. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=39600918>

# **“The Country We Carry Inside”: Narratives of Psychology Students’ Violence as a Challenge to Professional Work\***

*[English Version]*

“El País que llevamos dentro”: narrativas de violencias de estudiantes de psicología como desafío para el quehacer profesional

“El país que llevamos dentro”: narrativas de violência de estudantes de psicologia como desafio para o trabalho profissional

*Received July 22, 2020. Accepted April 7, 2021.*

› To cite this article:

Rovira-Rubio, Rayen-Amanda;  
Giraldo-Hernández, Daniela  
(2021). “The Country We Carry  
Inside”: Narratives of Psychology  
Students’ Violence as a Challenge to  
Professional Work.

*Ánfora*, 28(51), 115-142.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.758>

Universidad Autónoma de  
Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.

E-ISSN 2248-6941.

CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

**Rayen-Amanda Rovira-Rubio\*\***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1644-977X>

**Colombia**

**Daniela Giraldo-Hernández\*\*\***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7055-6616>

**Colombia**

---

\* The research derives from the project “Cartographies of the youth re-existence in the current Colombian context: An inquiry for the territorization of the Peace” Universidad de Manizales. This research does not have any conflict of interests and it was not funded. The research ended in 2019, 180 psychology students of third semester between 2016 and 2018 participated.

\*\* Psicóloga de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile. Magister en Métodos de investigación en psicología social de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Doctorado en psicología social de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Perteneciente al grupo de investigación “Jóvenes, culturas y Poderes” Correo electrónico: rrovira@umanizales.edu.co

\*\*\* Psicóloga de la Universidad de Manizales. Actualmente estudiante de antropología de la Universidad de Caldas. Perteneciente al grupo de investigación Jóvenes, Culturas y Poderes CINDE. Correo electrónico: danielaghd@outlook.com

## Abstract

**Objective:** this article presents the results of research conducted with the participation of young psychology students of the Universidad de Manizales between 2016 and 2018. The objective was to identify direct, structural, and cultural experiences of violence (Johan Galtung, 1990) that young psychology students lived as witnesses and survivors. Among these experiences, there are practices derived from the war that took place in the country, as most of the participants were born or lived their childhood in areas of harsh violence – from the 90s according to the Historical Memory Group (GMH, 2013). **Methodology:** the research was exploratory, qualitatively hermeneutic and based on the construction of narratives. **Results:** diverse kinds of violence were found lived from early childhood to present in spaces of war confrontation and exposure to domestic and school violence. **Conclusion:** the complex situation is evident in the narrative strategies of habits and naturalization of such violence, the psychological processes necessary to reflect on their implications of challenges for training, and further professional work for future psychologists in the current context for the consolidation of peace in Colombia.

**Keywords:** Violence, Young; Professional Work; Construction of Peace; Social Psychology.

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** el presente artículo da a conocer los resultados de una investigación desarrollada con jóvenes estudiantes de psicología de la Universidad de Manizales entre los años 2016-2018, que tuvo como objetivo identificar las experiencias de violencias directas, estructurales y culturales (Johan Galtung, 1990) vivenciadas por los jóvenes estudiantes de psicología como testigos y sobrevivientes. Entre estas se encuentran las prácticas derivadas de la guerra acontecida en el país, teniendo presente que la mayor parte de estos jóvenes colaboradores de la investigación nacieron y vivieron su infancia en la época de mayor crudeza de la violencia—desde los años 90 según el Grupo de Memoria Histórica (GMH, 2013)—. **Metodología:** la investigación fue exploratoria, de corte cualitativo hermenéutico, basado en la elaboración de relatos. **Resultados:** como principales hallazgos se encontraron diversas violencias vivenciadas desde la primera infancia hasta la actualidad en espacios de confrontación bélica, también la exposición a violencias intrafamiliares y escolares. **Conclusión:** lo anterior se complejiza al evidenciar

en las narrativas estrategias de habituación y naturalización de dichas violencias; procesos psicosociales necesarios de reflexionar por sus implicaciones en los desafíos para la formación, y en el ejercicio profesional posterior de los futuros psicólogos y psicólogas en el presente contexto para la consolidación de la paz en Colombia.

**Palabras-clave:** Violencias; Jóvenes; Formación profesional; Construcción de paz; Psicología social.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** este artigo apresenta os resultados de uma investigação realizada com jovens estudantes de psicologia da Universidad de Manizales entre os anos 2016-2018, que teve como objetivo identificar as experiências de violência direta, estrutural e cultural (Johan Galtung, 1990) vivenciadas por jovens estudantes de psicologia como testemunhas e sobreviventes. Entre elas estão as práticas derivadas da guerra ocorrida no país, tendo em vista que a maioria desses jovens colaboradores da pesquisa nasceram e viveram sua infância no momento de maior violência - desde a década de 1990, segundo o Grupo de Memória histórica (GMH, 2013) - . **Metodologia:** a pesquisa foi exploratória, hermenêutica qualitativa, baseada na elaboração de histórias. **Resultados:** como principais achados se encontraram vários tipos de violência vivenciados desde a infância até os dias atuais em espaços de confronto bélico, bem como a exposição à violência intrafamiliar e escolar. **Conclusão:** o exposto torna-se mais complexo à medida que as narrativas revelam estratégias de habituação e naturalização da referida violência; Processos psicossociais necessários para refletir sobre suas implicações nos desafios da formação e na posterior prática profissional dos futuros psicólogos no contexto atual para a consolidação da paz na Colômbia.

**Palavras-chave:** Violência; Jovens; Formação profissional; Construção da paz; Psicologia Social.

## Introduction

The Colombian context has been promoting an internal conflict that exceeds five decades<sup>1</sup> (Salas, 2016). Years of tensions over land acquisition, political violence and armed conflict (Molano, 2015) hurt a society and its inhabitants, however, after signing the final agreement in La Habana between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP) and the Colombian State in November 2016<sup>2</sup>, various situations have been generated by the creation of peace that sustain and exacerbate the conflict. This is evident in the death of social leaders (Leonardo González, 2020) and the reintegration of armed groups (Reuters, 2018), social dissatisfaction in the streets this year (Semana, 2020), besides the repeated massacres (Observatorio de DDHH, Conflictividades y Paz, 2021). A war framework (Butler, 2010) directly affects the challenge of achieving a transition toward the construction of a territorial peace, keeping in mind, the articulation of action that makes justice and reparation possible for victims, and builds new possibilities to recover trust within communities from the recognition of potential for peace and social gaps necessary to prove (Jaramillo, 2014), apart from the commitments that the agreement had established for this to happen. (Alto comisionado para la paz, 2017).

This situation strongly affects young Colombians who are exposed to violence, sadly represented in systematic deaths and youth murders.<sup>3</sup> (Valenzuela, 2019). They are reflected in increase massacre victims (José Mojica, Julián Ríos, 2020) and in homicide indicators as the fourth cause of death in the country recently (Dirección de epidemiología y demografía, 2016, p. 49).

This situation constitutes a complex scenario for social intervention (Montero, 2012) in a framework of constructing peace, as well as a challenge to professionals who commit to this task, especially germane to the psychology of the country. This new psychology as a discipline has become important to project programs such as the Program of Psychosocial and Comprehensive Health for

---

1. The time of "Violence" (1948- 1960), arose with an event known as the "Bogotazo" (Guzman; Umaña; Fals-Borda, 1962). It results into the death of 200,000 inhabitants in a country of 13 millions of inhabitants. This fact was the beginning of confrontations of armed groups until nowadays.

2. On November 24, 2016, the final "agreement for ending the conflict and the construction of a stable and lasting peace" between the National Government and the FARC-EP was signed. The result of negotiations in La Habana since 2012. For more information see: <http://www.altocomisionadoparalapaz.gov.co/procesos-y-conversaciones/Documentos%20compartidos/24-11-2016NuevoAcuerdoFinal.pdf>

3. In Colombia, there is a reality of systematic death of young people, they are physically killed and also suffer constant attack on their dignified life, from different cultural and structural violences which our students are not separated from. (Ospina-Alvarado; Rovira; Melengue; Pineda, 2018).

victims or PAPSIVI (MINSALUD, 2021), providing assistance in diverse areas for people affected by the conflict and with traumatic implications for mental and social health. However, the presence of violence, as well as the challenges of the development of the discipline and the training of its professionals in the praxis is tense. (Molina, 2015)<sup>4</sup>.

Currently young students and recently-graduated professionals in Colombia have not been separated from the context (Centro de Memoria Histórica, 2013). This presents a challenge for their training in considering the effects of violence in the social construction of the context of where they live (Berger, Luckman, 1968) and also in configuring ways to face the current challenges (Gergen, Gergen, 2011) influenced by their experiences and traumas. (Lira, 2010).

That is why the question arises: What country do current psychology students in Colombia carry inside them? This question guides the objective of identifying the kinds of violence experienced throughout the lives of young psychology students of Universidad de Manizales and their reflections regarding same.

With this purpose, the types of violence are understood from the conceptualization developed by the psychologist Galtung and his three-dimensional and interdependent theory of violence (2003a, 2003b, 1998)<sup>5</sup>. The author states that a theory of violence cannot be defined without an accompanying theory of conflict, the conflict is mediated by attitudes regarding what a person thinks, feels about the behavior, about the contradiction that represents the relationship with others in the interaction (Galtung, 2003a). The articulation of these three elements is essential for managing conflicts. If there exist attitudes and relational contradictions regarding the conflict, there will be a subconscious attitude toward it (Galtung, 2003b) keeping in mind that violence results from bad resolutions. (Calderón, 2009).

As a second aspect, the author proposes a theory of violence with three dimensions. The structural dimension is the intrinsic violence of social, economic and political systems that lead societies. The cultural dimension composed by symbolic areas (religion, ideology, art) is used to justify or legitimize direct or

---

4. In the country, there are 96 Psychology (ASCOFAPSI, 2016) programs, to which future professionals belong. They will live their professional lives marked by experiences of violence, as well as the need to construct peace.

5. Violence has several definitions, according to the Real Academia de la Lengua Española (2000) it is defined as a quality, action, effect or way to naturally act; a necessity of an action performed by a person or people; or what Organización Mundial de la Salud (2002) states as “the use of institutional strength or physical power, action or threat against oneself or toward another person, group or community, that causes or fears probabilities of being hurt, dead or having psychological damage, developmental disorders or deprivation inflicted” (p.3). The previous definitions share the same dimension, their understanding of violence linked to the concrete, direct, and specific time and space.

structural violence. Direct violence is the manifested acts, the most obvious usually being physical, verbal, or psychological (Galtung, 2003 b)<sup>6</sup>.

Likewise, the effects of violence on pain are understood as a collective construction given between the biological body and the social body (Fernández, 2000). This adopts a precept from social psychology concerning feelings – such as feeling pain – proposing that this always correlates to living in society. Thus, feelings do not have an essential nature but they have meaning, they are a construction of multiple sensations that are expressed through language and that can be of different types, both physical and emotional. “In Colombia the pain of war is a pain that we have learned to feel socially through various strategies that have made it bearable and ideally survivable” (Rovira, 2020. p. 25).

As a result, effects are generated in personal memory and in the construction of social memory, where recognizing this pain as part of historical memory (Gaborit, 2006) and underground memory (Pollack, 1989) is essential to overcome trauma (Lira, 2010) and in particular psychosocial trauma (Martín-Baró, 1988)<sup>7</sup>. This has great importance in Colombia, since this elaboration is necessary to stop the current custom (Montero, 2004) and the trivialization of violence (Koessler, 2015) that have become part of daily life of its population, and fosters a diversification, generating and maintaining an alteration of the social fabric.

Finally, the research has special relevance in the future of psychology professionals that according to the Code of Ethics and Bioethics (Law 1090, 2006, Art. 1) are urged to: “contribute to the well-being of individuals and the development of community, groups and organizations for a better quality of life” (p.1). Thus, in their professional work they are committed to assisting and being with people and a part of communities affected by diverse types of violence, thus, within the framework of their ethical and political responsibilities, facing and recognizing their own memories and the management of what the trauma demands is quite necessary.

---

6. Violence is dialogically articulated and mutually legitimized: when cultural violence is the foundation, direct and structural violence are legitimized through it, and direct violence reveals the sources of structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1998)

7. It starts a construction of a subjective condition called by Martín-Baró (1988) a *psychosocial trauma*, the one in which collective psyche has several affectations for years of exposure to violence. (p. 136).



## Methodology

The research was qualitative, meaning, “it focuses on understanding and deepening the phenomena by exploring it from the perspective of participants in a natural environment, in relation to the context” (Sampieri, Collado, Baptista, 2014, p. 364). Interpretative hermeneutics were used as a way to understand the language (Alvarado, Ospina- Alvarado, Sánchez- León, 2016). The research’s scope is exploratory taking into account that a research registry of this type has not yet been found in Colombia<sup>8</sup>.

The research particularly analyzed life stories (Pujadas, 2000) that are established as a record of experiences, and have in their testimony an additional value of veracity, authenticity, proximity, and presence, where the ways of building senses from personal temporal actions through the description and analysis of biographical data are highlighted (Ricoeur, 1996). They are also a method that “brought us to experience in ‘one’s skin’ the eternal path of living” (Arfunch, 2008, p.13). This methodology gives us the possibility of openness toward the intimacy that does not cease to be symptomatic and always implies the gesture of evocation needed for the construction of memories. When they are remembered, they weave a narrative where the facts of the past always emerge to question the present – whether in their individual or collective way (Gaborit, 2006).

The research produced narratives regarding life, inspired by parallel and cross narratives by Pujadas (2000). One hundred eighty third semester psychology students of the Universidad de Manizales participated. They were invited to generate individual narratives of their experiences of violence from early childhood to the present through parallel stories and then be crossed between groups of four to six people organized by affinity. These narratives were articulated through posters in which the polyphonic production of the same story was allowed and put into interaction through workshops (Pujadas, 2000).

The 180 students belonged to the School of Psychology of the Universidad de Manizales in 2016, 2017 and 2018. They are characterized as being mainly middle-class women (Gaviria, personal communication. 2021)<sup>9</sup>. Forty-six students finally granted consent for the analysis of parallel

---

8. According to the search in Scielo, Redalyc and Dialnet databases, until June 2019, 14 articles were published in the last seven years but there is no research registry of the impact of violence experienced by university students in Colombia.

9. Between 2015 and 2020, the years in which the research is conducted, 77.6% of those psychology students in the program were women.

narratives<sup>10</sup>. The consent of all cross narratives elaborated over three years was obtained. There are 39 narratives in total embodied in collective posters and socialized in classes.

It should be noted that before the exercise, Galtung's theory of violence was shared with the young women for them to be able to identify and indicate the types of violence experienced. The intention of parallel narratives was to promote the emergence of a narrative identity (Ricoeur, 1996) as a story of one's own life, where the subject is the narrator of his or her life, co-author and character at the same time; and of course, the process of narration gives meaning to the present. The intention of cross narratives was that through them a space for intimate listening could be created and anonymity of experiences would be preserved before a third moment lived that was the collective exposure of cross narrative to partners. This made possible the recognition and elaboration of collective memories<sup>11</sup> regarding these experiences according to dynamics of the activity, from the oral context, that painful and complex memories were welcomed in circles of friendship and understood as part of a social memory.

For the analysis of narratives, the ATLAS.ti tool was used. It helped the researchers by considerably speeding up many of the activities involved in qualitative analysis and interpretation (Muñoz, 2005). This tool made categorizing the information in different families of codes possible from which emerged the types of violence experienced by the narrators in the context of war, public space, family, or in couple relationships more evidently, as well as the feelings attributed to those experiences.

---

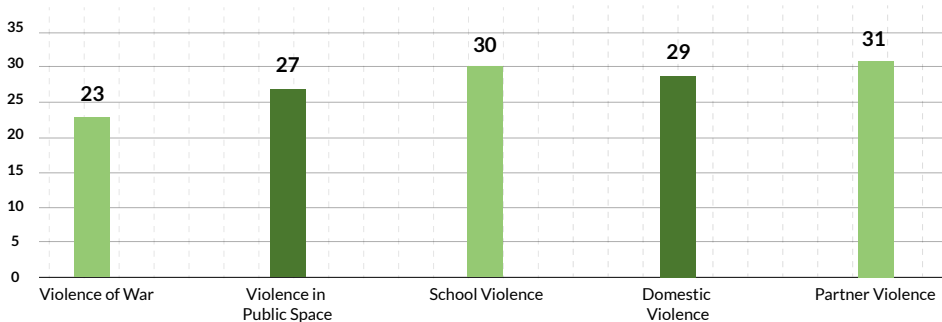
10. It should be clarified that between 2016 and 2017, the exercise was carried out exclusively with the cross narratives, and from 2018 parallel narratives were incorporated in order to extract greater detail of the experiences. Through this process, 46 of the almost 80 parallel narratives were authorized.

11. Collective memories are understood as "the group seen from within (...) it presents the group with a picture of itself that undoubtedly extends over time because it is about the past, but so that it is always recognized in those successive images" (Halbwachs, 1968, p. 218-219)

## Results

More than half of research participants' posters, admitted to having experienced at least one type of violence, these were distributed according to their appearance as follows:

Figure 1. Experiences of violence

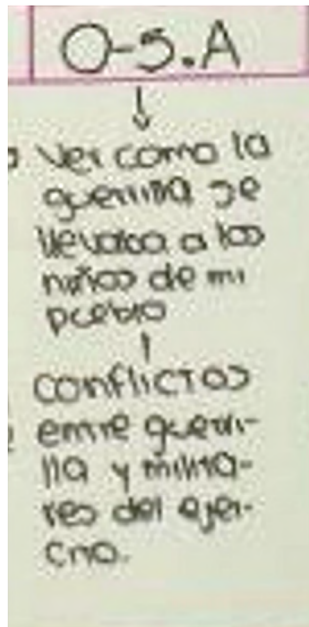


The report of problematic nodes related to the types of violence experienced by young people were presented. They were grouped by their emergence in cross narratives, in which they deepened their understanding with those of parallel narratives. The following are the nodes: (1) *violence of war*, named in 23 cross narratives; (2) *violence in public spaces*, named 27 times in cross narratives; (3) *school violence*, appearing in 30 posters; (4) *domestic violence*, in 29 narratives; and (5) *partner violence*, i.e. violence in couple relationships, in 31 collective exercise posters. Finally, the results emerging from the workshop at the experiential level will be presented in relation to feelings expressed by participants, they are important to understand the significance of the violence described.

### A. The Violence of War

The Violence of war is that from the confrontations in the framework of armed conflict. It is the “product of intentional actions that are mostly part of political and military strategies, and are based on complex alliances and social dynamics” (GMH, 2013, p. 31).

Figure 2. Poster 24, armed confrontations <sup>12</sup>



The cross narratives are described as direct and identified violence at an early age, at the age of 0 to 12 years old, which coincides with the harshest period of violence in the country. In this context, participants say they were forced to experience the confrontations mainly between guerrilla groups and paramilitaries in different parts of the country, because they lived in villages where various fronts of the conflict played out.

At the same time, they talk about exposure to forced displacement and dispossession resulting from the conflict. Participants also narrated how they faced forms of fear generated through violent means, among them imposed "curfews," illegal recruitment of minors, the occupation of towns and the appropriation of farms. These events are attributed to various paramilitary groups and guerrillas indistinctly.

Identifying the experiences where students perceived themselves involved in the war as witnesses of violence toward others was possible, understanding that these experiences affect the configuration of their subjectivity:

---

12. The images in the article come from the project's photographic files. (2017).

It was very normal to get up one day to go to school and see dead people on the roads, people without eyes, without tongues, without fingers, with their lips sewn together, with clear messages like “SNITCHES, THIS HAPPENS BECAUSE YOU TAKE WHAT IS NOT YOURS”<sup>13</sup> (N64, personal communication, 2018, p. 52).<sup>14</sup>

In addition, the following issues were described as effects of this violence: the separation of parents due to forced displacement (N25, personal communication, 2018), kidnappings of relatives (N30, personal communication, 2018) (N43, personal communication, 2018), and friends (N43, personal communication personal, 2018, p.45), extortion of families (N34, personal communication, 2018, p.4) and death of relatives (N16, personal communication, 2018, p.41). “My father made the decision that we should leave the town, he did not want to expose us to any of them (armed group members) wanting to take us as their property (...) it was very hard to be away from my father” (N63, personal communication, 2018, p. 48).

They also described events where they had to hide with their families and faced the fear and loss due to “stray bullets.” This generates degrees of greater emotional affection (N43, personal communication, 2018, p. 44), losing family members, acquaintances and friends at an early age: “2007 (...) one day in June, in a town in the lower west of Caldas called San José, a 7-year-old girl was killed by a stray bullet, that girl was my friend” (N27, personal communication, 2018, p. 23).

Silencing experiences and the fact of living hidden in this constant “state of siege” of the violence of war are added to this situation:

I remember a lot when my father came home from his work and he only told us that we were going to be together in silence with the lights off, calm that everything would pass and noises were heard as if there were explosives, that is how I related it at the time, only after many hours could we leave the room (N63, personal communication, 2018, p.47).

When the participants refer to what they learned from those experiences, they realize that they had learned about the silence, to remain silent in certain events: “These experiences taught me whom I should speak with and whom better to remain silent with to keep those who do not accept the difference of

---

13. Uppercase text is preserved, since it was written that way by the person who participated in the investigation.

14. Each of the participants are referenced with a code ranging from N14 to N64. These were randomly established for their identification and anonymity. The year of the narrative is also identified, as well as the page number in the Atlas.ti file where the participants' exact words are redacted.

thoughts from intruding in my life" (N32, personal communication, 2018, p. 53). "It is frustrating when one has traumas caused by external factors, especially when one wants to heal these traumas and progress, but is not capable, however I will not give up" (N29, personal communication, 2018, p.62).

Another significant issue is that, having witnessed acts of violence, the collaborators have made efforts to locate greater clarity of what happened at the time in government records, without finding reference to the events, which accounts for the lack of unified registries of these facts to make the collective recognition in the same story possible.

The town where I live (Aranzazu, Caldas) went through a takeover by the command of a group from the extreme left. I don't really remember what the group was because at that time I was very young and I was looking for information about the event on the internet, but information about it is not there" (N34, personal communication, 2018, p. 43).

## **B. Violence in Public Spaces**

The violence enunciated in the posters and individual narratives that refers to aggressions in public social contexts not demarcated by institutional spaces is grouped separately. In addition, street harassment or abuse, delinquent practices of criminal gangs and exposure to firearms emerge with greater force.

With regards to street harassment, a key point of enunciation is the gender violence experienced by female students on the street. In some cases, it appears as direct violence and, in others, as cultural violence associated with chauvinism. Places where the students felt harassed by how men look at them and by the phrases they say to them are described. Situations involving sexual abuse are enunciated, such as little girls being touched by older men:

I had to keep an eye on the motorcycle while my father arrived (...) a few minutes later, I felt like someone was on my back and on one of my legs. When I turned around, I saw a drunken gray-haired man telling me that I was very pretty and inviting me to go and to be with him. The fear I had at that moment made me push him and run in the direction of where my dad was. I could see that my dad believed I was lying and it was the same when I got home. I couldn't stop crying. I literally felt like I had been abused (N37, personal communication, 2018, p.25).

Situations that are not always recognized by caregivers as abuse aggravate the act of violence and legitimizing it.

Likewise, realities are posed as violent situations in which men addressed the female participants with curse words, with sexual implications: "I have always looked older and with the onset of puberty, the harassment by men began with unpleasant and mostly sexual comments and gestures" (N39, personal communication, 2018, p. 25).

It is very important to understand at this point how the family is represented, in some cases, justifying what happened to the young woman, which generates greater pain. Similarly, the young women seem to justify the violence experienced by the physical development they experienced, constituting it as a justification of said violence.

In relation to Criminal Gangs (BACRIM – the Spanish acronym used), the violence generated is presented in collective narratives as threats to family members or the population (Poster 13, 2017). Regarding the types of direct violence participants experienced directly, where the students narrate as witnesses the carrying of weapons and confrontations with arms, as well as the deaths of young people:

On other occasions, I witnessed the fights between the gangs that existed in the neighborhood. Some fights were just blows and others were with knives. On one of these occasions, a young man of approximately 22 years of age died. He was the leader of Estambul and I saw the moment in which he died and I was only 12 years old (N40, personal communication, 2018, p.24).

The way in which this violence is presented in continuity with the violence experienced in the context of the war is striking, such as the fact that migrating due to rural displacement to a neighborhood where there is presence of BACRIMs and perceiving the repetitive close relationship with death from war:

Where we came to live after being taken from the farm, it is very difficult to understand the wickedness of the people, in the sense that they abused us psychologically for the fact of living as "unwelcomed guests", words like that we were useless, nobodies, verbal violence, putting me in cold shower for 15 minutes to take away my rebelliousness, humiliation for food, they took me out of the house at night (...) In these years, in full adolescence, we lived in a neighborhood full of drugs, robbery, death, the context was repeated again, having to see people dying at the door of my house is shocking, having to live in fear, anguish for your loved ones, that is another type of violence. (N64, personal communication, 2018, p. 25).

The operation of gangs in the neighborhoods is attributed to the micro-trafficking of drugs:

Where certain gang members lived (...) unfortunately these people, because they enjoyed a certain area to sell drugs, had to be constantly in conflict, since if a person from these rival close gangs crossed the Colinas area, a certain dispute began with firearms, cold weapons, among other things, supposedly to defend their area (N60, personal communication, 2018, p.28).

The foregoing suggests that, after having to flee from war due to displacement, they have arrived in cities with neighborhoods that are hostile and violent territories. They have been violated not by a militarized force but by neighbors or peers. These are memories that could permeate the perspectives of future professionals regarding the possibilities of working with communities from more hopeful perspectives.

Finally, in the cross narratives regarding exposure to weapons, a large percentage of participants report having been in direct contact with firearms or blades.

Figure 3. Poster 38, Gun Exposure



From the graphic representations used in the collective narratives, 32% of the posters evoke some object allusive to the use of weapons, among which machetes, knives and pistols stand out. These representations are not linked to any particular stage of development, and can be used by family members seeing themselves exposed in various ways.



### C. School Violence

In this category we include all references to violence experienced in the context of formal education<sup>15</sup>. This type of violence refers to attacks by teachers, as well as between peers. The most marked presence of this type of violence occurs from 5 or 6 to 13 years old, without excluding the fact that some other young people identify these scenarios throughout their lives.

Regarding the characteristics of the type of violence understood by the participants as bullying, according to the images, it is represented as harassment or nicknames and gossip that are generated in the educational environment, which is evident in the drawings of dialogue bubbles or signs. (Posters 10-13, 2017). Verbal abuse was mainly identified, where the student is generally attacked by a classmate — in some cases a person, in others, a group.

Figure 4. Poster 5, representation of the bullying.



Cristian was a child who went to a higher grade than I was in and he told me that I should give him money, do his homework, or accompany him, otherwise, he would hurt me, or he would hurt my family. That is why I did what he asked me to do even if I did not know how to do it. He scared me so much that I no longer wanted to go to school, I did not want to study, I did not want to know anything about that place again. My mother talked to the school directors, even

---

15. Although it should be noted that bullying is also related to family contexts, and for this reason attributed to fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. In the cases of the exercise, linked to physical characteristics.

with Cristian's parents, but the situation persisted, he used new methods such as hugging me or walking next to me in front of the teachers and when I told them what was happening, the teachers claimed to have seen me with him and stated that we had a good relationship. They said that it was only a whim. At the end, my parents decided to withdraw me from the educational institution (N40, personal communication, 2018, p. 6).

From the foregoing, the type of threat and violence linked to the forms recounted in the war frameworks and by the BACRIM in the neighborhoods is evidenced.

On the other hand, the motivations for this violence appear recurrently related to physical appearance (skin color, texture) that had an impact on the development of academic and social dimensions (N14, personal communication, 2018, p. 2). To a lesser extent, bullying is referred to as a trigger for direct physical violence:

It is common for a young man at this age to try to generate a good concept in front of his peers through a fight and that happened to me at the moment I entered school (6th grade), I was beaten a lot (I never won a single one) (N23, personal communication, 2018, p.3).

It is also stated the case where the student was an aggressor: "at school, I became a rude person and there was a time when I bullied my classmates" (N47, personal communication, 2018 p. 7). They also identify themselves as those who witnessed violence by seeing how others were seriously attacked by their peers: "When I was around 12 years old, I remember that my first cousin suffered a physical attack by a classmate who stabbed him in the arm for no apparent reason" (N30, personal communication, 2018, p.1).

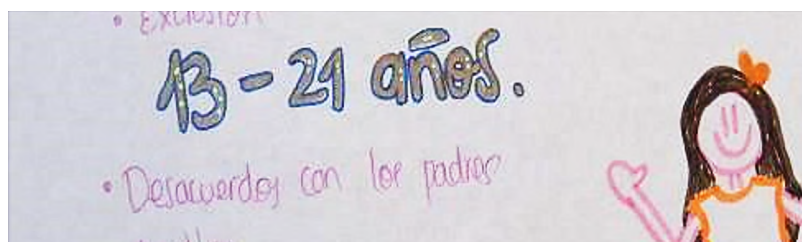
In this way, the school emerges as a space that recreates practices of violence experienced outside of it. On the one hand, discrimination and, on the other, psychological and physical aggression, where the ways in which violence operates can be very similar in some cases to the traces left by the war.

#### **D. Domestic Violence**

This type of violence is mostly experienced by young people between the ages of 6 and 15, and is mainly referred to as differences with their parents. It accounts for events where other members of the family participate and situations where students witness violent acts among their relatives (Posterds 8-15-29, 2018).

Violence experienced with parents is described as cultural violence. We can infer that it is attributed to “generational gaps,” where typical attitudes of a society would underlie the behaviors of the parents (Galtung 2003), which is reinforced with the use of the euphemism “disagreements with parents” as mentioned in this poster.

Figure 5. Poster 12, disagreement with parents



In this type of violence, the most frequent is the one caused by fathers against mothers and young people from very early ages. It accounts for experiences lived in the past but also up to the present: “memories that I lived in my childhood where my father mistreats my mother and my brother mistreats me and now I fear that he may do something more serious to her now that she is pregnant” (N19, personal communication, 2018, p.12).

There is also violence caused by mothers. In one of the narratives, how the mother is the one who pressures the daughter to engage in prostitution is explicit: “She got to the point of wanting to force me to engage in prostitution, when all I wanted was to study and have a professional career” (N42, personal communication, 2018, p.15).

On the other hand, sexual violence inflicted by close relatives is enunciated. They apparently could continue to be present in the family despite the fact, since the person who refers to it tells the story in the present tense and mentions the presence of the person who exerted violence:

When I was thirteen my mother saw *how my stepfather*<sup>16</sup> used my underwear to masturbate. The issue was if he had touched me or did something stronger with me, the answer is that I do not know. I only know that there was no penetration because the test was negative. This was the violence that had a greater impact on me (N62, personal communication, 2018, p.22).

---

16. Italics was included by the authors.

Violence exerted by people close to the family as older adults (N20, personal communication, 2018, p. 21) or those who are part of an institution with importance in the territory is presented:

When I lived in Pensilvania, there was a man who worked in the fire department... one day he made me sit on his legs and put his hands on me. I had forgotten it ... But, the curious thing is that I told my aunt and she told me that it was because he liked children and basically normalized his behavior (N44, personal communication, 2018, p. 22).

The way in which the family argues the fact in front of the young woman and does not take action on the matter is important, normalizing the violence. In addition to the above, there are multiple references to sexual violence, but, in the narrative, the type of sexual violence is not explicit. It is possible to infer that this is related to a protective measure against the exposure of the violence experienced that the exercise implied. For example: "a couple of times I was exposed to sexual abuse (...) sexual violence is the most common, especially, if you are a woman, you are exposed to many things" (N42, personal communication, 2018, p. 21).

The way of referring to some lived experiences shows a softening of the fact, which seeks to distance the experience of violence and its recognition as such.

On the other hand, violence experienced in which they have witnessed attacks caused by grandparents and grandmothers against their mothers are enunciated. In some of these violent experiences, the participants have been the ones who have had to confront the situation:

When I was two years old, I lived in my grandmother's house. My mother was almost finishing her degree and she was mistreated at home (...) I remember one day when they had a very strong argument and my grandfather gave her a very strong beating. My mother held my arms and I screamed when I saw my mother with her mouth and nose full of blood (N49, personal communication, 2018, p.16).

Highlighting that in the narratives there are references to learning about violence within the family is important, where it is noted that sons and daughters reproduce the violence experienced by their fathers and mothers, at school (N16, personal communication, 2018, p.11) or in the same family nucleus:

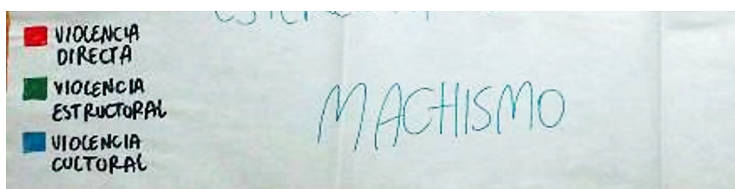
A few years after my dad left home, my brother took on a violent role at home, as he acted with the same attitudes of my dad and in the end, it was me who

ended up fighting with him, (direct violence) (N38, personal communication, 2018, p.14).

## E. Partner Violence

The violence that originates in this type of relationship is evidenced as direct violence, in many cases this occurs when students begin to enter adolescence, in most cases between 12 and 15 years old, given that their social circle expands and a stage of discovery begins, romantic relationships are produced and it is stated how these become distressing scenarios from which it is very difficult to get out. In some cases, there is the identification of the combination between cultural and direct violence (Poster 8, 2017) that end in death (Poster 23, 2017).

Figure 6. Poster 30, machismo



An experience of violence derived from machismo is also present, and is identified as a cultural element. What is common in the posters is that every time machismo is mentioned, it is not pigeonholed in any particular life stages, but rather is identified as something that is transversal in life.

We must not lose sight of the fact that psychology students are mostly women, who expose having experienced violence of this type either directly, where the student is the victim (Poster 14, 2017), or indirectly as a witness to the aggression.

In this type of violence described as direct, both physical and psychological aggressions are present, showing that they resisted violence from their partners for a long time. "At the age of 15 the violence came from my partner who manipulated me, blackmailed me, insulted me and beat me" (N28, personal communication, 2018, p.19).

On the other hand, there are young men who report having experienced psychological and sexual violence by women, whether ex-partners or peers:

In addition to this I lost my virginity, although not in a way that I would have liked, as it was against my will and with a girl older than me, although she was still underage, she was about three or four years older than me, I was only 13 and she pushed me in a bathroom and well yes, there was not much I could have done as she was stronger than me (N61, personal communication, 2018, p.22).

In relation to the motivations behind these practices, cultural violence emerges from reaffirmed stereotypes that must be assumed by women, where reference is made to: "listening as men say that we women are only good for the house and nothing else" (poster 24, 2018).

Finally, in relation to the results emanating from the particular experience of the workshop, the authors were struck by two particularities found with primacy in the parallel accounts. In the first place, the participant who starts by referring to how few scenarios of violence have been experienced, attributing them to accidents or stating how difficult it is to remember these events, for example, when alluding to: "In my life there are very few conflicts that I have had" (N41, personal communication, 2018, p. 69); "In my social, family and personal context violence is not a topic that is very frequent nowadays and at a personal level less so" (N18, personal communication, 2018, p. 69); "Obviously there will be things that I will omit due to forgetfulness and others that are quite intimate." (N23, personal communication, 2018, p.69).

Secondly, in the experience of the cross narrative workshop, there was a common tendency to describe the feelings that arise from the violence experienced; sometimes they were minimized and in other cases, when narrating them, they were linked as transcendental facts by verbally assuming that they were not the only ones who had experienced these types of violence. Therefore, the experience was significant as a collective space, where they keep each other company in shared pain. Thus, there were those who recognized that their experience of violence was related to events that are part of a common history that runs through many Colombians.

## Conclusions

The country that the young psychology students of the University of Manizales carry within them, first of all, shows the sharpness of the violence experienced in Colombia, framed in the exposure to weapons, to the death of others, to physical and psychological damage.

Regarding this violence experienced by young people, it is interesting to show how, despite the fact that the department of Caldas was not targeted for post-conflict funds<sup>17</sup>, it is a region where the experiences of young university students reveal their deep affection for the war. This can be explained by several factors, including the fact that people from different regions converge in Manizales, either because they arrived previously as a result of displacement or because, as Manizales is Colombia's university city, they came there to study. However there are also multiple young people who experienced the war in the department<sup>18</sup>.

On the other hand, the correlations of experiences in which young people perceive continuities in the ways in which some repertoires of action that generate pain and distrust are represented are disturbing. This accounts for the reproduction of violence that seems normalized in the public space (Koessler, 2015) as a *habitus*<sup>19</sup> of everyday violence from the war, in addition to young people who seem to be unclear about the structural background of the war, of the historical implications attached to them. The Narrated frameworks can enable a greater understanding of their present and an elaboration of their pain with greater acceptance.

Because of the aforementioned, Galtung's theory (2003) can explain that in young students there are attitudes, relational contradictions, and behaviors disposed toward conflict, which trigger a disposition to the validation of the resolution of conflicts through violence in their daily lives at a subconscious level.

At the same time, it can be seen that in the cross narrative captured on the posters, the experiences were communicated from general frameworks, that is to say, from a distance by means of euphemisms, avoiding direct nominations of the armed groups involved, which entails a current degree of awareness of the need to be careful about what is said as a way of protection against the stated problem, discursively softening its effects before the witnesses of the event.

In the line of preponderance, the individual narratives begin expressing that they have experienced almost no violence and, subsequently, in the course

---

17. "The post-conflict resources were allocated among 19 of the 32 Colombian departments, and Caldas was not listed. In total, there are 170 municipalities that will receive close to 80 billion pesos to invest in the Development Projects with Territorial Focus (PDET), created by the Ministry of Agriculture with Decree 893 of 2017 in accordance with what was agreed in Havana, Cuba." (Yepes, Mejía, 2019).

18. Young people from towns such as Pensilvania, Arauca, Marquetalia, Manzanares, or with family farms in other sectors of Caldas that were areas of dispute between the various armed groups.

19. Firstly Bourdieu proposes that although subjects are in a system of relationships, in which practices are inserted, one must take into account the embedded social structures of which they are a part, i.e. habitus as structuring structure of long-lasting dispositions, which are inscribed in people in the course of their socialization and which determine the logic of acting and the perception of the agents in each field of action (Jurt, 2008 cited in Koessler, M., 2015).

of their stories they expose events that may range from family altercations to sexual harassment or the presence of some victimizing event of war – in some cases the deaths of people close to them. The stories begin with euphemisms and then get to very strong details and feelings around these experiences, from fear, injustice, pain, helplessness, anguish, terror, indifference, to deep sadness, which are not included in the collective poster.

All these situations show that the country we carry within us continues to be made up of subterranean memories of the social reality in which we live that, although could have been passed on orally, have not yet been integrated as stories present in a social memory, and therefore, reading them as part of a greater understanding of the context in which they are developed and the social trauma they signify is impossible.

This explains the denial of structural violence, insofar as it is not possible to associate the experiences to a macro-social problem, thus reflecting a lack of development from the historical awareness of what has been experienced, and its ethical and political implications (Hugo Zemelman, 1998) as a result of social dynamics that have legitimized the partial and biased vision of the context that surrounds them.

These ways of constructing realities on the part of young university students have an impact on how young people tell themselves and others about these experiences. This situation poses a great challenge if we take into account that we are dealing with future psychologists, given that if we have normalized violence, we do not know how to enunciate it directly or even choose to silence the experiences.

At the professional practice level, we ask ourselves: How will they know when it is time to denounce violence and not stay quiet about it out of fear? It is evident that this question is also asked by young people when they state that they "should" know how to talk about this violence, but they do not know how, or to whom.

In view of the previous, a call is made to return to the primordial, the construction of peace implies, on the part of future professionals, a knowledge of the historicity of the agents in question, in addition to knowing and re-learning the structuring and social function that has supported the subjugation and domination, thus making possible the prefiguration of social changes.

It is necessary to problematize those situations in which we have developed, which have generated an appeasement in the face of the characteristics of the environment, turning "normal" certain violent phenomena that appear before our eyes.

In this way, peace building also involves the commitment of universities to provide suitable training scenarios to prepare professionals trained to face



these complex realities. Although there are peace professorships, in the case of training for social interveners, this does not appear to be enough. Evaluating the real effects and impacts that these type of measures are having on the students is necessary, by confirming the degree of affection for the war on their part, and therefore, their felt need to process the trauma evidenced as a way of processing the pain. This pain is not healed by a call to look to the future, which being continually denied, continues to present itself as cruel and distressing in the present.

Finally, taking into account the limitations of the study is necessary. It was carried out with psychology students, mainly women from the University of Manizales (a private institution). Therefore, the emerging results reflect a socio-contextual particularity, which would be interesting to contrast with other universities and disciplines, documenting in the process the socioeconomic level of the participants – a situation that, when this current study was developed, was not possible to define. Thus, the interested reader is invited to carry it out in other contexts and with other population(s), accessing this information directly within the framework of the exercise to be developed with young people.

## References

- Alvarado, S. A.; Ospina-Alvarado, M. C.; Sánchez-León, M. C. (2016). Hermenéutica e Investigación Social: narrativas generativas de paz, democracia y reconciliación. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, 14(2), 987-999.  
<http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/rlcs/v14n2/v14n2a08.pdf>
- Arfunch, L. (2008). Subjetividad, memoria y narrativas: una reflexión teórica y política en el campo de la educación. *Revista Internacional de Investigación en Educación*, 9(18), 227-244.  
<https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/2810/281049122013.pdf>
- Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Psicología. (2016). *Caracterización de los programas de formación en psicología en Colombia*. ASCOFAPSI.
- Berger, P.; Luckmann, T. (1968). *La construcción social de la realidad*. AMORRURTU
- Butler, J. (2010). *Marcos de Guerra, las vidas lloradas*. Paidós.

- Calderón, P. (2009). Teoría de conflictos de Johan Galtung. *Revista Paz y conflictos*, 2(1), 60-81. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/2050/205016389005.pdf>
- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2013). *¡Basta ya! Colombia: memorias de guerra y dignidad*. Imprenta Nacional.
- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (2017). *Informe de Gestión*. <https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/informes-de-gestion/>
- Dirección de Epidemiología y Demografía. (2016). *Análisis de situación de salud ASIS*. Ministry of Health and Social Protection.
- Echavarría, M.; Carmona, M. (2016). La subjetividad infantil en contextos de conflicto armado: Aproximaciones a su comprensión desde la relación cuerpo-género. *Argumentos*, 29(81), 39-60. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/595/59551330003.pdf>
- Fernández- Christlieb, P. (2000). *La afectividad colectiva*. Taurus.
- Gaborit, M. (2006). Memoria histórica: revertir la historia desde las víctimas. *Estudios Centro Americanos*, 61(1), 663-684. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/28242743\\_Memoria\\_historica\\_revertir\\_la\\_historia\\_desde\\_las\\_victimas](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/28242743_Memoria_historica_revertir_la_historia_desde_las_victimas)
- Garnica, F. (2018). La condición juvenil dentro del conflicto armado en Colombia. *Revista Investigium IRE Ciencias sociales y humanas*, 9(1), 54-67 <https://doi.org/10.15658/INVESTIGIUMIRE.180901.05>
- Galtung, J. (1990). La violencia estructural, cultural y directa. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(3), 291-305.
- Galtung, J. (1998). *Tras la violencia 3R: reconstrucción, reconciliación, resolución: Afrontando los efectos visibles e invisibles de la guerra y la violencia*. Red Gernika.
- Galtung, J. (2003a). *Paz por medios pacíficos: Paz y conflicto, desarrollo y civilización*. Red Gernika.
- Galtung, J. (2003b). *Trascender y Transformar: Una introducción al trabajo de conflictos*. Tecnológico de Monterrey.

- Gergen, M; Gergen, K. (2011). *Reflexiones sobre la construcción social*. Paidós.
- Gómez-Buendía, H. (2003). *El conflicto, callejón con salida*. Informe nacional de desarrollo humano, Colombia 2003. Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD).
- González, L. (21 de agosto de 2020). *1000 Líderes y defensores de derechos humanos*. Instituto de Estudios para el desarrollo y la paz.  
<http://www.indepaz.org.co/1-000-lideres-y-defensores-de-ddhh/>
- Guzman, G; Umaña, E; Fals-Borda, O. (1962). *La violencia en Colombia: Estudio de un proceso social*. LAVP.
- Grupo de Memoria Histórica. (2013) *¡Basta ya! Colombia: Memorias de guerra y dignidad*. Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación.
- Halbwachs, M. (1968). Memoria colectiva y memoria histórica. *Reis*, 69(95), 209-219. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40183784?seq=1>
- Jaramillo, S. (March 13, 2004). *La Paz Territorial*. Conference in Harvard. <http://www.interaktive-demokratie.org/files/downloads/La-Paz-Territorial.pdf>
- Koessler, M. (2015). *Habitus y violencia: paramilitarismo en Colombia*. Siglo del hombre.
- Law 1090 of 2006. Whereby the practice of the profession of psychology is regulated, the Code of Ethics and Bioethics and other provisions are issued. September 6, 2006. D.O. No. 46.383.
- Lira, E. (2010). Trauma, duelo, reparación y memoria. *Revista de Estudios Sociales*. 1(36), 14-28.  
<https://revistas.uniandes.edu.co/doi/pdf/10.7440/res36.2010.02>
- Lugo, V. (2018). Niños y jóvenes excombatientes en Colombia: ¿por qué se vinculan y separan de la guerra? *Athenea Digital*, 18(2), 1-22.  
<https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/athenea.1933>
- Martín-Baró, I. (1988). La violencia política y la guerra como causas del trauma psicossocial en El Salvador. *Revista de Psicología de El Salvador*, 2(28), 123-141. <https://www.uca.edu.sv/coleccion-digital-IMB/wp-content/>

uploads/2015/11/1988-La-violencia-pol%c3%adtica-y-la-guerra-como-causas-del-trauma-RP1988-7-28-123\_141.pdf

Ministry of Health and Social Protection (April 26, 2021). *Programa de atención psicosocial y salud integral a víctimas* – PAPSIVI. [https://www.minsalud.gov.co/proteccionsocial/Paginas/Victimas\\_PAPSIVI.aspx](https://www.minsalud.gov.co/proteccionsocial/Paginas/Victimas_PAPSIVI.aspx)

Mojica, J.; Ríos, J. (August 20, 2020). El país que sigue matando a sus jóvenes. *El Tiempo Especiales*. <https://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/otras-ciudades/jovenes-asesinados-las-ultimas-masacres-en-colombia-531496>

Molano, A. (2015). *Fragments de la historia del conflicto armado (1920-2010)*. Espacio Crítico.

Molina, N. (2015). Retos de la psicología en la construcción de paz en Colombia: ¿fatalismo o ingenuidad? *Pensamiento Psicológico*, 1(15), 115-126.

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

Montero, M. (2012). El Concepto de Intervención social desde una perspectiva psicológico- comunitaria. *Revista MEC-EDUPAZ*, 1(1), 54-76.

Muñoz, J. (2005). *Análisis cualitativo de datos textuales con ATLAS.ti*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Observatorio de DDHH, Conflictividades y Paz. (March 30, 2021). *Informe de Masacres en Colombia durante el 2020*. Instituto de Estudios para el desarrollo y la paz. <http://www.indepaz.org.co/informe-de-masacres-en-colombia-durante-el-2020/>

Oficina del Alto comisionado para la Paz. (2017). *Lo que hemos acordado: El acuerdo Final de Paz*. Ed. Alto comisionado para la Paz [PDF File]. <https://humanidadvigente.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Lo-que-hemos-acordado-el-acuerdo-final-de-paz.pdf>

- Organización Mundial de la Salud (2002). *Informe mundial sobre la violencia y la salud*. Organización Panamericana de la Salud. [https://www.who.int/violence\\_injury\\_prevention/violence/world\\_report/en/summary\\_es.pdf](https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/summary_es.pdf)
- Ospina-Alvarado, C; Rovira, R; Melengue, J; Pineda, J. (2018). *Sentidos y prácticas de Jóvenes Investigadores e Investigadoras: Semillas en Territorios de paz*. Universidad Pedagógica Nacional; Fundación Centro Internacional de Educación y Desarrollo Humano CINDE; Universidad de Manizales. [http://ceanj.cinde.org.co/programa/Archivos/publicaciones/Coleccion\\_virtual/10\\_Sentidos\\_y\\_Practicas\\_de\\_Jovenes\\_Investigadores\\_e\\_Investigadoras.pdf](http://ceanj.cinde.org.co/programa/Archivos/publicaciones/Coleccion_virtual/10_Sentidos_y_Practicas_de_Jovenes_Investigadores_e_Investigadoras.pdf)
- Pollack, M. (1989). Memoria, olvido y silencio. *Revista Estudios Históricos*, 2(3), 1-18.
- Pujadas, J. (2000). El método biográfico y los géneros de la memoria. *Revista de antropología social*, 1(9), 127-158. <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RASO/article/view/RASO0000110127A>
- Real Academia Española de la Lengua. (2000). *Violencia*. In *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Accessed November 17, 2010, <https://dle.rae.es/violencia>
- Reuters. (2018). Suben a 1200 rebeldes de Farc que se apartaron del acuerdo de paz en Colombia. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/colombia-paz-disidencias-idLTAKBN1GW2LL-OUSLD>
- Ricoeur, P. (1996). *Sí mismo como otro*. Siglo XXI.
- Rovira Rubio, R.A. (2020). Trabajando con lo que nos duele: Encuentros y desafíos con los jóvenes psicólogos y psicólogas en época de transición. In D, Chavarro (Ed.), *Reflexiones de la Psicología Contemporánea* (1 ed., Vol 1, pp. 15- 45). Uniminuto.
- Salas-Salazar, L. (2016). Conflicto armado y configuración territorial: elementos para la consolidación de la paz en Colombia. *Revista Bitácora Urbano Territorial*, 26(2), 45-57. <http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/biut/v26n2/v26n2a05.pdf>

Sampieri, R.; Collado, C.; Baptista, P. (2014). *Metodología de la investigación*. McGrawHill.

Semana. (October 16, 2020) Porque Duque "no dio la cara", así va el camino de la minga hacia Bogotá. *Semana*. <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/porque-duque-no-dio-la-cara-asi-va-el-camino-de-la-minga-hacia-bogota/202050/>

Valenzuela, J. (2019). *Trazos de sangre y fuego: Bionecropolítica y juvenicidio en América Latina*. Universidad de Guadalajara.

Yepes, M; Mejía, O. (13 de febrero de 2019). Caldas Borrado de los dineros del posconflicto. *La Patria*. <https://verdadabierta.com/caldas-borrado-de-los-dineros-del-posconflicto>

Zemelman, H. (1998). *Sujeto: Existencia y Potencia*. Anthropos.

# Colombian Regions and Armed Conflict: A Socio-economic Study in a Center-periphery Model 2000-2017<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

[*English Version*]

Regiones colombianas y conflicto armado: estudio socioeconómico en un modelo de centro y periferia años 2000-2017

Regiões colombianas e conflito armado: estudo socioeconômico em um modelo de centro e periferia anos 2000-2017

*Received February 19, 2021. Accepted June 10, 2021.*

María-Elvira Arboleda-Castro<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7765-7607>

Colombia

Andrea Pavas-Llano<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup>

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7765-7607>

Colombia

Sebastián Hidalgo-Dager<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup>

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7765-7607>

Colombia

› To cite this article:

Arboleda-Castro, María-Elvira;  
Pavas-Llanos, Andrea; Hidalgo-  
Dager, Sebastián. (2021). Colombian  
Regions and Armed Conflict:  
A Socio-economic Study in a  
Center-periphery Model 2000-2017.  
*Ánfora*, 28(51), 143-162.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.799>

Universidad Autónoma de  
Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.

E-ISSN 2248-6941.

CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

## Abstract

**Objective:** to analyze the effect of the Colombian armed conflict on economic growth through variables that were identified in 12 departments divided into two groups based on the center-periphery model.

\* This article is associated with the research "Armed conflict and economic growth in Colombia," by departments based on a central-periphery model for 2000 to 2017 in the Universidad de Icesi in Cali, Colombia.

\*\* This research was not funded and does not have any conflict of interests.

\*\*\* Economist and Corporate Marketing Specialist. Master of Economics. Professor. Member of the Economics, Public Policies and Quantum Methods Research Group. Icesi. E-mail: [marearboleda2011@hotmail.com](mailto:marearboleda2011@hotmail.com)

\*\*\*\* Economist and international negotiator from Icesi University. Email: [pavasllanost@gmail.com](mailto:pavasllanost@gmail.com)

\*\*\*\*\* Economist and international negotiator from Icesi University. Email: [sebastian-.21@hotmail.com](mailto:sebastian-.21@hotmail.com)

**Methodology:** aims at demonstrating the relationship between economic growth and the scourge of conflict through macroeconomics – GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and GDP per capita (Gross Domestic Product per person) – economics (birth rate, labor market) and violence (war actions, homicides, kidnappings). A multiple linear regression was conducted to understand the functional relationship between the dependent (GDP) and independent constants contained in the model. Observing which variables are those that affect the behavior of GDP, as the same conditions will be maintained in the rest of the variables, was possible. **Results:** whether or not a relationship exists between the armed conflict in Colombia and departmental economic growth was explained, that is, the significant variables and those that have the coefficients and the p-value, (probability of statistical value), found by Stata. The variables of the model were found, the number of observations (Obs), the average (Mean), the standard deviation (SD), the minimum value (Min) and maximum value (Max). **Conclusions:** this study demonstrated the relationship between the armed conflict and the economic growth of those departments located in the periphery, those that have the greatest conflict presence and evidence of State neglect. As expected, the results of the model were significant despite the fact that certain explanatory variables did not show the expected sign-value, therefore they were neither included in the analysis of public policies nor in the conclusions. For those that did show the expected sign-value, the respective analyses were made in order to provide solutions that lead to a reduction of the armed conflict in all its dimensions and its direct impact on the behavior of the departmental GDP.

**Keywords:** Economic growth; Armed conflict; Departments of the Center; Departments of the Periphery.

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** analizar el efecto que tiene el conflicto armado colombiano dentro del crecimiento económico a través de variables que se identificaron en doce departamentos de Colombia divididos en dos grupos a partir del modelo centro – periferia. **Metodología:** se busca demostrar la relación entre el crecimiento económico y el flagelo del conflicto a través de variables macroeconómicas – PIB (Producto Interno Bruto) y PIB per cápita (Producto Interno Bruto por persona)–, económicas (natalidad, mercado laboral) y violencia (acciones bélicas, homicidios, secuestros). Se optó por correr una regresión lineal múltiple para entender la relación funcional entre las constantes dependientes (PIB) y las independientes que contiene el modelo, donde se pudo observar qué variables son las que realmente afectan el comportamiento del PIB dado que se



mantendrán las mismas condiciones en el resto de las variables. **Resultados:** se explicó si hay o no relación entre el conflicto armado en Colombia y el crecimiento económico departamental, es decir, se explicaron cuáles son las variables significativas y cuáles tienen los coeficientes y el valor  $p$ , (probabilidad del valor estadístico), los cuales son arrojados por Stata automáticamente. Se pudo encontrar las variables del modelo, el número de observaciones (Obs), el promedio (Mean), la desviación estándar (Std. Dev.), el valor mínimo (Min) y el valor máximo (Max). **Conclusiones:** con el estudio se logró evidenciar la relación del conflicto armado con el crecimiento económico de aquellos departamentos que pertenecen a la periferia, estos son los que tienen mayor presencia del conflicto y evidencia de abandono estatal. Como era de esperarse, el resultado arrojado por el modelo fue significativo a pesar de que ciertas variables explicativas no tuvieron el signo esperado, por lo que se optó por no incluirlas en el análisis de políticas públicas y no concluir sobre ellas. Para aquellas que sí tuvieron el signo esperado, se hicieron los respectivos análisis con el objetivo de brindar soluciones que lleven a una reducción del conflicto armado en todas sus dimensiones y su afectación directa en el comportamiento del PIB departamental.

**Palabras-Clave:** Crecimiento económico; Conflicto armado; Departamentos del centro; Departamentos de la periferia.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** analisar o efeito que o conflito armado colombiano tem sobre o crescimento econômico por meio de variáveis que foram identificadas em doze departamentos colombianos divididos em dois grupos com base no modelo centro-periferia. **Metodologia:** busca demonstrar a relação entre o crescimento econômico e o flagelo do conflito por meio de variáveis macroeconômicas — PIB (Produto Interno Bruto) e PIB per capita (Produto Interno Bruto por pessoa)—, econômico (taxa de natalidade, mercado de trabalho) e violência (ações militares, homicídios, sequestros). Decidiu-se fazer uma regressão linear múltipla para entender a relação funcional entre as constantes dependentes (PIB) e as constantes independentes contidas no modelo, onde foi possível observar quais variáveis são as que realmente afetam o comportamento do PIB desde o as mesmas condições serão mantidas no resto das variáveis. **Resultados:** foi explicado se existe ou não relação entre o conflito armado na Colômbia e o crescimento econômico departamental, ou seja, foi explicado quais são as variáveis significativas e quais têm os coeficientes e o valor  $p$ , (probabilidade do valor estatístico), que são divulgados pelo Stata automaticamente. Foi possível encontrar as variáveis do modelo, o número de observações (Obs), a média (Média), o desvio padrão

(Std. Dev.), O valor mínimo (Min) e o valor máximo (Max). **Conclusões:** com o estudo, foi possível mostrar a relação do conflito armado com o crescimento econômico dos departamentos que pertencem à periferia, estes são os que apresentam maior presença do conflito e evidências de abandono do Estado. Como esperado, o resultado produzido pelo modelo foi significativo apesar de certas variáveis explicativas não terem o sinal esperado, por isso optou-se por não incluí-las na análise das políticas públicas e não concluir sobre elas. Para aqueles que tiveram o sinal esperado, as respectivas análises foram realizadas a fim de fornecer soluções que levem a uma redução do conflito armado em todas as suas dimensões e seu impacto direto no comportamento do PIB departamental.

**Palavras-chave:** Crescimento econômico; Conflito armado; Departamentos do centro; Departamentos da periferia.

## Introduction

Colombia has suffered a wave of violence for more than 50 years. This has brought several social, political and economic consequences to the country and has lost international credibility from the economic perspective.

Colombia has been considered a violent region, driving away foreign investors. Outlawed groups have invaded territories, caused displacement and have based their source of resources mainly on the cultivation of illicit products. This has left thousands of people homeless and without sustenance; it has mainly affected peasants and indigenous people with a great impact on national agriculture. This situation caused a lack of private investment in regions with the greatest presence of armed conflict due to fear of violation or loss of money.

The inhabitants of the territories with the greatest presence of conflict are the ones that have been affected both economically and socially the most, as stated by the International Committee of the Red Cross: "The civilian population of regions affected by the armed clashes in Colombia continues to be exposed to acts of violence such as homicides, direct attacks, kidnappings and forced recruitments" (2010). The departments that have been most observed and are involved in the conflict are those on the so-called periphery.

This study focused on researching the existing relationship between economic growth and the armed conflict in Colombia. For this research, 12 strategic Colombian departments were chosen. They were divided into two groups: the first grouped by high level or presence of confrontations and a low socioeconomic level, and the second with an opposite characteristic in order to demonstrate whether the armed conflict affects departmental economic growth. The analysis was carried out with figures from the years 2000 to 2017, in this way, establishing a relationship between the armed divergence in Colombia and the departmental economic growth was possible.

In addition, the effect that certain variables of confrontation have on economic growth were analyzed in the 12 departments divided into two groups based on the center-periphery model. Accordingly, literature by authors who have previously linked economic growth with the armed conflict was reviewed to determine the variables that should be included in the econometric model and their behavior, in order to identify the appropriate variables to build a structured database that allowed for analysis and development of the econometric model. It showed the impact of the armed conflict in Colombia on the growth of departmental GDP with the center-periphery model. Thus, public policy recommendations

were developed to enhance economic growth in the departments that have a greater presence of the armed struggle.

Several phases of the research were conducted: in the phase one, the revision of a theory of the economic growth and its relationship with the armed conflict in Colombia, research studies previously carried out by Colombian authors were reviewed and a solid theoretical framework was built with all relevant research related to the subject in order to investigate the aforementioned incidences in depth and to choose the right variables to be able to make the appropriate public policy recommendations. In the second phase, the figures of the variables chosen for research were collected, these were taken from two sources or governmental institutions: The National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE – Spanish acronym) and Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.<sup>1</sup> Then, a unique database was developed to house the variants necessary for the development of the research in an organized and concise way. In the third phase, the building of the model was carried out based on alternatives from the database. The test was conducted different times and yielded the same results, the significance of the pilot test and the variables was verified for not finding econometric problems. In the fourth phase, the model results and their relationship with the economic theory developed by the authors taken as a source in the theoretical framework were analyzed. Finally, the relevant conclusions and public policy recommendations were made.

For the development of the research in its fifth phase, a review of the literature corresponding to the subject was made. Theorists such as Gary Becker (1968) cite a relationship between violence and the economy, as the author explains in *Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach*, explains the origin of individuals' illegal behavior. For Becker there is a rational process in the choice of an individual with respect to committing a crime or not. The main variables are the net benefit of committing the crime and the probability of being discovered, in which case he will assume the costs of being punished. This rational process is modeled as the maximization of utility under uncertainty, in which individuals take action. This is why it makes sense, as Pablo Querubín (2003) states that: "Armed actors tend to be located in rich regions where there are resources to prey on (e.g. illicit crops) but it does not imply that the conflict generates greater growth." This reflection is in line with what Jesus Antonio Bejarano (1997) stated, where he shows that between 1985 and 1995 the guerrillas went from having a presence in 13% of the municipalities of commercial agriculture in 1985 to being at 71% in 1995. Meanwhile, in the secondary cities,

---

1. Colombian governmental agency attached to the Administrative Department for Social Prosperity.

the guerrillas went from being present in 13% in 1985 to 85% in 1995 (p.13). [Author translation]

That is to say, insurgents are not located in areas of little economic activity but, on the contrary, in areas where economic activity is greater and more prosperous.

All these groups in their beginnings had as a common component being sponsored by regional elites, and, in some cases, the participation of members of the official Armed Forces. Between 1994 and 1997, a unification process of all these illegal armed groups was conceived. The United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) was created, a unified movement under a single command: the General Staff made up of leaders of regional groups.

The characteristics of Colombia's municipalities have changed over time. At first, illegal groups ventured into colonized regions, far from the country's economic centers, where a relationship could be established between poverty, state absence and guerrilla presence (Pizarro, 2004). However, from the eighties of the last century, the location of the guerrilla foci changed, and they were found in strategic regions with abundant natural resources and great economic potential.

According to Daniel Pécaut (1987), the years of violence cannot be understood without taking into account the popular mobilization in the cities between 1944 and 1948. In this sense, the rural outrage and the training of guerrilla groups are part of the process of mainly urban social struggles that then move to the countryside. For Pécaut (1987) the roughness in Colombia in the twentieth century is the result of forms of traditional political domination. Although rural aspects are important in this research, as it is in the countryside where the conflict takes place, it is not in it that its causes should be sought.

Colombian literature has also studied the relationship between economic growth and violence in depth. Regarding this topic, Astrid Martínez (2001) states: "Econometric studies conclude that there is a causal relationship in both directions between GDP growth and the presence of armed conflicts being stronger in the direction of low growth as a cause of conflict" (p.10). [Author translation]

Meisel Roca (2001) also has found a fairly strong relationship between these two variables, he has developed several studies on economic growth in Colombia, but mainly based on studying the territories separately in order to better understand and explain the national situation as a result of the internal problems of each department. The author argues in his text *Regions, Cities and Economic Growth in Colombia*, that the convergence of a territory can be studied from the departmental GDP. The analysis of territories separately is also defended by Luis Armando Galvis, and Meisel Roca (2000) in a report for the Center for Economic Research of the Colombian Caribbean. They affirm

that studying the regional economic dynamics helps to better understand the national economic course.

Ricardo Rocha and Alejandro Vivas (1998), in their text *Regional Growth in Colombia: Does Inequality Persist?*, study whether or not there is convergence between the different departments of the country. For their explanation they use what they call “socio-political instability”: an explanation of how manifestations of violence translate into “fewer incentives for investment and growth” (Rocha, Vivas, 1998, p.10). [Author translation]. In this idea a reference to the Italian economist Roberto Perotti (1995) could be found. He argues that: “higher rates of crime and manifestations of social violence [...] affect the business climate and expectations favorable to savings-investment processes. (p.10)”. [Author translation].

Finally, another Colombian author who has undertaken studying the relationship between economic growth and violence in Querubín (2003) in his paper “Departmental Growth and Criminal Violence in Colombia,” after making estimates by the differences in differences method, found evidence of the negative impact that violence has on the growth of departmental GDP. In addition, those findings revealed that “those departments that experienced an acceleration in their different manifestations of violence experienced a significant slowdown in total GDP per capita.” (p.8). [Author translation]

## Methodology

Since the relationship between economic growth and the armed conflict in Colombia was sought to be shown, macroeconomic variables (GDP, GDP per capita), economic (birth rate, labor market) and violence (war actions, homicides, kidnappings) were chosen. They show the way in which the growth and the incidence of armed conflict behave.

To perform a better analysis, previous studies were taken into account and the research was carried out without variables in some departments of the country in order to measure more clearly the direction of departmental growth. A center-periphery model and 12 jurisdictions were chosen as the object of study. These jurisdictions were divided into two groups. They were chosen to conduct the analysis due to the economic behavior and the presence of armed violence that they present throughout history. The districts that are part of

so-called center are those that present a greater economic development, population growth and better living conditions. This group contains: Cundinamarca, Santander, Antioquia, Valle del Cauca and Atlántico.

The regions that belong to periphery are the ones that have the greatest presence of the armed conflict and have been the most affected. The armed conflict has impacted their economic performance and also show lower figures in growth rates. This group contains: Chocó, Cauca, Nariño, Guajira, Amazonas, Putumayo and Caquetá.

However, to show the relationship between departmental economic growth and the armed conflict in Colombia, a multiple linear regression was chosen, as it allows for understanding the functional relationship between the dependent variable (GDP) and the different independent variables in the model to be able to analyze what the causes of the changes in the dependent variable may be. Implementing this type of model to establish the proposed analysis was important, as it will be possible to observe which variables are the ones that affect the behavior of GDP, given that the same conditions will be kept in the rest of the variables.

In relation to this, the following model will be studied:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_n X_n + \varepsilon$$

As the object of study is to see the behavior of the departmental GDP, “Y” will be the Gross Domestic Product,  $\beta_0$  is the constant of the model, and from  $\beta_1$  to  $\beta_n$  different model estimators that correspond to each explanatory variable, which are the reflection of the variation in “Y.” Likewise, the different “X” variables refer to explicative variables, that is, homicides, war actions, kidnappings, GDP per capita, birth rate and the ones related to labor market. Lastly, “ $\varepsilon$ ” is the error term, that “collects all the factors that affect ‘Y’ that are not expressed in ‘X’ or in any other independent variable” (Serrano, 2012).

It is important to mention that the data found for each of the variables for each department were assigned in the same database as a matter of practicality when generating multiple linear regression. This database is characterized by “time series,” as the same variables are collected over time, 17 years (2000 - 2017) for this case.

## Variable Analysis

The variables are divided into three groups:

1. Economic variables GDP, GDP per capita, working-age population, rate overall participation, employment rate and unemployment rate.
2. Experiences variables homicides, war actions, kidnappings
3. Demographic variables birth rate

**Table 1.** Descriptive Summary of the Variables

Variable	Description	Source
Homicides	Numbers of deaths caused by homicides / murders.	National Center for Historical Memory
War actions	Numbers of war actions caused by insurgent groups	National Center for Historical Memory
Kidnappings	Number of individuals deprived of liberty by insurgent groups.	National Center for Historical Memory
GDP	Measure the total production of a country.	National Administrative Department of Statistics
GDP per capita	Relationship between the rent level of a country and its inhabitants	National Administrative Department of Statistics
Birth rate	Number of births in a territory relative to population	National Administrative Department of Statistics
Working age population	Formed by people in urban areas for 12 years and in rural areas for 10 years.	National Administrative Department of Statistics
Global participation rate	The percentage ratio between the economically active population and the working age population. This indicator shows the pressure of the working age population on market labor	National Administrative Department of Statistics
Participation rate	The percentage ratio between employed people (EP) and the working age population.	National Administrative Department of Statistics
Unemployment rate	The percentage ratio between people seeking employment and the working age population. (WAP)	National Administrative Department of Statistics



This section identified the behavior of the variables that could potentially affect the economic growth of 12 departments studied between 2000 and 2017.

As a result of the figures collected in the database, with regard to the war actions, it was possible to show that in the first four years the department of Antioquia presented an increasing trend and a peak that reached a maximum of 450 incidences, with the other departments the figures fluctuated between 0 and 200 incidences. From 2004, the number of aggressive actions perpetrated in Antioquia decreased down to the average for the other departments. In contrast, since 2004, an increase of aggressive behavior has been noted in the departments of Cauca and Nariño.

Homicides again show the same tendency as war actions: Between 2000 and 2005, Antioquia showed a high peak reaching four figures compared to the other departments that remain between one and three figures. Since 2006, Antioquia's data have been in line with an average of the other regions and an increase in Cauca.

In terms of the number of kidnappings by department, Antioquia exhibits the highest number of people kidnapped in most of the years of interest for this study. Nariño also shows peaks in some years, but the figures are much lower than those of the previous region. Compared to the economic, violence and demographic variables previously stated, the figures are much lower for the number of kidnappings per year in each department.

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was taken at current prices with a base year at 2005 and the figures in the database are given in billions of COP. The departments with the highest figures during the period under study are as follows: Antioquia, Valle del Cauca, Cundinamarca, Atlántico and Santander respectively, showing a larger GDP than the other departments in contrast with: Chocó, Amazonas, Putumayo and Cauca that show a smaller GDP in almost all the years under this study.

Per capita income (GDP per capita) is expressed in current prices based on 2005. The departments with the highest number of this indicator over the years under study are: Santander and Valle del Cauca respectively, while Chocó shows a lower level. Putumayo, Caquetá and Nariño exhibit a similar GDP per capita for most of the years.

The birth rate is given by the number of live births per department of origin. The database shows a higher number of births in the departments of Antioquia, Valle del Cauca and Atlántico with respect to the other departments. Chocó and Amazonas show a lower number of births.

In regard to labor market variables, the following were taken into account: the working-age population, the overall labor force participation rate and the employment and unemployment rates. The latter presents similar values for most departments, except for Guajira, Caquetá and Chocó which show a much

lower unemployment rate than the rest of the departments. The employment rate fluctuates between 40% and 60% for all departments in the years under study.

## Results

The results obtained from the model explain whether there is a relationship between the armed conflict in Colombia and the economic growth per departments, i.e., which variables are significant and which are not by taking into account the coefficients and the “p” value, automatically obtained by Stata. Table 2 shows the general statistics on the different variables of the model, in particular, the number of observations (Obs.), the average (Mean) and the standard deviation (SD) The minimum value (MV) and maximum value (Vmax).

**Table 2.** Summary of Statistics of the Variables

Variable	Obs	Mean	SD	MV	VMax
GDP	216	19104.4	24795.29	163	122647
War actions	216	52.56019	77.29085	0	450
Homicides	216	202.0509	551.9147	0	4367
Kidnappings	216	42.69907	106.1778	0	906
GDP per capita	216	8334782	5511729	1639445	3.18e+07
Birth rate	216	25930.55	24732.34	963	103153
Working age population	216	75.26037	4.612165	62.32623	81.92722
GPR	216	61.662	6.059611	44.89596	71.67332
Employment rate	216	53.73066	6.119138	39.306695	65.75614
Unemployment rate	216	11.43018	3.145492	5.872795	22.29372

The coefficient of determination or  $R^2$  of the model is 0.8657 (R-squared in Table 3), i.e., the model is reliable and the appropriateness-of-fit measure is high:

The closer its value is to one, the better the model fits to the variable the authors are intending to explain. Conversely, the closer to zero, the less adjusted the model will be and, therefore, the less reliable". (Lopez, n.d.).

**Table 3.** Regression Results with STATA

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	1.1443e+11	9	1.2714e+10	Number of Obs.	=	216
Residual	1.7757e+10	206	86200164.7	F (9, 206)	=	147.9
Total	1.3218e+11	215	614806495	Prob > F	=	0.0000
				R-squared	=	0.8657
				Adj R squared	=	0.8598
				Root MSE	=	9284.4

PIB	Coeff.	SD. Err	t	P	95% CI	
War actions	27.69333	11.21868	2.47	0.014	5.575176	49.81148
Homicides	-22.50267	4.278757	-5.26	0.000	-30.93844	-14.0669
Kidnappings	51.92424	21.59548	2.40	0.017	9.347734	94.50074
GDP per capita	-0020446	.0001814	11.27	0.000	.0016871	.0024022
Birth rate	.805384	.0431346	18.67	0.000	.7203421	.8904259
Working age	-423.3088	251.949	-1.68	0.094	-920.0381	73.42042
Population GPR	657.6898	275.5548	2.39	0.018	114.4207	1200.959
Employment rate	-580.8819	337.823	-1.72	0.087	-12.46.916	85.15192
Unemployment rate	-883.9398	422.891	-2.09	0.038	-1717.689	-50.19043
Cons	14671.35	16079.97	0.91	0.363	-17031.07	46373.77

Like the  $R^2$ , the  $R^2$  adjusted (Adj R-squared in Table 3) yielded a number close to one, which means that the independent variables have a high degree of intensity or effectiveness in explaining the dependent inconstant, which for this case, is departmental GDP. Finally, the F statistic (Prob > F in Table 3) is significant (0.0000), with a confidence level of 99%. “The F test is used to evaluate the explanatory capacity of a group of independent variables over the diversification of the dependent variable.” (Sanjuán, n.d.). In other words, the independent variables included in this model do have the capacity to explain the variation of the dependent variable.

According to Table 3, the relationship between GDP (per department) and war actions is significant and with a significance level of 5%. However, for the model used in this study, it does not comply with the sign-value suggested by economic logic (if the number of war actions increases, so does GDP), therefore, it will not be taken into account when drawing the conclusions and assessing public policies. Most of the authors examined here agree that this is a variable of great impact on departmental economic growth which is demonstrated in our regression, as it was significant. For example, in the studies of Gustavo

Hernández, Norberto Rojas and Mauricio Santa María (2013), this variable was significant and with the expected sign-value, in addition to showing that if “terrorist events were reduced by half, average economic growth would be of 0.4 percentage points” (Hernández, Rojas, Santa María, 2013, p.3). [Author translation]

GDP and homicides have a significant relationship and a significance level of 1%. Having the expected sign-value and being a LIN-LIN interpretation model (natural logarithms were not used), it is understood that if the homicide rate increases (which is measured per 100,000 inhabitants, see Annex), the departmental GDP will decrease by 22.50267 billion pesos. The situation with “kidnappings” equals “war actions”: it is statistically significant at a 5% significance level, but the sign-value is not consistent with economic theory.

GDP per capita in relation to departmental GDP shows a significant result at a level of 1%. This means that, if there is an increase in one-unit in GDP per capita, the departmental GDP will increase by 0.0020446 billion pesos. The importance of including this variable lay in observing the inequalities within the country’s regions, which supports the explanation of why certain areas are more affected by the conflict than others. The “birth rate” has the same characteristics, i.e., an increase of one-unit per birth rate will cause a growth of the departmental GDP by 0.805384 billion pesos.

“Unemployment rate” is the last variable for drawing conclusions because it is statistically significant and the sign-value of the regression was as expected. Its GDP’s relationship is at a 95% confidence level. The result provided by Stata indicates that, if there is an increase of one percentage point in this rate, the departmental GDP will decrease by 883.9398 billion pesos. The following section will present the conclusions by taking into account this and the other variables that allowed for identifying an economic logic.

Finally, the other three variables related to the labor market (working age population, overall labor force participation rate, and employment rate) are significant at the 10%, 5% and 10% levels respectively, but meaningless when interpreted. The first and second variables show that when more people are available to work, departmental GDP will fall. And, the third instance, if there are more people working, our dependent variable will decrease which is not logical in economic terms.

## Conclusions

This study allowed for demonstrating the relationship between the armed conflict and the economic growth of those peripheral departmental locations, which show the greatest presence of the conflict and evidence of state neglect. As expected, the results of the model were significant despite the fact that certain explanatory variables did not show the expected sign-value, therefore they were neither included in the analysis of public policies nor in the conclusions. For those that did show the expected sign-value, the respective analyses were made with the aim of providing solutions that lead to decrease the armed conflict in all its dimensions and its direct impact on the behavior of the departmental GDP.

Results also exhibited, from the database variable gathering, the gap in terms of economic level and therefore development among the center and peripheral departments. The difference in the figures is quite wide. Private investment and state aid lag behind in the regions of Cauca, Chochó, Nariño, La Guajira, Amazonas, Caquetá and Putumayo. These territories also lag behind in infrastructure, health, education, labor conditions, among other areas when compared to the central areas. Proof of this is the concentration of the population, i.e., in the central jurisdictions there is much more population than in the periphery, which is explained to the extent that the inhabitants of the periphery migrate in search of better life and job opportunities.

Another important factor in the development of economic growth in the country is the signing of the peace agreement between the FARC guerrilla<sup>2</sup> and the Colombian National Government in September 2016. This is an event that marked the course of the armed conflict in the country. Upon signing the peace agreement, the illegal armed group committed to the disarmament and demobilization of its troops, as the figures evidence in the database. Beginning 2016, the figures in the violence variables (homicides, war actions and kidnappings) decreased drastically, reaching zero in some departments. This shows that the initial implementation of the agreement was indeed having the expected effect, at least until 2017 which is the last year taken into account in this study.

Previously, a series of public policies for the improvement of economic growth which aimed at minimizing the gap between the departments of the center and the periphery, improving living conditions and helping the economic growth of the regions. The costs generated by the Colombian armed conflict are very high, whether they are regarded from the economic perspective with

---

2. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia).

the damage to infrastructure such as pipelines or roads, or from the social perspective as human losses, forced displacements, and emotional implications, etc. Therefore, the policies recommended here need to be applied correctly and effectively.

As an illustration of the need to implement adequate public policies, the negotiation process between the government of Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC is mentioned, as well as the downward trend in homicides that reached the lowest rate in the last 42 years and the importance of applying policies related to this aspect.

Among the public policy recommendations, a greater military deployment is suggested in order for the community to trust and to act against any type of crime when the police force is not sufficient, because the police often do not have the necessary resources or personnel to deal with this scourge.

The presence of the security forces can be carried out in regions where the number of drug-related homicides is currently higher. "Drug-related homicides" are understood as those committed by groups active in the armed conflict. This measure is important to perform because:

from 2018, disputes over control of illicit activities have led to a rise in the homicide rate from groups such as El Clan del Golfo, Los Caparros, ELN, EPL and FARC dissidents (Castilla, September 26, 2020).

On the other hand, there is the birth rate, which has historically played an important role in the evaluation of growth policies by countries. According to Franklin D. Roosevelt's request to include everything that covered the economy in the GDP, an increase in population will generate the same impact on this economic indicator because if:

a nation's GDP is the output per person multiplied by the number of people and if the number of things each worker produces changes, so does the GDP. And it is the same with the number of inhabitants. If the population grows very fast, so will GDP (Lynn, 2014).

This is not intended to encourage Colombians to have large numbers of children; on the contrary, responsible household reproduction should be fostered by applying policies to prevent teenage pregnancies or unwanted pregnancies that go against economic objectives. That is to say, to apply measures that allow an increase in the population that will belong to the active and employed population in the future. This is not an absurd idea, as countries such as Spain seek possible policies to foster birth rate due to its decrease during three consecutive

years. Mechanisms such as increasing maternity and paternity leave or better tax treatment for families (as is done in Germany and France) would help to achieve this goal. The above mentioned must be applied by the State with total effectiveness in conjunction with actions focused on education, housing, employment and others; otherwise, undesired results will be achieved.

Another aspect to take into account is public policies focused on improving GDP per capita. This can be based on the study “Growing with Productivity: an Agenda for the Andean Region” by the Inter-American Development Bank (2010) (“Creciendo con Productividad: una agenda para la Región Andina”) which states that, in order to improve the indicator in question, microenterprise conditions and financial deepening must be improved, and informal employment levels must be reduced as well. In summary, these three aspects can be optimized as follows: improve tax rates for small businesses, as “business dwarfism” is being generated; revise labor regulations by focusing on “those aspects that make formal hiring rigid and costly and affect the efficient allocation of resources and productivity” (Fundación Compartir, 2018), and achieve this through a strengthening of financial markets. All this will reduce the low productivity environment, thereby increasing GDP per capita.

Finally, according to former Finance Minister Oscar Iván Zuluaga, the unemployment rate is high in Colombia because of four main reasons: low educational level of the labor force, low productivity, informality and labor inflexibility. The last three aspects have already been mentioned in the recommendations made for GDP per capita, leaving only the low level of education of the labor force. This aspect can be improved through the following: turning knowledge into competencies, fostering innovation in schools and universities, developing skills to identify sources of knowledge and developing new skills. However, the first step, on the part of the State, must be the increase of the percentage of public spending allocated to education (currently 4.5%), which is only above countries such as Nicaragua, Peru, El Salvador, Paraguay, Guatemala and Haiti.

## References

- Becker, G. (1968). Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach. *Journal Economy*, 33, 263-154.
- Bejarano, J. A. (1997). *Inseguridad, violencia y actividad económica*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Castilla, C. E. (September 26, 2020). Un viaje al pasado del narcotráfico para entender la violencia de hoy. *El Tiempo*. <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/conflicto-y-narcotrafico/recorrido-por-el-narcotrafico-los-homicidios-y-la-violencia-del-pasado-y-del-presente-540013>
- Comité internacional de la Cruz Roja. (2010). *Colombia: consecuencias humanitarias del conflicto armado en Colombia*. <https://www.icrc.org/es/doc/resources/documents/report/colombia-report-intro-220410.htm#:~:text=22%2D04%2D2010%20Informe,huir%20y%20abandonar%20sus%20pertenencias>
- Fundación Compartir. (July 5, 2018). *Mejorar diseño de políticas públicas, impulsar crecimiento, y productividad: BID*. <https://fundacioncompartir.org/noticias/mejorar-diseno-de-politicas-publicas-impulsar-crecimiento-productividad-bid>
- García-Rocha R; Vivas Benítez, A. (1998). *Crecimiento Regional en Colombia ¿Persiste la Desigualdad?* Fundación Konrad Adenauer



- Galvis, L. A.; Meisel- Roca, A. (2000). *El crecimiento económico de las ciudades colombianas y sus determinantes, 1973-1998*. Centro de Investigaciones Económicas del Caribe Colombiano.
- Hernández, G.; Rojas, N.; Santa María, M. (2013). *Crecimiento económico y Conflicto Armado en Colombia*. Departamento Nacional de Planeación.
- López, J. F. (s.f.). *Coefficiente de determinación (R cuadrado)*. Economipedia. <https://economipedia.com/definiciones/r-cuadrado-coeficiente-determinacion.html#:~:text=El%20coeficiente%20de%20determinaci%C3%B3n%20tambi%C3%A9n,la%20variable%20que%20pretender%20explicar.&text=Cuanto%20m%C3%A1s%20cerca%20de%201,variable%20que%20estam>
- Lynn, M. (August 11, 2014). Si la población cambia, el PIB pierde sentido. *ElEconomista*. <https://www.eleconomista.es/firmas/noticias/6002654/08/14/Si-la-poblacion-cambia-el-PIB-pierde-sentido.html>
- Martínez Ortiz, A. (2001). *Economía, crimen y conflicto*. Ediciones Antropos Ltda.
- Meisel Roca, A. (2001). *Regiones, ciudades y crecimiento en Colombia*. Banco de la República.
- Perotti, R. (1995). *Growth, Income Distribution, and Democracy: What the Data Say*. Columbia University
- Pécaut, D. (1987). De las violencias a la violencia en pasado y presente de la violencia en Colombia. *Orden y violencia*, 2, 364-485

- Pizarro, E. (2004). *Una Democracia Asediada. Balance y Perspectivas del Conflicto Armado en Colombia*. Nuevo mundo.
- Querubín, P. (2003). *Crecimiento departamental y violencia criminal en Colombia*. Universidad de los Andes.
- Sanjuán, F. J. (s.f.). *Estadístico F*. Economipedia. <https://economipedia.com/definiciones/estadistico-f.html#:~:text=El%20estad%C3%ADstico%20F%20es%20un,variaci%C3%B3n%20de%20la%20variable%20dependiente.&text=Este%20test%20es%20de%20uso,para%20realizar%20contrastes%20de%20hip%C3%B3tesis>
- Serrano, A. (26 de junio de 2012). Técnicas de análisis I: la regresión simple. *Ciencia Económica*. . <http://www.cienciaeconomica.com/2012/06/tecnicas-de-analisis-i-la-regresion.html>

# The Narrative Methodological Contribution of the Lived Body toward the Deliberative Processes in Bioethics<sup>1</sup>

## A Study Composed of Physicians as Observers of Bullying

[*English Version*]

Contribución metodológica de la narrativa del cuerpo vivido a los procesos deliberativos en bioética  
Un estudio situado en médicos espectadores del acoso escolar

Contribuição metodológica da narrativa do corpo vivido aos processos deliberativos em bioética  
Un estudio situado en médicos espectadores del acoso escolar

*Received November 11, 2020. Accepted May 3, 2021.*

Guillermo-Alberto Freydell-Montoya\*\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5938-1205>

Colombia

› To cite this article:

Freydell-Montoya, Guillermo-Alberto (2021). The Narrative Methodological Contribution of the Lived Body toward the Deliberative Processes in Bioethics.

A Study Composed of Physicians as Observers of Bullying.

*Ánfora*, 28(51), 163-192.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.772>

Universidad Autónoma de Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.

E-ISSN 2248-6941.

CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

### Abstract

**Introduction:** Bioethics has gained relevance from the principlist approach, which is based on principle-based decision making within the physician-patient relationship. However, bioethics could be regarded from methodological approaches that include the human being's phenomenological/existential characteristics. The objective is to establish a methodology linking narrative, lived

\* This shows the doctoral dissertation results: "Lived Body's Narrative toward deliberative processes in bioethics: an intervention-training methodology from the bullying's observer view." This research is registered in the Humanitas research group of the Universidad Militar Nueva Granada Bogotá, with the code number EHUINV-DB-4-10000101-16. This research had neither private or public sponsorship nor conflict of interest.

\*\* Doctor in Bioethics. Member of the *Humanitas* Research Group from the Universidad Militar Nueva Granada. E-mail: [gfreydell@gmail.com](mailto:gfreydell@gmail.com)

body and bioethics for understanding lived experiences from the physician's view as an observer of bullying. **Methodology:** Two research designs are presented: documentary and biographical-narrative. Documentary research considers the narrative and the lived body from phenomenology as conceptual sources which determine the three methodological proposal stages as structuring the deliberative processes in bioethics, intervention and training processes. Biographical-narrative research, based on the narrative, provides both an instrument for data collection and a scheme for narrative analysis. The convenience sample comprised five licensed practicing physicians with experience in bullying at a school level **Results:** The methodology allowed for four narratives for each narrator/physician. The narrative analysis shows an understanding of what was experienced, and at the same time, the narrator/Physicians' training process. **Discussion:** The lived body narrative establishes the deliberative processes in bioethics as understanding and training processes of physicians as observers of bullying. **Conclusion:** the narrative of the lived body provides bioethics a way of thinking about the dwelling place of mankind as a way to inhabit the world of life with respect to the other and bioethics arises as a constitutive perspective of being in the world.

**Keywords:** Narrative; Lived Body, Bioethics, Deliberation; Methodology; Phenomenology.

## Resumen

**Introducción:** la bioética ha tomado relevancia a partir del enfoque principialista, el cual se fundamenta en decisiones orientadas por normas en el contexto médico-paciente. Sin embargo, podría pensarse la bioética desde enfoques metodológicos que reconozcan las características fenomenológicas/existenciales del ser humano. El objetivo es establecer una metodología que articule narrativa, cuerpo vivido y bioética, en la comprensión de experiencias vividas situadas en el médico espectador del acoso escolar. **Metodología:** se presentan dos diseños investigativos: la investigación documental y la investigación biográfico-narrativa. La investigación documental toma la narrativa y el cuerpo vivido desde la fenomenología como fuentes conceptuales que determinan los tres momentos que componen la propuesta metodológica, para estructurar los procesos deliberativos en bioética, como procesos de intervención y formación. La investigación biográfico-narrativa, a partir de la narrativa, brinda tanto un instrumento de toma de información, como esquematismo en el análisis narrativo. La muestra se organiza a conveniencia: cinco médicos graduados en ejercicio laboral y con experiencias vividas en el acoso escolar. **Resultados:** en la implementación de

la metodología se obtuvieron cuatro narrativas por cada médico/narrador. El análisis narrativo evidencia comprensión de lo vivido, y a la vez, el proceso de formación del médico/narrador. **Discusión:** la narrativa del cuerpo vivido estructura los procesos deliberativos en bioética como procesos de comprensión y formación de médicos espectadores del acoso escolar. **Conclusión:** la narrativa del cuerpo vivido brinda a la bioética un modo de pensar la morada del hombre. Como forma de habitar el mundo de la vida en relación con el otro, surge la bioética como constitutiva del ser en el mundo.

**Palabras-clave:** Narrativa; Cuerpo vivido; Bioética; Deliberación; Metodología; Fenomenología.

## Resumo

**Introdução:** a bioética ganhou relevância a partir da abordagem principista, que se baseia em decisões normativas no contexto médico-paciente. Porém, a bioética pode ser pensada a partir de abordagens metodológicas que reconheçam as características fenomenológicas / existenciais do ser humano. O objetivo é estabelecer uma metodologia que articule narrativa, corpo vivido e bioética, na compreensão das experiências vividas situadas no médico espectador do bullying escolar. **Metodologia:** são apresentados dois desenhos de pesquisa: pesquisa documental e pesquisa biográfico-narrativa. A pesquisa documental toma a narrativa e o corpo vivido da fenomenologia como fontes conceituais que determinam os três momentos que compõem a proposta metodológica, para estruturar os processos deliberativos em bioética, como processos de intervenção e formação. A pesquisa biográfico-narrativa, baseada na narrativa, fornece tanto um instrumento de coleta de informações, quanto esquemáticos na análise narrativa. A amostra é organizada por conveniência: cinco médicos formados em prática de trabalho e com experiências vividas em bullying. **Resultados:** na aplicação da metodologia, foram obtidas quatro narrativas para cada médico / narrador. A análise da narrativa mostra a compreensão do vivido e, ao mesmo tempo, o processo de formação do médico / narrador. **Discussão:** a narrativa do corpo vivido estrutura os processos deliberativos em bioética como processos de compreensão e formação de espectadores médicos do bullying. **Conclusão:** a narrativa do corpo vivido oferece à bioética um modo de pensar sobre a morada do homem. Como forma de habitar o mundo da vida em relação ao outro, a bioética surge como constitutiva do estar no mundo.

**Palavras-chave:** Narrativa; Corpo vivido; Bioética; Deliberação; Metodologia; Fenomenologia.

## Introduction

Bioethics has been regarded from different methodological approaches and a principlist approach has emerged as a prevailing rationality of deliberative processes on principle-based decision making in distinct professional contexts: the physician-patient context is the most recognized and used. (Gracia, 2016). On the one hand, Gerald McKenny (1997) considers bioethics has been limited by biopower when assuming corporeality as technical data that relegates pain/suffering in medical culture. On the other hand, he intercedes for a moral meaning narrative of the lived body in the understanding of said pain/suffering. Despite McKenny's observations, the lived body has not been involved in deliberative processes in bioethics. This exposes an epistemological and methodological gap when uniting the categories of lived body and the deliberative processes in bioethics.

Ten Have (1988) raises the importance of existential identity which arises from the relationship with one's own body or lived body. On the one hand, this corporeality is an existence in which the subject is not separated from the body and rises as the origin of the world's lived experience (Merleau-Ponty, 2013). On the other hand, it is not based on the interpretation of life and what has been lived in the light of principles, but on the narrative constitution of this bodily experience as an understanding strategy. The lived experience as a subject's existential event can be woven from the narrative to build the agent's identity, and, at the same time, this narrative allows for understanding life issues with the other (Merleau-Ponty, 2013; Ricoeur, 2006; Freydell, 2018).

Narrative and lived body are established as categories that from their epistemological and methodological analysis, could provide deliberative processes in bioethics with an understanding of lived experiences in relation to life (Ricoeur, 1999, 2006) and their related phenomena (Merleau-Ponty, 1993, 2013). Both Alastair Campbell (2009) and Juan Lecaros (2016) emphasize the importance of phenomenology in bioethics to address human complexity, whether mental or corporeal. According to these authors, the foundations of bioethics have been forgotten. These foundations seek to preserve a human being's quality of life in the world.

Phenomenology provides the historicity of man's lived experiences, which bring to light what is forgotten in bioethics; in other words, brings recognition of the phenomenological and existential characteristics of a human being in his or her environment. The epistemological development of the research is situated in phenomenology, presenting a dialogue between Merleau-Ponty

(phenomenology of the body) and Ricoeur (hermeneutical phenomenology). This is a dialogue that allows for linking the categories for narrative and lived body with the object to delimit, conceptualize and study deliberative processes in bioethics. Additionally, the methodological development seeks to implement the results of this mentioned dialogue, in the design of a methodology that provides bioethics, specifically deliberative processes, an understanding of lived experiences beyond decision-making.

From this methodological design emerges its validation in a situational pretext that is bullying. Maria Fernanda Enríquez and Fernando Garzón (2015) intercede with methodologies that lead to the narrative reflection of the agent around bioethics, in educational settings in which bullying occurs. However, this methodology could be applied to other scenarios that involve the understanding of lived experiences such as cancer diagnosis or teacher training processes, among others.

Both narrative (Ricoeur, 2006) and lived body (Merleau-Ponty, 2013) are presented temporarily situated in bullying, the agent weaving stories in an intelligible way and endowed with meaning in relation to their corporality: physical suffering is able to be recounted, not as physiological data, but as an expression of a life that can provide meaning. Therefore, bullying as a horizon of analysis of a lived experience can be expressed through the narrative of the agent's lived body. This agent emerges as a unit of work, and his or her narratives of the lived body emerge as a unit of analysis, using narrative biography as a research method (Bolívar, 2002) (Passeggi, 2011).

To define the work unit, studies that focuses on physicians in training and who experienced bullying were collected. The most outstanding study, published in 2017, shows the reality of bullying for residents of medical specialties from a bioethical analysis. One of the recommendations calls for the design of methodologies that lead to the prevention of abuse in medical residents (Derive et al., 2017). Olga Paredes et al., (2010) establish that the violence/bullying experienced in the medical schools in some of the main cities in Colombia, and in work settings, constitute a risk factor that falls on the medical student and the medical professional, deteriorating their performance.

The importance of focusing the research work on the medical professional (graduate) who works in the Capital District (Bogotá DC, in one of its localities) with lived experiences as an observer of bullying, arises to be able to implement in him or her a methodology in which narrative, lived body and deliberative processes in bioethics come into play for the understanding of the phenomenon of school bullying. This leads to the statement of the research problem: What methodology links narrative and lived body in the deliberative processes in bioethics, to understand the experiences lived in the life of graduate physicians who work

in one of the District's localities, as observers of bullying? This question is developed from the following theoretical proposition: the narrative of the lived body in the deliberative processes in bioethics could provide the method of investigative intervention, in the characterization of the Physician who is an observer of bullying, and also a training methodology for the understanding of the vicissitudes of the world of life.

To answer the research question and develop the theoretical proposition, the objective of establishing an intervention-training methodology that links narrative and lived body in the deliberative processes in bioethics, from the narrative documentary and biographical research designs in the qualitative paradigm, is stated to understand the experiences lived in the world of medical graduates who work in one of the District's locations, situated as observers of bullying.

The following structure is presented as the results of the research: methodological framework of the research, epistemological foundation of the intervention methodology-narrative formation of the lived body – from documentary research – design of the methodology intervention-training, validation of the intervention-training methodology – based on a biographical-narrative investigation – presentation, discussion of results and conclusions.

## **Methodological Framework**

The research originates from the formulation of a problem that guides the epistemological and methodological construction of the work. This development requires theorizing, which is achieved through descriptive analysis of the categories involved in the research premise. It seeks to provide clarity to the problem, and alternatively, to find a path that answers the research premise (Ávila, 2006).

Documentary research offers a means to collect information from research done, from the categories of narrative, lived body, and deliberative processes in bioethics: it becomes the central axis in the formulation of the problem, the theoretical proposition and the epistemological development of research work (Franklin, 1997). Documentary research establishes the premise: what are the epistemological elements that would base the methodology of intervention-narrative formation of the lived body for deliberative processes in bioethics? Likewise, it provides the path to materialize the specific objectives of epistemologically grounding the intervention methodology-narrative formation of the lived body,



for deliberative processes in bioethics, and design the intervention-training methodology.

Regarding the specific objective of validating the design of the intervention-training methodology, the narrative presents two modalities, consistent with the hermeneutical circle in phenomenology (Ricoeur, 2000; Passeggi, 2011; Bolívar, 2012; Barrios- Tao, 2018). An instrument for gathering information and narrative analysis in the characterization of the agent is presented as a research method (Polkinghorne, 1995; Bruner, 1991; Bolívar, 2002). Additionally, the same instrument is presented as a training methodology (Cornejo, Mendoza, Rojas, 2008; Passeggi, 2011) that has been elaborated in the training of teachers in the qualitative paradigm (Bolívar, 2012; Huchim, Reyes, 2013). Biographical-narrative research is structured from these two modalities.

In addition, two dimensions are distinguished that are transversal to all research: the epistemological and the methodological. The epistemological dimension tries to establish a link between the categories of narrative, lived body and deliberative processes in bioethics through documentary investigation. The methodological dimension aims to implement the epistemological dimension in a real event – school bullying – for its validation based on narrative biographical research in the qualitative paradigm. The research focuses on the epistemological contribution of the narrative of the lived body to bioethics in its methodological dimension, that is, in deliberative processes.

### **Epistemological Foundation: A Documentary Investigation**

The epistemological foundation of the intervention-formation methodology of the lived body is presented in the theoretical framework divided into two parts: the state of the art and the conceptual commitment (Escorcía, 2010). In the construction of the status of the question, three bibliographic reviews were performed.

The first review examines the category of the lived body in the areas of social, human and health sciences, focusing on deliberative processes in bioethics. The analysis showed that the lived body has been related to philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, education, politics, medicine, ethics, morality and bioethics, (perhaps in lack of incidents) in deliberative bioethical processes. The conclusion was that the lived body in bioethics could link the object body and the subject body in the recognition of the phenomenological characteristics of human nature. However, despite the existence of links between the lived body with bioethics on one hand, and with deliberative processes in

bioethics on the other, when joining these three categories epistemological and methodological gaps appeared was evidenced.

The second review examined the nexus between the concepts of narrative, hermeneutical phenomenology, ethics, and deliberative processes in bioethics. In the analysis, it was found that ethics in hermeneutic phenomenology could lead to thinking of bioethics as constitutive of being in the world of life: the subject is created and re-created at the same moment of being narrated for another. The third review examined the concepts of the lived body, phenomenology of the body, ethics, and deliberative processes. In the same way as in hermeneutical phenomenology, the ethics in the phenomenology of the body could lead us to think of bioethics as constitutive of being in the world of life. Additionally, in the analysis of these last two bibliographic reviews, there were concordances between the hermeneutic phenomenology and the body, based on the concepts of temporality, historicity, schematism, identity and tradition.

In relation to the conceptual wager, two articles of reflection support its premise, which do not define that wager, but do provide conceptual elements for its elaboration. The first article, "Characterization of the narrative agent in lived experiences" (Freydell, 2018) establishes elements of temporality, historicity, tradition and schematism that make the configuration of identity and tradition of the agent possible. The second article, "Identity configuration in the narrative of the lived body" (Freydell, 2019) explores the nexus between the lived body and the narrative, from the phenomenology in the constitution/configuration of the narrative agent of the lived body.

Bioethics, this begins with Van Rensselaer Potter (1971) who advocates addressing long-term human survival, either on existential aspects or on aspects of environmental sustainability of the planet from a holistic view (Schmidt, 2008; Arenas, et al., 2017). This approach focuses on building a knowledge that leads knowledge. On the other hand, Potter's approach to bioethics differs from that developed by André Hellegers, who focuses on ethics applied in the biomedical discipline. "The principles of biomedical ethics" (Beauchamp, Childress, 2001) led to the principlist approach to bioethics (Yagüe, 2014). José Álvarez (2011) considers that principlist approach presents weaknesses due to believing that every problem has a single answer; this approach is increasingly debated. For Gracia (2011) the ethical response, in a world that demands overcoming the decision as an end, must focus on the problem, and thus to get out of dilemmatic situations.

However, bioethics currently presents other approaches that can nourish deliberative processes for decision-making: bioethics with a utilitarian, universalist, personalistic, theological, hermeneutic, narrative approach, among other approaches. The different approaches that have led to a development of

bioethics, start from interpretations of the subject and the world from specific ontologies. Among these approaches, bioethics thought from a hermeneutic rationality places narrative as a form of interpretation of living in deliberative processes (Gracia, 2002; Domingo-Moratalla, 2007; Feito, 2013). However, the contribution of the narrative in bioethics of Gracia, Domingo-Moratalla and Feito, is approached from the argumentation and interpretation in the book *Lo Justo 2* by Ricoeur (applied ethics) and not from the phenomenology present in the books *Oneself as Another* and *Time and Narration*, by the same author. Ricoeur's narrative has not been linked to bioethics since hermeneutic phenomenology, which, in this author's opinion, could provide both epistemological and methodological bases to deliberative processes in bioethics.

Ricoeur (1990) links narrative with ethics by considering that the "subject of ethics" is the one that emerges from narrative identity (p.184). Narrative identity is the result of the agent's examination of events of his life. To deliberate is not about choosing the most suitable means for an end, but about the examination or reflection of a life, a reflection that passes between the bios and the ethos; that is, between life and customs (tradition). The ethics that emerge from hermeneutic phenomenology motivates us to think about bioethics from the existential, from the understanding of lived experiences.

According to Merleau-Ponty (1993), the lived body is not a body or a consciousness with all the characteristics that biology offers. Corporeality is not based on the idealism proposed by the objectivity of reality, but on living character that encloses existence. In this sense, reason is not the one who gives an account of life, but of corporeality. To be of the world is not to possess it, but to be open to its encounter. This revelation of the world is directed to the encounter of one's own existence. It is what Merleau-Ponty (2013) calls phenomenology that "studies the appearance of being in consciousness, rather than assuming given in advance its possibility" (p.82).

Both Anya Daly (2016) and Jairo Gutiérrez (2010), as well as Emmanuel Alloa (2016) agree that the implicit ethics in Merleau-Ponty is based on intersubjectivity, on the relationship with the face of the other; not as a face of physical features, but in the call of the other as corporeality that is set to be inhabited by another corporeality.

The phenomenological bases on which corporeality (lived body) is supported from Husserl to Merleau-Ponty were not linked to bioethics directly, but to ethics. The same thing happened with hermeneutic phenomenology from Dilthey to Ricoeur. Although, this ethic, from the hermeneutic and body phenomenology, is founded as a constitutive character of the human being that makes the possibility of thinking inescapable, reflecting or wondering about one's own understanding of life and life of others in the world, at the same time

that it offers answers to these questions. This ethics implies a subject that is built (made) and formed (re-made) in the same process of living life in relation to others, leading to ethics considered from phenomenology as providing a way of thinking about deliberative processes in bioethics from the existential.

Both phenomenological approaches consider life from different views, one from the bodily, and the other from the narrative; however, Merleau-Ponty and Ricoeur, in a dialogue, agree to identify the concepts of temporality, historicity, schematism, identity and tradition, as epistemological references to research work.

With regard to historicity, a story is presented for that subject that lives as a story that can be narrated as a creative expression of an existence. It provides organization or schematism in a temporal plot with meaning: it is narrated in that time which is able to understand and share; narration that boasts a structure or schematism that is familiar to the narrator and to the listener, a structure that is provided by tradition. Mimesis is presented as schematism to build on dialogue, identity (characterization of the agent), and at the same time, as it is a shared dialogue, tradition is also considered. This schematism offered by mimesis allows for identifying the three moments that the methodology of intervention-narrative formation of the lived body must consider, to provide structure to the deliberative processes in bioethics as processes in which the subject builds his identity, and at the same time is formed, by re-constructing said identity with others. What is sought is that the agent can share with the other the same residence: the world of life.

### **Design of the Intervention-Training Methodology**

The concepts of temporality, historicity, schematism, identity and tradition are built as an epistemological basis in the foundation of methodology of intervention-narrative formation of the lived body (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Methodology of Intervention-narrative Training of the Lived Body

Bioethical deliberative processes A methodology of intervention-narrative training of the lived body						
MO	Procedures	Purposes	Meetings	Activities	Instruments	Results
MIMESIS I: Start of deliberation	Stage I: Sedimentation/ Prefiguration	To mobilize the narrative agent and to establish a bond of co-existence with researcher.	1	Act 1: The researcher recognizes within the world of life a phenomenon that opens up for understanding.  Act 2: The researcher is situated in the phenomenon of interest and identifies the population to work in deliberation.  Act 3: The researcher designs and exposes an ontological question or provocative phrase for the identified population, for the mobilization (intentionality) of those who the phenomenon opens for understanding.	Group of deliberation	Agreement between <i>narrator</i> / researcher and narrator for the understanding of what has been experienced.
		To contain, guide, commit and constitute the narrative agent in a group of deliberation.	2	Act 4: Construction of the coexistence link between the researcher and the mobilized population: explanation of the research project (deliberative process) and ethical aspects of the research.  Act 5: Constitution of the narrative agent of the lived body (the researcher as <i>narrator</i> and the investigated as narrator): the bond of co-existence is verbally sealed (the sample is concreted for deliberation), and proceeds to the explanation of how to make a narrative in which the <i>narrator</i> / researcher and the narrator intervene for the understanding of lived experience.		
		To narrate the experience of the lived body: the problems lived.	3	Act 6: The narrator describes <i>narrator</i> / researcher in a private space that favors co-existence, the lived experience that answers the questions: what happened?, how did it happen? and why do you think this happened?  Act 7: Identification of emotions that refer to the uninhabitability of the world lived in relation to the other, and of the delimitation of the events (phenomenon) to be understood.  Act: 8 Establishment of the main question that guides the development of the deliberation.  Act 9: Transcript of narrative 1 by the <i>narrator</i> /researcher that evidences the historicity of the narrator.	Biographical narratives.	Narrative 1.

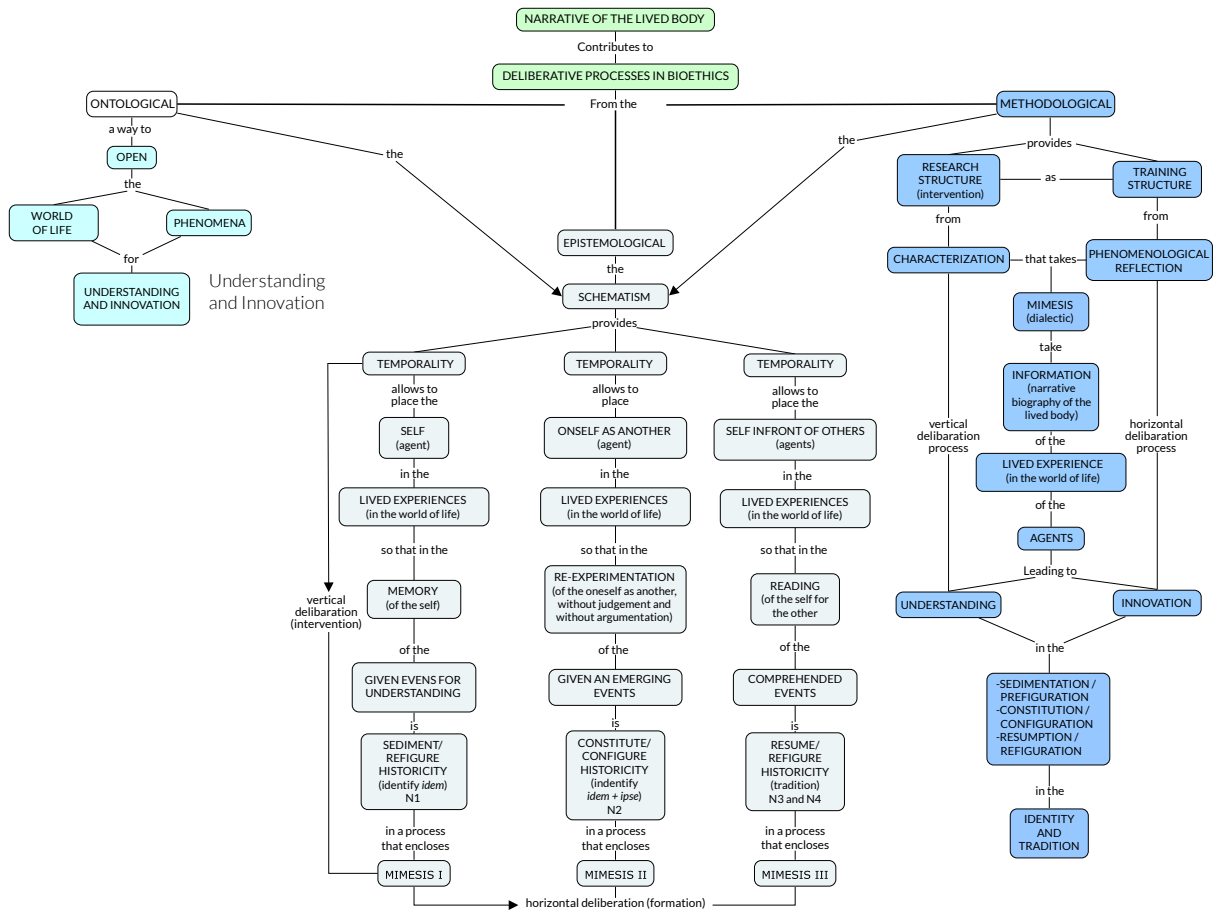
<b>Bioethical deliberative processes</b> <b>A methodology of intervention-narrative training of the lived body</b>						
MO	Procedures	Purposes	Meetings	Activities	Instruments	Results
MIMESIS II: development of deliberation	Stage II: Constitution/ Configuration	To read narrative 1.	4	Act 10: The <i>narrator</i> /researcher reads narrative 1 to the <i>narrator</i> for modification: the narrator is found as another when hearing the narrator/researcher's story.  Act 11: Realize the narrator's emotions when hearing narrative 1.	Biographical narratives	Reading 1.
		To narrate the experience of the lived body: the problems lived.		Act 12: Re-experimentation of the event lived to work and identification of emotions: the narrator is situated in the delimited event.  Act 13: Identification and re-experimentation of events prior to or before the delimited event: to be situated in the previous event.  Act 14: Descriptive identification of emotions when situated in the previous event.  Act 15: Articulation of previous and delimited event in a temporal plot with meaning.  Act 16: Transcript of the session by the <i>narrator</i> /researcher.  Act 17: Reading of the transcription and identification of imbalance of the temporal synthesis between the self as another by the <i>narrator</i> /researcher.		Narrative 2.
		To re-construct (re-do) narratively the experience of the lived body that develops the problem.	5 (Iteration can bring together multiple encounters)	Act 18: Iteration: activities 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 are repeated in each session until all events defined by the narrator end. A meaningful story is built: temporal synthesis between oneself as another.  Act 19: Transcription of final narrative 2 by the <i>narrator</i> /researcher in co-existence with the narrator: narrative 2 joins all the transcripts of the iteration sessions.		

**Bioethical deliberative processes**  
**A methodology of intervention-narrative training of the lived body**

MO	Procedures	Purposes	Meetings	Activities	Instruments	Results
MIESIS III: final of the deliberation	Stage III: Resumption/ Refiguration	To deliberate: the other as an engine of transformation in narrative reading 2 (self versus the other).	6	Act 20: The narrator narrates the other narrative 2 that configures the life story that speaks for him: the face of the other, questions the self historicity for its refiguration.  Act 21: Deliberation describes the observations of narrative agents of the life story that they hear: each narrative agent complements from his perspective the story of the other.	Group of Deliberation and Biographical narratives.	Reading 2.
		To re-construct (re-write) the experience narratively of the lived body that develops the problem.	7	Act 22: Transcription by the <i>narrator/researcher</i> of observations that the readers made of the life story that was staged.  Act 23: From the observations, construction of narrative 3 by the <i>narrator/researcher</i> in co-experience with the narrator.	Biographical narratives.	Narrative 3.
		To understand the experience of the lived body.		Act 24: Resumption/refiguration of what has been experienced in the deliberative process. The narrator in co-existence with the <i>narrator/researcher</i> organize the narratives from the deliberative process (story 1, 2 and 3) to elaborate narrative 4 that evidences the understanding of entire historicity of the narrator/physician, and that answers to the main question: What do I realize about the whole process of deliberation in the face of the problem?  Act 25: Report of the outcome of the deliberation of life stories of narrators and narrative analysis of the <i>narrator/researcher</i> .	Biographical narratives.	Narrative 4.

The three moments that intervention-training methodology must have to provide structure to the deliberative processes in bioethics as comprehension-training processes are as follows (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).

Figure 2 Ontological Epistemological and Methodological Referents





The first moment or mimesis I is related to the beginning of the deliberation; it has to do with the sedimentary or prefigurative characteristics of identity. The second moment or mimesis II is related to the development of deliberation; it has to do with constitutive or configurative characteristics of identity. And the third moment or mimesis III is related to the end of the deliberation; it has to do with the characteristics that make the resumption, the updating or the identity and tradition refiguration possible. Merleau-Ponty in mimesis II offers the process of re-experimentation of the experience of the narrative agent, allowing the past to be brought into the present – the past is re-made in the present with future possibilities. This is achieved from the description resulting from re-living events and emotions from the past, providing a way to collect what has been lived and to turn it toward new ways of articulating a temporal plot with meaning.

Mimesis is developed through two types of deliberations (see figure 2): vertical and horizontal. Vertical deliberation, in the characterization of the narrative agent, is carried out in the three moments mentioned, which allow gathering information on three types of historicities that show three different types of understandings. Mimesis I allows the construction of a historicity on the given aspects of identity that are not yet understood, that is to say, the problem. Mimesis II allows the construction of a historicity that develops the problem, in order to advance from the sedimentary or what is known of the problem in Mimesis I, toward the construction of new plots or ways of seeing the problem, leading to new meanings. And mimesis III allows the construction of a historicity for the re-signification of what is understood in mimesis II, as a consequence of placing the narrative agent on stage in front of another – the other could provide a different understanding, allowing the traditional ways of seeing the world to be updated. In addition, horizontal deliberation collects the three understandings or historicities of vertical deliberation, to show the changes of the narrative agent in his or her understanding of what is experienced.

## **Validation**

The investigation conforms to international regulations in relation to the treaties to which Colombia is a signatory. Additionally, the research complies with resolution 8430/1993, law 1164/2007 and the Deontological and Bioethical Manual of the Psychologist (seventh version). According to Resolution 8430 of 1993, this research work is a risk-free investigation, thanks to the fact that the

collected narratives do not seek to modify the sensitive aspects of the behavior. The researcher is exempted from informed consent.

In biographical-narrative research, mimesis presents a difference with respect to the instruments of quantitative research, specifically in the term of reliability. Reliability is presented as the stability of an instrument in successive measurements and under the same conditions, which yields stable and consistent values in the repeatability of the test. On the one hand, mimesis as an instrument is separated from the concept of reliability of quantitative research, due to the refigurative nature of the narrative of the lived body. In this sense, each time the same theme or event is addressed, the narrator achieves a different understanding. To return to the same narrative is to refigure it; that is to say, each time a lived experience is collected narratively, the same understanding is never reached, as progress is made in new ways of seeing the life and the world.

On the other hand, the validity of the instrument, in relation to the fact that the result of the measurement evidences what it is intended to measure – the performative character of the narrative (of the lived body) in mimesis – leads every narrative to produce the effects that it enunciates (Ricoeur, 1990, 1996). In other words, what is narrated is presented as a commitment to truthfulness.

## **Sample Design**

The research population consists of medical graduates with lived experiences as observers of bullying in the formative stage, and who currently reside in one of the localities of the city of Bogotá. The sample is not clearly known, since bullying is a frequent but not very visible phenomenon; therefore, a convenient selection was required.

The research focused on Physicians who were not studying, but were working. To promote the project, social networks (Facebook and WhatsApp) were used. The following selection criteria was established (sample design): Physicians over 25 years of age who were working and were not undertaking studies, without distinction to sex, race or beliefs, and those ones who have observed bullying during their training stage.

The unit of analysis of the research is the lived body. The resident who is an observer of bullying is one who can account for the lived body narratively and become the unit of work or observation. The discussion of the results will be directed through this type of agent.

## Design of Instruments for Biographical-narrative Research

Biograms, life trajectories, life stories and biographical interviews designed for the development of mimesis as research instruments allowed for the collection and identification of the narratives of the lived body, without seeking to identify or treat sensitive behavioral aspects. These instruments adhere to the regulations regarding confidentiality: narratives provide information with possible value judgments, which could violate the dignity of the narrator, third parties and institutions. Those who had access to the complete investigation with its narratives were the investigator, the director of the investigation and the evaluating juries. In the presentation of results, all the narratives were filtered in order to limit the identification of the narrator, third parties and institutions involved in the narration and maintain confidentiality.

Alternatively, biographical-narrative research enables the encounter between narrator/Physician and narrator/researcher in a co-existence in which narrators/Physicians tell and remake their stories in a construction facilitated by the narrator/researcher. The narrator/Physician does not construct a story to please an investigation, on the contrary, the investigation arises when the narrator/Physician is about to tell the story to the narrator/investigator. The narrator/researcher does not intentionally direct what is narrated, since the reason for its existence is materialized in the empathic accompaniment supported by the body scheme or schematism of the narrative function – it is intended that the narrator/Physician in the co-construction of the story, in company of the narrator/researcher, connects the significance that the lived experience did not have.

The collected narratives are the result of mimesis I, mimesis II and mimesis III. Mimesis arises as a biographical instrument that allows for the gathering of information on what has been experienced (characterization of the narrator/physician) while constructing meaning (formation).

The narrator/researcher, as companion and co-constructor of the biography of the narrator/physician, takes the stories, transcribes them, and together with the narrator/physician, re-makes and re-writes them, to bring to light the meaning of what has been lived: where there was silence, sense emerges. The researcher organizes these stories/narratives to notice the understanding and formation process carried out by the narrator/physician. In addition, the narrator/researcher takes these stories/narratives as the basis for the elaboration of the narrative analysis in the sense of Polkinghorne (1995), Bruner (1991, 2003, 2006), Bolívar and Domínguez (2001), Bolívar (2002, 2012), as well as Bolívar and Domingo (2006). The narrative analysis aims to establish an articulation of the events collected by the narrator, in a temporal plot that provides

meaning to the lived experience, which, in this case, is bullying experienced by Physicians.

## Results

The development of the activities of the intervention-training methodology (deliberation process, Figure 2) resulted in four narratives for each physician, which were subject to narrative analysis.

It is intended to show, from the epistemological foundation and under the concepts of temporality, historicity, schematism, identity and tradition, the structuring of deliberative processes in bioethics as processes of understanding and training. From the epistemological foundation, the ontological and methodological approaches that enable the understanding and training of the agent are derived (or deduced) (see Figure 1). In this analysis, these concepts emerge as *categories of narrative analysis*, which provides the delimitation, conceptualization and study of the categories of the research work: narrative, lived body and bioethics. Therefore, the presentation of results organizes the information from the *categories of narrative analysis*, in order to address the discussion of results. The results of deliberation are displayed both vertically and horizontally. To expose this process, the narratives of physician 2 are presented below.

### **Vertical Deliberation**

The deliberation process begins with sedimentation/prefiguration or mimesis I, starting with the questions, what happened? And how did it happen? in relation to the experiences of observing bullying. The narrators/Physicians evoke from their past lived events of pain/suffering that had not previously been narrated.

Narrative 1 (N1), as a result of mimesis I, exposes the problem in temporality as a testimony of what has been lived:

**N1:** *"I still have dreams<sup>1</sup>, I go back again and I think I have the option of going back, sometimes I come back in the third year, other times I come back in the second year, and others in the first year. [...]. I spent almost three years with*

---

1. The italics that highlight fragments of the narrations are this article's author.

*nightmares*, I dreamed of the magazine, I woke up sweating at night, or I got up at three in the morning and cried all night. *It is a frustration that I will have all my life*" (personal communication, physician N° 2, June 1, 2018).

In this narrative, identity hatches a historicity in the break with the other in the world of life, the anguish that this experience implied in N1 is noticed, an experience not understood that had remained in silence. It denotes the stagnation of the physician in time, when returning to the same event night after night ("*I still have dreams*"), which does not offer possibilities in the future ("*it is a frustration that I will have all my life*"). The narrator/physician begins to open up narratively, providing information in the construction of a problem that speaks of uninhabitability in the world of life with others.

The constitution/configuration of the lived experience follows, the result of mimesis II or development of deliberation. This moment seeks to revive narrative 1 (N1) to build narrative 2 (N2). The narrator/physician begins to elaborate his lived bullying experience, which starts from the misunderstanding that suffering provides (N1), toward a new way of seeing his experience, beyond this suffering (N2).

Narrative 2 (N2) develops temporality as a re-experimentation of the lived experience:

**N2:** "Faced with my partner's situation, when I place myself and relive it, it makes me a little *anguished to see him suffer*, to see that he is having a hard time. *I feel anguish and compassion*. [...] *It is to realize how everything that happens, what I see in the environment, is about me*, what happens to me in life, has a purpose, and *I can only realize the interpretation based on my judgments, on my beliefs, it is my interpretation, I am the creator of that reality*. One becomes more of an observer than a judge of what is happening" (Personal communication, physician N° 2, July 6, 2018).

Identity no longer projects the problematic onto the other, it articulates a historicity in which one's own way of seeing things leads to suffering. An identity that understands itself is woven from the re-experiencing of what has been lived with the other.

Understanding continues its process in the resumption/refiguration in mimesis III. At this moment it is important to raise the voice in the temporality that allows the narrator/physician to situate himself before the face of the other, to establish with him a shared historicity or tradition, the result, narrative 3 (N3).

Narrative 3 (N3), end of the deliberation, exposes temporality as a possibility of the lived experience with the other:

**N3:** "What I think is that we are in such a poor ego system! with such poor thinking! We think we have the knowledge and the truth of things, but, in the end, we don't understand anything. *From the moment one enters the university one is involved in a weak ego that resolves itself by being arrogant with others. Hopefully the healthcare system will change or the model of healthcare thinking will change*" (Personal communication, physician N° 2, August 3, 2018).

Identity weaves a historicity in relation to the other, in which the origin of the problematic can be seen. Identity opens up new possibilities in the relationship with the other, bringing forth tradition.

### Horizontal Deliberation

In addition to the vertical deliberation of characterization, the deliberative processes have a formative structure. Each physician, by observing the different narratives elaborated (N1, N2 and N3) and by listening to the other, was able to notice his or her formative process, an identity open to new meanings. The result, narrative 4, resumes identity and tradition by integrating into the story what the other has to say, completing one's own understanding of it:

**N4:** The most valuable part of the work was realizing that before I used to say: this is the saddest thing, that I don't want to talk about it anymore and leave it buried. Reopening the box of memories and seeing it in a different way, to be able to look at it again and say, what a victim! A cycle that was repeating itself in my life, but I didn't realize it. To take out that old box again and reopen it and look at the story again from the moment I left that on pause, and *to have recognized myself as a victim through the other, like all that role I was playing and to see it from another perspective, to see it from the other*, for me was very valuable" (Personal communication, physician N° 2, September 7, 2018).

In this narrative, the silenced story is staged (*"reopening the box of memories"*), the story is re-experienced (*"it makes me a little anguished to see him suffer"*), allows the story of the other to speak about us (*"to have recognized myself as a victim through the other"*) and guides in the habitability with the other of the world of life (*"that role I was playing and to see it from another perspective, to see it from the other, for me was very valuable"*).

## Discussion

The methodology of intervention-narrative formation of the lived body, aims to collect information in the characterization of the agent in the process of investigative intervention on the past or given experiences, as well as reflect/analyze this information toward understanding the lived experience, without reducing this understanding to the fulfillment of a norm.

Understanding lived events such as those presented in the results, is about knowing what happened before ("*I spent almost three years with nightmares*") and also about the training provided by the narrative itself in articulating new forms of what has been lived, and which can be staged before others ("*to have recognized myself as a victim through the other*"). This is how understanding, methodologically speaking, separates from the technical character, toward a schematism of an ontological character. Being is constitutive as existing in the narrative and corporeal relationship with other existents in the world of life. This leads to the fact that, narrating the lived body, provides the schematism (of the narrative function in Ricoeur and corporeal in Merleau-Ponty) to develop or unfold the understanding of the lived. Deliberation is configured as an ontological and methodological scenario in which this understanding can take place.

By structuring deliberation on the basis of schematism, the synthesis of time is presented that links the lived, the living and the possible from a life of biological structure to a life endowed with meaning: emotions emerge not as organic responses, but as a manifestation of the livability of the world of life ("*It is a frustration that I will have all my life*"). Life is no longer a datum linked to rule-determined decision making, but as emotions come into play in lived experiences, they contribute to the processes of meaning ("*It is to realize how everything that happens, what I see in the environment, is about me*").

In the deliberative processes, both Hans-Georg Gadamer and Diego García seem to intend to eradicate any emotional expression, because of its vitiated role in the process of understanding and decision. However, in eliciting the narratives, in the three moments of the deliberative process (MI, MII and MIII) the narrator/physician permanently linked the understanding with emotions, whether lived ("*I cried all night*") living ("*I feel anguish...*") or possible ("*Hopefully the healthcare system will change*"). To provide the narrative of the lived body with schematism is to enable the linking of emotions in the expression of existence. This leads to deliberative processes in bioethics being processes that transgress organic life toward life endowed with meaning in relationship with others ("*it makes me a little anguished to see him suffer*"). Each narrator/physician was able to move forward in the deliberative process thanks to the face of the other who

presented himself in empathic openness. Downplaying emotions leaves aside the amalgam that sustains the vital networks: the self as other.

Ricoeur (2006) analyzes the following statement: "stories are narrated and not lived; and life is lived and not narrated" (p.9, author's translation). There is a difference between a lived emotion and a narrated emotion. But this division is overcome when narrative and life are intertwined in saying: life is presented as it is lived in the story ("*to look at it again and say, what a victim! A cycle that was repeating itself in my life*"). If temporality is brought from a chronological dimension, the lived is not offered to present understanding. But in the temporality of which phenomenology speaks, specifically from Ricoeur and Merleau-Ponty, the lived continues to inhabit the present understanding ("*to look at the story again from the moment I left that on pause*"). This proposes a historicity endowed with schematism that makes identity and tradition possible. It is in this sense that the narrative of the lived body brings temporality, historicity, schematism, identity and tradition as a way of resuming/refiguring a life that had no meaning to live, in the case of the bullied victim ("*I cried all night*") toward a life with meaning ("*that role I was playing and to see it from another perspective, to see it from the other, for me was very valuable*").

We do not seek to decide whether a situation is good-bad, right-wrong, moral-immoral ("*One becomes more of an observer than a judge of what is happening*"), nor do we seek to argue and interpret principles to facilitate decision-making, but rather to understand the problems in deliberation as an expression of life, an expression in which new ways can be found to articulate the given, the permanent, and the rigid of a life that is not inhabited and understood, toward the possibility of inhabiting the world with other living people as a result of shared understanding (Ricoeur, 1996; Merleau-Ponty, 2013).

As for the formation of the narrator/physician, this was not limited by the chronological dimension of time, but by the narrative of the lived body articulating the temporality required in comprehension, which is different for each narrator/physician. This process cannot be determined by chronological time, since the existence of each narrator/physician in the deliberation takes place in different temporalities, or rather, understanding is achieved through the articulation of events in plots that are not the same for all participating physicians.

The fruit of the deliberation process of the narrators/physician was to resume/refigure an event that was not inhabited or understood, by positing in the present new possibilities for inhabiting that event with others in the lifeworld. The narrator/physician frames the event in a way in which bullying is not relevant, but as a lived experience that provides meaning, a life that is woven as a possibility to be lived ("*what happens to me in life, has a purpose*"):



"the unexamined life is not worthy of being lived" (Plato, Apology of Socrates 38a5-6, author's translation). This contribution of the narrative of the lived body to the deliberative processes in bioethics makes it possible to approach life in a temporality that goes beyond the data as an alternative to the principled approach, or those approaches that seek to respond to a problem in the face of dichotomous possibilities.

The narrative of the lived body provides deliberative processes in bioethics with the constitution of spaces that motivate to transgress the frontiers of insular knowledge, to open up to the knowledge that other disciplines have to share: the other nourishes one's own understanding ("*to have recognized myself ... through the other*"). The communicative bridges that Potter (1971) stressed (bridging bioethics) could be cemented with the narrative of the lived body. These communicative bridges that invite to inter-, multi- and trans-disciplinarity allow the implementation of the methodology in multiple scenarios in which bioethics transits and that demand to consider life and existence from the shared understanding. It is emphasized that the subject integrated in corporeality is more than a mind (reason) or a body operating separately from the other.

Finally, values and morality, although they are the basis for decision making, could deny the life and existence of others when they are not shared, thus creating a dilemma in the bioethical exercise.

In hermeneutic phenomenology (Heidegger, 2003; Gadamer, 2005; Ricoeur, 2004) and of the body (Husserl, 1992; Heidegger, 2003; Marcel, 2003; Merleau-Ponty, 1993) the objective reality of norms and values in the sense of Jacob Rendtorft (2020) is overcome, moving toward a reality that emerges as a vital horizon: the encounter of different identities in a shared understanding provided by reflection (hermeneutic circle or phenomenological reflection). This is how the proposed intervention-training methodology could navigate in dilemmatic scenarios that impede decision making. It could be said that the dilemma arises when a discipline seeks to create an insular approach out of a problem, since the complexity of life is so broad that it would be impossible to answer multiple questions from a single discipline. Consequently, the dilemmas come from the insular disciplines that seek to provide bioethics with a single answer to the problems, and not from bioethics per se.

Bioethics in this phenomenological study does not establish itself as a discipline by taking the ontological characteristics of ethics proposed by Heidegger in "Letters on Humanism," Marcel, Merleau-Ponty and Ricoeur. It would not be appropriate to speak of bioethical dilemmas, since –from the ontological character of bioethics – it invites to access the world of life for its understanding in the reflection with others, a reflection that must be made from the different edges offered by knowledge. Since its inception, bioethics has intended

that the different disciplines open their frontiers of knowledge, to turn dilemmatic problems toward a shared understanding with others of the phenomenon under study (Potter, 1971, Freydell, 2020), which does not necessarily lead to a decision-making process.

## Conclusions

The discussion of the results of the biographical-narrative research takes the concepts of temporality, historicity, schematism, identity and tradition resulting from the documentary research, and discusses them in the light of the implementation of the methodology of narrative intervention-formation of the lived body. The results showed that, despite permanently narrating what has been lived, when we are asked to narrate ourselves for others, structure is required to make sense of what has been lived. In this situation, the narrative of the lived body provides schematism, a way of organizing the information, those lived experiences that have been left in silence, in historicity, and in the history of the lived body.

The lived knowledge that guides knowledge by living in a temporal plot with meaning arises. This historicity allows access to life for its understanding and innovation in relation to others. Life is no longer a datum in the sense of a technique for decision making, but a living expression of the co-existence between identities in a tradition. This leads to the fact that the narrative of the lived body brings to bioethics a way of thinking about the place of residence of the human being as a way of living with others, beyond universal principles. In conclusion, the narrative of the lived body provides bioethics with an ontological character, not becoming something that is carried as an object or that rests in a document for decision making; on the contrary, bioethics is constitutive in being of the world: it emerges at the very moment in which one enters into a relationship with the other, a relationship that strives for co-habitability from the reflection in the world of life.

## References

- Alloa, E. (2016). La palabra oblicua. Merleau-Ponty y los desafíos de una ética indirecta. *Acta mexicana de fenomenología*, 1, 9-28.  
<https://www.alexandria.unisg.ch/247651/>
- Álvarez-Díaz, J. (2011). Retos de la bioética en la medicina del siglo XXI. *Revista Peruana de Medicina Experimental y Salud Pública*, 28, 657-663.  
[http://www.scielo.org.pe/scielo.php?pid=S1726-46342011000400014&script=sci\\_arttext](http://www.scielo.org.pe/scielo.php?pid=S1726-46342011000400014&script=sci_arttext)
- Arenas Quintana, B., Vanegas García, J. H., Quintero González, J. N., Camacho Perdomo, J. E., Vásquez, C., López, J. G., y Correa M., J. P. (2017). Bioética: Contexto e incidencias en el área de la salud de la UAM. *Ánfora*, 10(17), 65-71. <https://doi.org/10.30854/anf.v10.n17.2001.275>
- Ávila, H. (2006). *Introducción a la metodología de la investigación*. Edición Electrónica. <http://blogs.unlp.edu.ar/seminariof2/files/2017/04/Gomez-Intro-Cap2.pdf>
- Barrios-Tao, H. (2018). Racionalidad narrativa en procesos de investigación-formación en educación. *Revista Colombiana de Ciencias Sociales*, 9(2), 10. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/6522136.pdf>
- Bolívar, A. (2002). "¿De nobis ipsis silemus?": Epistemología de la investigación biográfico-narrativa en educación. *Revista electrónica de investigación educativa*, 4(1), 1-26. [http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?pid=S1607-40412002000100003&script=sci\\_arttext](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?pid=S1607-40412002000100003&script=sci_arttext)
- Bolívar, A. (2012). Metodología de la investigación biográfico-narrativa: Recogida y análisis de datos. In M. H, Passeggi; M.H, Abrahao (Eds.), *Dimensões epistemológicas e metodológicas da investigação (auto) biográfica* (1 ed., vol. 1, pp. 79-109). Editora Universitaria da Pontificia Universidad Católica Rio Grande do Sul. [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Antonio-Bolivar/publication/282868267\\_Metodologia\\_de\\_la\\_investigacion\\_biografico-narrativa\\_Recogida\\_y\\_analisis\\_de\\_datos/links/5620d67108aea35f267e7d23/Metodologia-de-la-investigacion-biografico-narrativa-Recogida-y-analisis-de-datos.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Antonio-Bolivar/publication/282868267_Metodologia_de_la_investigacion_biografico-narrativa_Recogida_y_analisis_de_datos/links/5620d67108aea35f267e7d23/Metodologia-de-la-investigacion-biografico-narrativa-Recogida-y-analisis-de-datos.pdf)

- Bolívar, A.; Domínguez, J. (2001). *La investigación biográfico-narrativa en educación: enfoque y metodología*. Grupo Force, Universidad de Granada y Grupo Editorial Universitario.
- Bolívar, A.; Domingo, J. (2006). Biographical and Narrative Research in Iberoamerica: Areas of Development and Current Situation. *Qualitative Social Research*, 7(4), 1-41. <https://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/%20article/view/161/357>
- Bruner, J. (1991). *Actos de significación. Más allá de la revolución cognitiva*. Alianza Editorial.
- Bruner, J. (2003). *La fábrica de historias: derecho, literatura, vida*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Bruner, J. (2006). *Culture, Mind, and Narrative*. Routledge.
- Campbell, A. (2009). *The Body in Bioethics*. Routledge.
- Colegio Colombiano de Psicólogos (2016). *Manual deontológico y bioético del psicólogo quinta versión*. [https://issuu.com/colpsic/docs/acuerdo\\_no\\_15\\_-\\_manual\\_deontologic](https://issuu.com/colpsic/docs/acuerdo_no_15_-_manual_deontologic)
- Cornejo, M.; Mendoza, F; Rojas, R. (2008). La investigación con relatos de vida: Pistas y opciones del diseño metodológico. *Psykhé*, 17(1), 29-39. [https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-22282008000100004&script=sci\\_arttext&tlng=en](https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-22282008000100004&script=sci_arttext&tlng=en)
- Daly, A. (2016). *Merleau-Ponty and the Ethics of Intersubjectivity*. Springer.
- Derive, S.; Casas Martínez, M.; Vera, O.; Gregorio, T.; Villa, A. R.; Contreras, D. (2017). Percepción de maltrato durante la residencia médica en México: medición y análisis bioético. *Investigación en educación médica*, 7(26), 35-44. <http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/iem/v7n26/2007-5057-iem-7-26-35.pdf>
- Domingo-Moratalla, T. (2007). Bioética y hermenéutica: La aportación de Paul Ricoeur a la bioética. *Veritas: revista de filosofía y teología*, 17, 281-312. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/2911/291122924005.pdf>

- Enríquez, M.; Garzón, F. (2015). El acoso escolar. *Revista Saber, Ciencia y Libertad*, 1(10), 219-233. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/2911/291122924005.pdf>
- Escorcía, O. (2010). *Manual para la investigación: Guía para la formulación, desarrollo y divulgación de proyectos*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Feito, L. (2013). Bioética narrativa. *Bulletí del Comitè de Bioètica de Catalunya*, 9, 1-7. [https://canalsalut.gencat.cat/web/.content/\\_Sistema\\_de\\_salut/CBC/recursos/articles\\_opinio/pdf/bioetica\\_narrativa\\_2013.pdf](https://canalsalut.gencat.cat/web/.content/_Sistema_de_salut/CBC/recursos/articles_opinio/pdf/bioetica_narrativa_2013.pdf)
- Franklin, E. (1997). *Organización de Empresas*. Ed. McGraw-Hill.
- Freydell, G. (2018). Caracterización del agente narrativo en las experiencias vividas. *Cuadernos de Filosofía Latinoamericana*, 39(118), 159-176. <https://revistas.usantotomas.edu.co/index.php/cfla/article/download/3886/4579>
- Freydell G. (2019). Configuración de identidad en la narrativa del cuerpo vivido. *Revista Encuentros*, 17(1), 106-118.
- Freydell G. (2020). *Narrativa del cuerpo vivido para procesos deliberativos en Bioética: una metodología de intervención formación, situada en el espectador del acoso escolar* [Ph.d, Dissertation, Universidad Militar Nueva Granada]. <https://repository.unimilitar.edu.co/handle/10654/35995>
- Gadamer, H. (2005). *Verdad y método*. Ediciones Sígueme.
- Gracia, D. (2002). Aportación de la medicina y a la bioética de la ética narrativa y hermenéutica. In J. Sarabia. (Ed.), *La bioética, diálogo verdadero*. (1 ed., vol. 1, pp. 175-202). Asociación de Bioética Fundamental y Clínica.
- Gracia, D. (2011). La deliberación moral en bioética: interdisciplinariedad, pluralidad, especialización. *Ideas y valores: Revista Colombiana de Filosofía*, 60(147), 25-50. <https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/idval/article/viewFile/36771/38740>
- Gracia, D. (2016). Tomar decisiones morales: Del casuismo a la deliberación. *Dilemata*, 20, 15-31. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/5329386.pdf>

- Gutiérrez, J. (2010). Despliegue de la carne, palabra y el rostro: de Merleau-Ponty a Lévinas. *Cuadernos de filosofía latinoamericana*, 31(113), 145-152. <https://revistas.usantotomas.edu.co/index.php/cfla/article/view/681>
- Heidegger, M. (2003). *Ser y Tiempo*. Editorial Trotta.
- Huchim, D.; Reyes, R. (2013). La investigación biográfico-narrativa, una alternativa para el estudio de los docentes. *Actualidades Investigativas en Educación*, 13(3), 1-27. [https://www.scielo.sa.cr/scielo.php?pid=S1409-47032013000300017&script=sci\\_arttext](https://www.scielo.sa.cr/scielo.php?pid=S1409-47032013000300017&script=sci_arttext)
- Husserl, E. (1992). *Fenomenología*. Editorial Paidós.
- Lecaros, J. (2016). La bioética global y la ética de la responsabilidad: una mirada fenomenológica a los orígenes y a los desafíos para el futuro. *Revista Iberoamericana de Bioética*, 1, 1-13. <https://revistas.comillas.edu/index.php/bioetica-revista-iberoamericana/article/download/6770/6576>
- Law 1164 of 2007. [Congress of Colombia]. Whereby provisions are issued regarding Human Resources in Health. October 3, 2007. [https://www.minsalud.gov.co/Normatividad\\_Nuevo/LEY%201164%20DE%202007.pdf](https://www.minsalud.gov.co/Normatividad_Nuevo/LEY%201164%20DE%202007.pdf)
- Marcel, G. (2003). *Ser y tener*. Caparrós editores.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1993). *Fenomenología de la percepción*. Edición Planeta.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (2013). *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Éditions Gallimard.
- McKenny, G. (1997). *To Relieve the Human Condition: Bioethics, Technology, and the Body*. State University of New York Press.
- Paredes, O.; Sanabria, P.; González, L.; Moreno, S. (2010). "Bullying" en las facultades de medicina colombianas, mito o realidad. *Med*, 18(2), 161-172. <http://revistas.unimilitar.edu.co/index.php/rmed/article/download/1309/1039>
- Passeggi, M. (2011). Aproximaciones teóricas a las perspectivas de la investigación (auto) biográfica en educación. *Revista Educación y Pedagogía*, 23(61), 25-40. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/4159459.pdf>

- Platón (2014). *Apología de Sócrates*. (Alejandro G. Vigo, Trad.). Editorial Universitaria. [https://colegiosancarlosquilicura.cl/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/IV%C2%BAMEDIOS\\_FILOSOF%C3%8DA\\_-LIBRO-Apologia-Socrates-Editorial-Universitaria.pdf](https://colegiosancarlosquilicura.cl/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/IV%C2%BAMEDIOS_FILOSOF%C3%8DA_-LIBRO-Apologia-Socrates-Editorial-Universitaria.pdf)
- Polkinghorne, D. (1995). Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 8(1), 5-23. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0951839950080103>
- Potter, V. R. (1971). *Bioethics, bridge to the future*. Prentice Hall.
- Rendtorff, J. D. (2020). Principios éticos de la bioética y el bioderecho europeos: autonomía, dignidad, integridad y vulnerabilidad. *Principia Iuris*, 17(36), 55-67. <http://revistas.ustatunja.edu.co/index.php/piuris/article/view/2062>
- Resolution 8430 of 1993 [Ministry of Health]. By which the scientific, technical and administrative norms for health research are established. October 4, 1993. <https://www.minsalud.gov.co/sites/rid/Lists/BibliotecaDigital/RIDE/DE/DIJ/RESOLUCION-8430-DE-1993.PDF>
- Ricoeur, P. (1990), *Soi-même comme un autre*. Seuil.
- Ricoeur, P. (1996). *Sí mismo como otro*. Siglo XXI editores.
- Ricoeur, P. (1999). *Historia y narratividad*. Paidós.
- Ricoeur, P. (2000). Narrativa, fenomenología y hermenéutica. *Anàlisi*, 25, 189-207. <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/Analisi/article/download/15057/14898>
- Ricoeur, P. (2004). *Tiempo y Narración*. Siglo XXI editores.
- Ricoeur, P. (2006). La vida: un relato en busca de narrador. *Ágora*, 25(2), 9-22. [http://www.relal.org.co/images/eventos/XXIV\\_Retiro\\_de\\_Votos\\_Perpetuos/Documentos/Hno.\\_Luis\\_Bolivar/La\\_Vida\\_en\\_busca\\_de\\_narrador\\_Ricoeur.pdf](http://www.relal.org.co/images/eventos/XXIV_Retiro_de_Votos_Perpetuos/Documentos/Hno._Luis_Bolivar/La_Vida_en_busca_de_narrador_Ricoeur.pdf)

Schmidt, L. (2008). Van Rensselaer Potter: Un paradigma de vida. *Revista de Bioética Latinoamericana*, 1(1), 1-22. [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ludwig\\_Schmidt/publication/265746593\\_VAN\\_RENSSELAER\\_POTTER\\_UN\\_PARADIGMA\\_DE\\_VIDA/links/55b916cf08aed621de086140/VAN-RENSSELAER-POTTER-UN-PARADIGMA-DE-VIDA.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ludwig_Schmidt/publication/265746593_VAN_RENSSELAER_POTTER_UN_PARADIGMA_DE_VIDA/links/55b916cf08aed621de086140/VAN-RENSSELAER-POTTER-UN-PARADIGMA-DE-VIDA.pdf)

Ten Have, H. (1998). Health Care and The Human Body. *Health Care, and Philosophy* 1, 103-105.

Yagüe, J. (2014). El consentimiento informado como herramienta multidisciplinar que favorece la calidad asistencial. In A. Blanco; M. P. Núñez (Eds.), *La Bioética y el Arte de Elegir* (1 ed., vol. 1, pp. 303-311). Asociación de Bioética Fundamental y Clínica.



# Investigaciones —en otras temáticas

Research on other topics

Pesquisa sobre outros tópicos

# Dual State in Colombia: Administrative Department of Security (DAS). Information and Espionage Technologies<sup>1</sup>

[*English Version*]

Estado Dual en Colombia: Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad (D.A.S). Tecnologías de la Información y Espionaje

O Estado Dual na Colômbia: Departamento Administrativo de Segurança (DAS). Tecnologia da Informação e Espionagem

*Received July 20, 2020. Accepted November 17, 2020.*

Andrés-Fernando Orozco-Macías\*\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6778-1153>

Colombia

## Abstract

**Objective:** to determine how the Administrative Department of Security (DAS) and parapolitics led to the emergence of a Dual State. **Methodology:** based on the theoretical perspective of authors such as Fraenkel and Bobbio, a reflective model of the events in the DAS and parapolitics was applied. The information was classified in three categories: a. DAS documents as primary sources, b. Press reports as secondary sources and perspectives of the moment, and c. Analyses of the aforementioned authors in analytically demonstrating the appearance of duality. **Results:** the DAS and the Parapolitics

› To cite this article:

Orozco-Macías, Andrés-Fernando (2021). Dual State in Colombia: Administrative Department of Security (DAS). Information and Espionage Technologies. *Ánfora*, 28(51), 194-215.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.756>

Universidad Autónoma de Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.

E-ISSN 2248-6941.

CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

---

\* Research associated with the History, Work, Society and Culture group; in the line of "Technology and Society", endorsed by Colciencias and the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Medellín headquarters. The author declares that there was no conflict of interest in the execution of the research project.

\*\* Magister in Political Studies. Historian. Researcher of the group "Historia, Trabajo, Sociedad y Cultura" of Universidad Nacional of Colombia, Medellín Headquarters. Email: andresorozco08@gmail.com

disintegrated the unity of the State as a guaranteeing factor for political participation, generating a duality from the politicization of a State organism and the introduction of groups outside the law in positions of power public. **Conclusions:** the ruptures in the integrity of the State as an area that guarantees the security and political participation of citizens, disintegrated at the moment in which the administrative and judicial bodies took a political side and criminalized the opposition sectors, generating a violation of civil and democratic rights.

**Keywords:** Dual state; Espionage; Parapolitics; Information technology; Administrative Department of Security (DAS); Administrative Security Sector.

## Resumen

**Objetivo:** determinar cómo el Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad (D.A.S) y la parapolítica conllevaron a la aparición de un Estado Dual. **Metodología:** con base en la perspectiva teórica de autores como Fraenkel y Bobbio se aplicó un modelo reflexivo de los acontecimientos en el DAS y la parapolítica. La información se clasificó en tres momentos: a. Documentos del DAS como fuentes primarias, b. Informes de prensa como fuentes secundarias y perspectivas del momento, y c. análisis de los autores mencionados para demostrar analíticamente la aparición de la dualidad. **Resultados:** el DAS y la parapolítica desintegraron la unidad del Estado como factor garantista de la participación política, generando una dualidad a partir de la politización de un organismo del Estado y la introducción de grupos al margen de la ley en los puestos de poder público. **Conclusiones:** las rupturas en la integralidad del Estado como ámbito garantista de la seguridad y la participación política de los ciudadanos, se desintegró en el momento en que los órganos administrativos y judiciales toman partido político y criminalizan a los sectores de oposición, generando vulneración de derechos civiles y democráticos.

**Palabras-clave:** Estado Dual; Espionaje; Parapolítica; Tecnologías de la Información; Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad (DAS); Sector Administrativo de Seguridad.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** determinar como o Departamento Administrativo de Segurança (DAS) e os parapolíticos levaram ao surgimento de um Estado Dual. **Metodologia:** com base na perspectiva teórica de autores como Fraenkel e Bobbio, foi aplicado um modelo reflexivo dos eventos do DAS e da parapolítica. As informações foram classificadas em três momentos: a. Documentos DAS como fontes primárias, b. Reportagens da imprensa como fontes secundárias e perspectivas do momento, e c. Análise dos autores citados para demonstrar analiticamente o surgimento da dualidade. **Resultados:** o DAS e os parapolíticos desintegraram a unidade do Estado como fator garantidor da participação política, gerando uma dualidade a partir da politização de um organismo estatal e da introdução de grupos fora da lei em cargos de poder público. **Conclusões:** as rupturas na integralidade do Estado como espaço garantidor da segurança e da participação política dos cidadãos, desintegrada no momento em que os órgãos administrativos e judiciais tomam partido político e criminalizam os setores da oposição, gerando infração civil e direitos democráticos.

**Palavras-chave:** Estado dual; Espionagem; Parapolíticos; Tecnologias da informação; Departamento Administrativo de Segurança (DAS); Setor de Segurança Administrativa.

## Introduction

The States of the world did not hesitate to take advantage of the changes and technological advances developed in the last half of the 20th century to equip their administrative bodies with security. In Colombia, since 2002, Álvaro Uribe's democratic security policy renewed the military and technological sectors to counteract the advance of illegal groups, reinforced with Plan Colombia, which was accompanied by an anti-insurgent discourse that was aligned with the international fight against terrorism and the strategic interests of the United States in Colombia.

In this area, administrative bodies of the State such as the DAS, ended up assuming a position as a political police force, that is; a secret police of a political party and not of an integral body of defense of the State, with the scandal of the *DAS "chuzadas"* (*phone tapings*) of politicians, opposition magistrates, journalists, artists, intellectuals, academics and university professors during the Uribe government, reducing the national security policy by using civil defense mechanisms for the protection of private interests.

In that same vein, the paramilitary advance promoted, in different Colombian territories, political candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives, that forced populations and citizens to vote for certain politicians to fill the seats of Congress, mayors and governments (López, 2010).

These two events made it possible to investigate, from an analytical-reflective perspective, what type of state model emerged to allow such actions? From the theoretical analysis, authors such as Max Weber (2012) and Schmitt (2016) were found, who establish the clear differences between the sphere of the State and that of the government, as well as that of politicians and their differences with the legal-administrative function as an integral part of the State, allowing a context of unity in which there should be no ruptures.

When analyzing the situation of the DAS in Colombia, it was observed that this administrative integrity was broken, for which authors such as Fraenkel (2010) and Bobbio (2016), provided conceptual tools to understand these dualities of the States when an organism like the DAS is politicized, ceasing to fulfill the civil functions conferred by the political constitution.

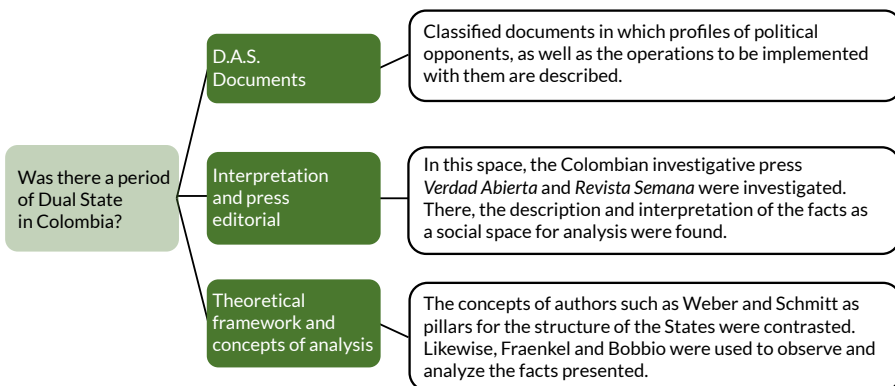
## Methodology

The research applied a theoretical reflection based on the events in the Colombian political sphere over the last 20 years, from which the question arose: To what type of sociological and political phenomena do events like the *DAS "chuzadas"* (phone tapings) and the *parapolitics* correspond? Added to this content was the appearance and adaptation of new information technologies that made the field of analysis more complex.

Using theoretical analysis to understand phenomena that were detached from the unified action of the State, little-treated concepts were reviewed on issues of *failed States* or *Double States*. Authors such as Ernst Fraenkel (2010) who, from the historical perspective of National Socialism, proposed an alternative that he called *Prerogative State* and *Normative State*, allowing for the establishment of the differences that give birth to a Dual State.

These concepts made it possible to analyze, from the events in the DAS and some aspects of parapolitics, the development of the Colombian political reality. Likewise, basic analysis in the study of States, such as that of Weber (2012), allowed us to understand the historical structure of what fosters the formation of a State, leading to fundamental contrasts to demonstrate the duality in the period of government of Álvaro Uribe.

Figure 1. Diagram shows the research question and the classification of the information for reflective analysis



The investigation had access to primary sources such as the DAS reports, and press reports from the last 15 years in Colombia such as the magazine *Semana* and the news program *Verdad Abierta*. The DAS documents allowed for a direct examination of the theoretical resource and the press documents an analysis of the interpretive processes of the political reality of the moment. With this, a contrast of the primary documents, the interpretation of the investigative press and the theoretical sources was achieved, to find the ruptures of the uniqueness of the State from the theoretical aspect that leads to an analysis of duality.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### ***Dual State: from Weber to Fraenkel and Bobbio***

It seems that duality in the social and cultural frameworks of humanity has always been present. The Catholic Church demonized those who did not establish proper behavior guidelines to Christianity, almost a millennium later psychiatry labeled them as *schizophrenics* or *multiple personality*. Literature was not far behind. Allan Poe (2019), with his story *William Wilson*, describes the life of two men with the same historical background, the same name and a similar personality, who hate, repel and detest each other, to the point that one of them murdered the other, not knowing that he murdered himself.

These human dualities are present in the emergence of modern states, which were supposed to be a solid and unified structure, with bureaucratically organized and legitimized institutions working in a systematic order, either through legal, traditional or charismatic domination (Weber, 2012). But in its internal structure, it seems to lose administrative control leading it to follow the interests of individuals and political parties, creating a kind of *William Wilson* (Poe, 2019) that wants to remain in force as absolute power, but assassinates himself with the political powers that act without validity of the constitutional order.

Weber (2012) recognizes the State as a permanent unit for the maintenance of power through the different types of domination that, in turn, is integrated by means of administrative-bureaucratic apparatuses that support the State as a functional unit. But, for the unit to be supported, the officials of these State structures must:

1. Be free from the personal point of view and are only subject to obedience in their official impersonal obligations
2. Be organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of positions
3. Have a clear delimitation of official powers
4. Subject the civil servants to strict and systematic discipline and control of their behavior in office (2012, p. 83). [Author's translation]

For Weber, these actions by officials are what allow the historical unity of the modern State, which avoids any fracture in its formation process, as well as the appearance of *Failed States*. In that same vein, the structure of the law and the constitutions are essential to impersonalizing legal power as the administrative essence of the States.

For this reason, Carl Schmitt (2016) in *The Concept of the Political*, analyzes the French *mobile politique*, with the aim of distinguishing between governmental acts that are essentially political and administrative acts that are “non-political,” and able to bring the former under the control of administrative justice. It is there where the political and ideological action of political programs acquires a limit thanks to legal practice.

Policy for Schmitt is based on the intense practice of *friends-enemies*, as the supreme dialectic of political discussion, but not from a personalized hatred, “the enemy is not, therefore, just any competitor or adversary. Nor is the private adversary detested on the grounds of sentiment or antipathy. [...] It is only the *public enemy*” (Schmitt, 2016, p. 61) [Author's translation].

Schmitt makes clear reference to the enemy as an extreme opponent in the political debate, even ideological, but identifies the need for the unified State to generate the space for these political oppositions, without affecting the administrative and legal structure that supports it:

However, also in these cases the concept of the political continues to be built from an antagonistic opposition within the State, although this is relativized by the mere existence of the political unity of the State that encloses in itself all other oppositions (Schmitt, 2016, p. 62). [Author's translation].

It makes it clear that political differences must maintain the validity of the State, avoiding the personal use of its administrative bodies. No matter how strong the opposition, the bureaucratic organization as an administrative act



must be maintained to guarantee the opposition of ideas as the main political and *democratic* act.

Schmitt's (2016) ideas arrived at a conjunctural moment for the growing democracies of the first and second half of the 20th century. The seizure of power of some administrative bodies by the National Socialists in Germany, began to show that ideologies were superimposed on the acts and administrative tasks of the States, which began to use their administrative institutions to personalize the power of an ideology.

Ernst Fraenkel (2010) reflected in a text published by *Oxford University* in 1941, entitled *The Dual State*, the way in which the nazi party separates the unity of the administrative-bureaucratic State proposed by Weber (2012), from a State of personalized decisions, ideological validity and a decline of civil rights, identifying this division in two moments: *The Prerogative State* and *The Normative State*.

While *The Normative State* wants to keep the constitution and laws in force to guarantee political participation, *The Prerogative State* abolishes the validity of these and replaces them by the need for a *national security* to exceed the limits of the administrative and legal acts:

[The Prerogative State] No delimitation of jurisdiction is provided for. Political officials may be instruments of the state or the party. The jurisdiction of party and state officials is not subjected to general regulations and in practice is flexible (Fraenkel, 2010, p. 7). [author's translation].

Officials and administrative institutions of the State remain at the disposal not of the administrative act governed by the constitution and the law, but of the party programs and the ideological needs that they wish to impart there. In the case of Nazi Germany, Hitler exposes the decree of *February 28, 1933*, when he suspended constitutional rights and created a state of emergency in which he could promulgate any decree without institutional regulation or approval by Congress.

Fraenkel (2010) forcefully establishes the way in which *The Prerogative State* breaks its relationship with administrative and legal acts, avoiding the rule of law, thus establishing a theoretical contribution to the development of dictatorships within the framework of the nascent western democracies of the 20th century.

The duality of the States arises at that moment when civil rights and administrative institutions disappear, to leave the actions of the current government parties in full swing. But in the 21st century, the validity of these dualities is sustained in a more sophisticated way, maintaining the appearance of civil rights and the rule of law in the media, in the midst of political parties that seize the

power of the State to use its administrative organs in favor of their political agendas (Weber, 2012).

These sophisticated forms of duality, where there is an *apparent* respect for the constitution and the laws on the part of the parties and their members, bores tunnels into democracy and against the political opposition of the parties that do not govern from the same administrative offices of the State. Bobbio (2016) recognized that the origins of the division of the rule of law and democracy are hidden behind the facades of state institutions that use the constitution, laws and now, the media as a principle of opportunity.

There are party decisions that violate democratic actions. For this reason, the performance of invisible powers under the State's cloak ends up covering the same actions that would be performed in a dictatorship, only that the constitutional applicability of the concept of democracy forces us to avoid such actions in public visibility.

Bobbio (2016) cites three modalities in which the State can be divided, even to the point of destroying it. The first has to do with invisible forces, mostly clandestine, such as illegal organizations, mafias and terrorist organizations; the second form is the *political sects* that enter into corrupt alliances with private sectors giving a mold to corruption. The third modality analyzes it from the same officials who act as invisible power within the same structures of the State:

These are the secret services, whose degeneration can give rise to a form of government that is not properly hidden. The secret service available to each state is, it is said, a necessary evil. However, this is compatible with democracy with only one condition, that they are under the control of the government (Bobbio, 2015, p. 32). [Author's translation].

What is problematic is when these secret organizations for the defense of the States become organisms for the protection of the political party that owns the government of the day, confusing the defense of the State with the defense of the political ideas of the party that it leads, as argues Fraenkel (2010) with *The Prerogative State*, where all opposition becomes criminal.

Precisely the sophisticated aspect of the current dual states that govern even with illegal forces is that they turn the opponent into a criminal, closing the democratic avenues of participation and legitimizing violent actions against opponents, expanding the fields of violent action among the different political thoughts. which should compose the total unity of a State.

Another aspect of this sophistication is that the States have begun to use the media to legitimize violent actions against the opposition, not only labeling them, but also using *Fake News* and cyber espionage; This is linked to two

aspects: the proliferation of ICTs and the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 against the United States, which justified new forms of espionage and global surveillance against *terrorism*.

### ***September 11, 2001 and Terrorism as a Justification for Espionage***

The paradox of power seems to be in giving more freedoms by risking the integrity of the State, or constantly monitoring to protect its integrity, denigrating the principles of equality and privacy. As Orwell (2018) puts it in *1984*, in a vigilant State in constant control of the actions and even the thoughts of its citizens, there were no opponents, only public enemies of the State:

The amalgamation between political delinquency (named terrorism) and criminality are used as an argument to justify the effort of repressive policies, as well as to generate a new mode of consensus based on suspicion and fear. The figure of the terrorist, both internal and external, has made it possible to synthesize threats of an international nature, as well as social and political (Mattelart and Vitalis, 2015, p. 111). [Author's translation].

That concept of *terrorism* gave space for the governments of the world's states to increase their actions of persecution and surveillance both nationally and internationally. The main event that led to the mediatization and expansion of the concept as a preventive measure of the States, was the event of September 11, 2001 with the fall of the Twin Towers in New York, which according to David Lyon (2008), allowed the intensification of espionage and surveillance, not only of enemies, but also of opponents:

Civil liberties have fallen on hard times since 9/11. New laws and technologies disregard or deny them. They are easy to demolish, difficult to repair. The much-cherished belief in the fairness of a society in which opportunities are reputedly open to all has also been tarnished since 9/11. New York's other famous symbol, the Statue of Liberty, must weep on her stand. True, the USA has never managed to live up to its noble claim to be a society of equality. But since the events of 2001, already existing inequalities and disadvantage are set to be reinforced. In wartime, hostile defenses are raised against the other, the enemy, and a culture of suspicion emerges, from which no one is exempt. This "war" is no exception (Lyon, 2008, p. 42) [Author's translation].

For Lyon, 9/11 was the key event in the transcendental changes in the internal security of the United States, it also renewed the model of diplomatic relations with extremist groups. President George Bush, through the different media, promoted the foreign policy of *Axis of Evil* and pointed out the concept of terrorism as a key against anyone who threatens the security of the United States.

The foregoing precedent was justification for US security agencies, like their allied countries around the world, to use state intelligence agencies to spy on and persecute *anyone who represented a threat to national security*, to this, new technologies were available. To this was added that a large part of the world population began to use emails and the Internet for their searches, therefore, cyberspace, an inhospitable place "also needed *security*," netizens began to assimilate the surveillance of the State on Internet as a *necessary evil*.

Alongside the more familiar state and societal surveillance, a surveillance culture is quietly appearing in which it is hard if not impossible not to participate. It is a fluid form of surveillance, constantly melting, morphing and merging, in ways that reflect the liquidity of data flows that characterizes what happens both in security intelligence agencies like the NSA and internet companies such as Amazon. But to focus on the cultural, our perspective must pull round from the panoptic to the performative, and to the roles people play across the spectrum from supporting to subverting surveillance. To grasp all this means delving more deeply into the culture of surveillance in all its variety and variation (Lyon, 2018, p. 54) [Author's translation].

The advancement of digital social networks contributed increasingly to Silicon Valley, with the support of the State, to increase its database on countries and their citizens much more. For Lyon, after 9/11, the United States introduced a culture of surveillance and approach to data in an effective and fast way. Both Lyon (2018) and the current philosopher Byung-Chul Han (2016), consider that people have implemented a panopticon in themselves, which forces them to capture their data and daily activities online, which increase not only the power of the State over them, but also the power of the markets.

## Results

### The Colombian State and the DAS as a Political Instrument

The investigative gaze in Colombia in the construction of a duality based on the capture of the institutions and state entities is collected by Claudia López (2010) in a broad investigation that accounts for the way in which “Mayors, Governors and Congressmen of Colombia of the last decade could have been promoted by the paramilitarism and that they co-governed with them, and others with the guerrillas” (p. 30) [Author’s translation]. Like other investigations, that of López consolidates through figures from political campaigns certified by the paramilitary, how these new public officials were not so illegal and clandestine, but ended up assuming the legal power of the Colombian State (Álvaro, 2007; Rodríguez, 2017).

Factors such as the expansion and paramilitary withdrawal in the national territory of Colombia, ended up configuring specific factors of territorial power in the areas occupied by insurgencies such as the FARC, configured political hegemonies that promoted the seizure of power strengthened by a discourse of construction of the enemy and security as a priority need for Colombia (Cardona, 2016; Ávila, 2019).

The discourse on the fight against terrorism in Colombia during the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez, became national policy as of 2002 with the Democratic Security Defense Policy program, which sought through military means, to definitively eliminate the guerrilla organizations that operated in different parts of the Colombian national territory.

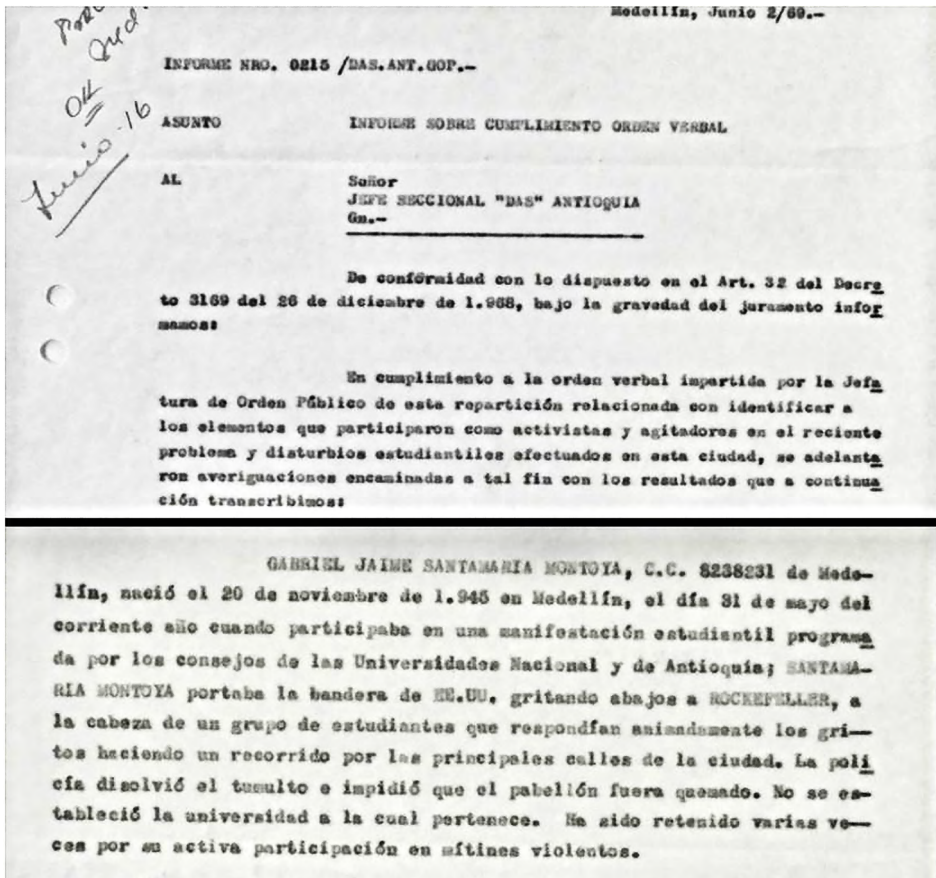
For this, all the security and defense agencies of the State were optimized, in order to close the military channels to the organizations that, from insurgents, became terrorists, according to Bush's speech and his international policy, applied and accepted in Colombia by President Álvaro Uribe.

On February 21, 2009, the magazine *Semana* “El Das sigue chuzando,” 2009 (Semana, 2009) revealed that various people from the government's political opposition at that time were being phone tapped, as their emails were also intercepted. The Administrative Department of Security (DAS) was the protagonist of this event that revealed to the country a new way to disintegrate the opposition and political participation.

The DAS had the power to protect national security, but not to prosecute political opposition. The development of this network can be seen since 1989 with the assassination of the vice president of the Departmental Assembly of Antioquia and deputy for the Patriotic Union Gabriel Jaime Santamaría, which was recorded in the DAS Antioquia report No. 0215, in which his resume and

political actions were briefly described and designated in the report as a national danger and not as a political opposition.

Figure 2. Report of D.A.S No. 0215 Antioquia Section, in Which Political Opponents are Classified in 1969



Note. Document obtained by Juan Diego Restrepo (2018)

This systematic task of the DAS for persecuting left-wing political leaders, infiltrating social movements and other organizations against the regime, demonstrated this institution of the State, not as an organ of defense, but of protection of very determined political interests.

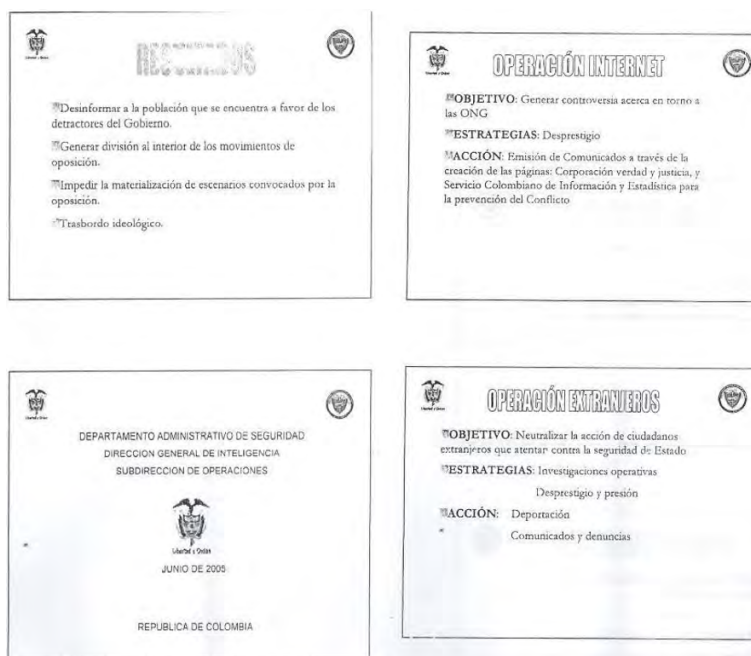
On April 13, 2010, Colombian journalist Juan Gossáin revealed to the country documents seized from the DAS by the Colombian Prosecutor's Office,

which described the procedures that the DAS officials carried out against the political opposition, which consisted of three levels:

1. Smearing political opponents through montages on social networks and the media.
2. Persecution.
3. Interception of personal information and delivery of documents and information to paramilitary organizations.

The latter was confirmed when the DAS provided the paramilitary Jorge 40 with information on activists and social leaders on the Atlantic coast, in which the murder of Professor Alfredo Correa de Andreis was carried out through a DAS setup (The DAS black list, 2011), similar to those presented below.

**Figure 3.** Document seized by the Office of the Attorney General of the Nation in Colombia in the archives of the DAS, obtained by the reporter José Antonio Caballero and published by the journalist Juan Gossaín on 04/13/2010



**Note.** Taken from the Interchurch Commission for Justice and Peace (2010)

The documents also exposed the statement of the paramilitary Diego Fernando Murillo, *also known as Don Berna*, who declared “that State agents supported the AUC in the murders of Mario Calderón and Elsa Alvarado, and Jaime Garzón” (The DAS black list, 2011) [Author’s translation].

What is stated by Weber (2012) in the basic principles for the unity and conformation of States, is violated by these actions, in principle, because one of the current activities of the secret-administrative bodies of the State is to protect the sovereignty and the national security, not to attack or criminalize opposition sectors, for example as happened with the Assemblyman of Antioquia, Gabriel Jaime Santamaría, with Correa de Andreis and other political leaders who since the 1980s were systematically persecuted, disappeared and assassinated by the DAS.

There, the delimitations of the official powers of the officials who were part of this State body were broken, causing them to put aside their official functions to assume the position of party mercenaries and adhere to a government sector with a lack of legal and administrative independence; In other words, its function of State disappears, leaving the civilian population unprotected as an integral part of it.

The other part, from the Weberian perspective, is that the civil servants follow orders of the party and do not respond to the needs of the State, like the other organizations as control factors of the due administrative processes end up mired in the Corruption factor to protect the interests of officials who act in accordance with the requirements of the ruling party.

When officials do not recognize administrative and legal principles, it is the first tear for the State in assuming a duality that in appearance is normative, but in the other aspect they use their bodies to unbalance the opposition, not through parliamentary debate, but with threats, disappearances and organized crime with the resources of the State.

From this scope, Bobbio (2016) opens the debate in a more specific and concrete way, by blurring the idea that the enemies of the State with all its constitutional and legal acts are external, such as guerrillas and criminal organizations.

What Bobbio illustrates is that these dark sectors have managed to penetrate the spheres of the States, as happened with the relationship between a high sector of the DAS with the paramilitaries, as well as the appearance of the Parapolítica (paramilitary politicians) as the hegemony of parliamentarians and local governments promoted by a criminal organization:

At the time of writing this balance, the national press reports that 34 of 102 Senators elected in 2006, 33%, are being investigated for links with narco-paramilitarism, as well as 25 of 168 Representatives to the House, 15%. These figures show that narco-paramilitarism far exceeded the infiltration capacity that



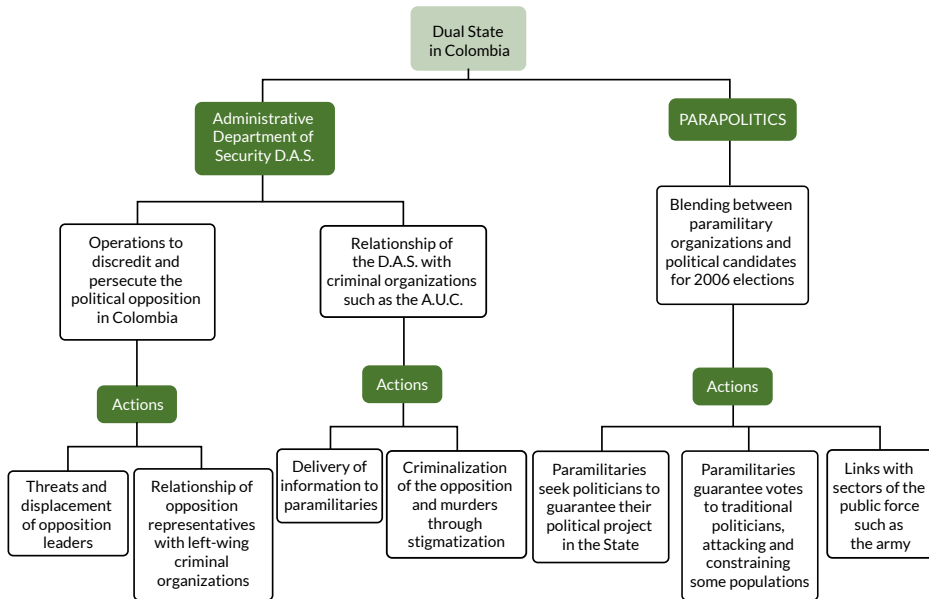
drug trafficking had previously. When Pablo Escobar was elected to the House of Representatives in 1982, his vote and his formula were equal to less than 1% of the Senate vote. When it was discovered that the Cali Cartel massively infiltrated the campaigns in 1994, those convicted represented the equivalent of 8% of the Senate vote and if others involved in the process were added 8,000 would equal 12% of the Senate vote. Those investigated for drug paramilitarism are equivalent to 35% of seats and 25% of the Senate vote in 2006. This constant growth indicates that drug trafficking has been refining the methods of infiltration of political power and increasing its level of "success" (López and Sevillano, 2008, p. 1). [Author's translation].

The most representative sectors of democracies, such as the representatives of the Congress, were elected in 2006 under the influence of paramilitary sectors where voters were threatened, democratic participation was provoked through fear, that is, a terrorist organization such as the AUC ended up shaping the political landscape of Colombia in that period (Rodríguez, 2017). In terms of Fraenkel (2010), *The Prerogative State* annulled in itself the constitutional act of the right to free and secret vote and used this as a mechanism to tear the State apart in its democratic uniqueness.

At this level, some factors end up intervening, analyzed by Bobbio (2016), such as those organizations that want to destroy the State in order to establish a political and ideological order through it and the officials and institutions that use the organs and means of the State for protection of their political agendas. The DAS, as a secret and protective body of the Colombian State, ended up granting administrative instruments and means to criminal organizations, leaving a sector of the population unprotected.

This infiltration of representatives of paramilitarism and their ideas demonstrates an instrumentalization of the State, a duality between government members and opponents of the government, where the only ones who could use the instruments of protection of the State ended up being the political party that governed at that time. Like the metaphor of Allan Poe's story with *William Wilson*, this environment sought the division and murder of the state itself as a guarantor of opposition participation, as illustrated below.

**Figura 4.** Development, Connections and Actions of the DAS and Paramilitarism. It illustrates in a general way the procedures and structures of its development



As the diagram supports, the actions of the DAS are structured in two moments:

- a. The smear of the opposition with the information obtained through illegal interceptions (Phone tapping).
- b. The criminalization of the opposition to cauterize and even justify the murder at the hands of parastatal organizations.

This antecedent of division between an administrative area of the State such as the DAS and its union with the paramilitaries, demonstrates the fragmentation of the State as an autonomous power proposed by the theorists Weber (2010) and Schmitt (2016).

The parapolitics demonstrated that the disintegration of the rule of law finally consummated the legal and constitutional alternatives that kept it alive, to give way to a politicized sector that did not have the constitutional factor as

a current act for political participation, but instead instrumentalized weapons as a factor of mobilization for the democratic act of voting. There, the rule of law disappears, as well as the administrative bodies that protect it, leaving a wide state vacuum for the defense of the constitution and the laws that protect political thoughts and the free right to debate and democratic participation.

The concept of terrorism was also used by paramilitary organizations to intensify their armed actions. Therefore, the goal of the relationship between DAS officials and the paramilitaries was always the elimination of the insurgency, giving way to the illegal organizations of the State, which, in turn, destroyed the administrative structures of same (Bobbio, 2016), thus achieving the capture of their administrative instruments.

All the events with the DAS, until its final closure in October 2011, finally led to a political debate about the responsibility of the State with the protection of the personal data of each citizen (Martínez, 2016); From there came Decree 1704 of 2012 (Ministry of Information Technologies and Communications [MINTIC], 2012) that repealed Decree 075/2006, which allowed the interception of calls or any other type of technological communication, without prior court order. This did not mean an advance in the area of Human Rights in Colombia, but a constraint on due process that requires judicial permission for such exercise.

However, technological processes continued to advance, as did their adaptation to state security. Thus, in 2013, after the implementation of Decree 1704 of 2012, the National Police of Colombia put into operation the Unique Monitoring and Analysis Platform (PUMA), in which all types of content exposed on social networks that operate on the internet (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) can be intercepted (Cortés, 2014). After the platform was adapted, the following year the magazine *Semana* ("The Raids Begin," 2014) published an investigation in which it revealed that conversations with the FARC Guerrilla in Havana were being spied on.

This only showed that the political mechanisms of the DAS had been transferred to another state control body such as the police. Again, another stage of violation in which privacy and political participation are threatened by the injection of technological means into the lives of citizens.

The need to be connected for these new forms of socialization does not involve the infiltration of State agents, as happened with the Assemblyman of Antioquia Gabriel Jaime Saldarriaga, but as stated by Assange himself (2013):

When you communicate over the internet, when you communicate using cell phones, which are now fused with the internet, your communications are being intercepted by military intelligence organizations. It is like having a tank in your room. Or a soldier between you and your wife while you sleep (p. 39). [Author's translation].

## Conclusions

The origin of the State is allowed in social spheres as a mode of protection in power relations (Hobbes, 2017), as well as a dominant factor that regulates these relations through the administrative act of maintaining justice. The justice factor is decisive in the maintenance of peace and social order; without justice, diversionary factors begin that lead to armed violence.

Until today, no more powerful factors are known for the social order such as States (Tilly, 1992); they concentrate in themselves the monopoly of arms and the legitimate force that allows violence against those who do not adapt to the established social order. It is from civil disobedience, where the insurgency is born that leads the States to seek internal and external defense mechanisms for their own maintenance and validity in society.

As analyzed in the theoretical corpus, the States must function as an administrative unit that guarantees all the processes of social and political order. That is why Schmitt (2016) himself, who participated in the National Socialist movement in Germany, recognized the difference between the administrative and political spheres and that the confusion between the functions of both can lead to the emergence of dictatorships, failed states, recruitment of public power or States with duality functions.

These dualities appear when another entity in the same state corpus develops functions other than administrative and legal control processes. There, the importance of the theoretical development of Fraenkel (2010) is recognized, who identified in the social structures of National Socialism, *A Prerogative State* that does not take into account the constitution or the laws when making political decisions. And it is that every political decision has a *friend-enemy* opposition load as characterized by Schmitt (2016), so it needs legal regulation.

In the Colombian case, the DAS demonstrated how the State that guarantees political participation is cauterized and externalizes the other as a potential

enemy. In the first place, it is pursued as a latent danger, not for the social sphere of citizens, but for the political party that governs at that time. The DAS caused a fracture in the concept of legitimate trust that citizens place in the administrative entities of the State, and a tear in the unity of the State, causing a duality of political origin.

When there is no administrative unit, the anarchic function takes power in the space of participation, as the case briefly analyzed with parapolitics. And as for the use of arms and organizations outside the law to promote political representatives, it shows that these counter-state and para-state organizations cannot guarantee civil or constitutional rights because they are not in the order of the law, but of an ideology or a particular interest such as drug trafficking.

## References

- Álvaro, M. (2007). La Parapolítica: la infiltración paramilitar en la clase política colombiana. *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 1-15.  
<https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.4636>
- Assange, J. (2013). *Criptopunks*. Trilce.
- Ávila, A. (2019). *Detrás de la guerra en Colombia*. Planeta.
- Bobbio, N. (2016). *Democracia y secreto*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Cardona, M. (2016). *La culebra sigue viva: miedo y política*. Centro Editorial FCHE.
- Comienzan los allanamientos. (February 3, 2014). *Semana*. <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/chuzadas-equipo-negociador-en-la-habana/376085-3/>
- Cortés, C. (2014). *Vigilancia de las comunicaciones en Colombia*. Dejusticia.
- El DAS sigue chuzando. (February 20, 2009). *Semana*. <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/el-das-sigue-grabando/100370-3/>

- Fraenkel, E. (2010). *The dual State*. Oxford University Press.
- Han, B. (2016). *Psicopolítica*. Herder.
- Hobbes, T. (2017). *Leviatán*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- La lista negra del DAS. (September 14, 2011). *VerdadAbierta.com*.  
<https://verdadabierta.com/la-lista-negra-del-das/>
- López, C., Sevillano, Ó. (2008). *Balance político de la parapolítica*. IdeasPaz, Fundación Ideas para la Paz. 62-87. <http://www.ideaspaz.org/tools/download/54297>
- López, C. (2010). *Y refundaron la patria... De cómo mafiosos y políticos reconfiguraron el Estado colombiano*. Random House Mondadori.
- Lyon, D. (2008). *Surveillance after september 11*. Polity Press.
- Lyon, D. (2018). *The culture of surveillance*. Polity Press.
- Martínez, J. (2016). *ChuzasDAS*. Ediciones B.
- Mattelart, A., Vitalis, A. (2015). *De Orwell al cibercontrol*. Gedisa.
- Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y las Comunicaciones, MINTIC. (2012). *Decreto 1704 de 2012*. <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=48863>
- Orwell, G. (2018). *1984*. Penguin Random House.
- Poe, A. (2019). *Edgar Allan Poe es William Wilson*. <https://www.lacoladerata.co/cultura/laboratorio/ensayo/edgar-allan-poe-es-william-wilson/>
- Restrepo, J. (2018). El fin de un hombre bajo observación. *Verdad Abierta*. <https://verdadabierta.com/fin-hombre-observacion/>

Rodríguez, M. (2017). La parapolítica: La infiltración paramilitar en la clase política colombiana. *Ánfora*, 15(24), 287-305. <https://doi.org/10.30854/anf.v15.n24.2008.214>

Schmitt, C. (2016). *El concepto de lo político*. Alianza Editorial.

Tilly, C. (1992). *Coerción, capital y los Estados europeos*. Alianza Editorial.

Weber, M. (2012). *Sociología del poder*. Alianza Editorial.

# Mexico 2018: Politics, Elections, and Youth

[*English version*]

México 2018: política, elecciones y juventud

México 2018: Política; Eleições; Participação; Juventude

*Received June 13, 2020. Accepted May 13, 2021.*

Anna-María Fernández-Poncela\*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3080-212X>

México

## Abstract

› To cite this article:

Fernández-Poncela, Anna-María  
(2021). Mexico 2018: Politics,  
Elections and Youth.

*Ánfora*, 28(51), 216-240.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n51.2021.755>

Universidad Autónoma de

Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.

E-ISSN 2248-6941.

CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

**Objective:** a general look at youth and politics in Mexico, speeches, information, and figures, and specifically around the elections (2018).

**Methodology:** diverse information and data from a survey in Mexico City are reviewed. **Results:** there is a certain distance between youth and formal politics according to studies for the country conducted in recent times, as well as an adult discourse that makes these youth responsible for their electoral attitude. In 2018 the youth vote was for Morena and studied expressions present

a more participatory and interested youth than previously thought. **Conclusions:** the findings of this work show a youth with an interest in politics similar to other age groups, with greater knowledge, and with a political culture and public opinion similar to citizenship as a whole.

**Keywords:** Politics; Elections; Participation; Youth; Mexico.

---

\* Research professor at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco unit, Mexico City, PhD in Anthropology, [fpam1721@correo.xoc.uam](mailto:fpam1721@correo.xoc.uam). This research does not have any conflict of interests and it was not funded.



## Resumen

**Objetivo:** realizar una mirada general hacia las juventudes y la política en México, sus discursos, información y cifras, y todo en torno a las elecciones de 2018. **Metodología:** se realiza una revisión de fuentes y documentos de diversa índole; desde informes de gobierno y de organismos civiles, hasta encuestas publicadas. También se hace una revisión de prensa pormenorizada, la cual muestra en general el panorama de la participación política juvenil del país y en el momento de las elecciones del 1º de julio de 2018 de manera particular. Para el tema de la cultura política y participación electoral en concreto en el año 2018, se revisa la información de una encuesta preelectoral y de cultura política realizada por un grupo de profesores de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, unidad Xochimilco (UAM/X) al sur de la Ciudad de México (CDMX) con la colaboración de un grupo de alumnos/as en el mes de junio del año 2018 en la CDMX. **Resultado:** se observa cierto distanciamiento entre juventudes y política formal según estudios para el país en los últimos tiempos, así como un discurso adulto que los responsabiliza de su actitud electoral. En 2018 su voto fue para Morena y las expresiones estudiadas presentan una juventud más participativa e interesada de lo que se pensaba. **Conclusión:** los hallazgos de este trabajo muestran a una juventud con interés hacia la política, similar a otros grupos de edad, con conocimiento mayor, con una cultura política y opinión pública parecida a la ciudadanía en su conjunto.

**Palabras clave:** Política; Elecciones; Participación; Juventud; México.

## Resumo

**Objetivo:** dê uma olhada geral na juventude e na política no México, discursos, informações e números, e especificamente nas eleições (2018). **Metodologia:** para isso, diversas informações e dados de uma pesquisa na Cidade do México são revisados. **Resultado:** nos últimos tempos, observa-se uma certa distância entre a juventude e a política formal, bem como um discurso adulto que os responsabiliza por sua atitude eleitoral. Em 2018, o voto foi para Morena e as expressões estudadas apresentam uma juventude mais participativa e interessada do que se pensava anteriormente. **Conclusões:** os achados deste trabalho mostram um jovem com interesse pela política semelhante ao de outras faixas etárias, com maior conhecimento, e com cultura política e opinião pública semelhantes à cidadania como um todo.

**Palavras-chave:** Política; Eleições; Participação; Juventude; México.

## Introduction

The issue of youth and formal politics has recently been studied and debated within the framework of democracy in Western countries, and especially, the distancing from formal and institutional politics that has taken place recently to the detriment of the quality of education, democracy and youth civic inclusion is being reiterated. (Morán and Benedicto, 2002; Giraldo, 2010).

Here a very general approach is made for the country, and specifically, for Mexico City, which is done, as far as possible, especially contextualized as a youth age group within a total population. Hence, the study is descriptive in nature, with some reflections on current reality according to experts' views and speeches, through the voices and visions of the protagonists, providing information and figures, and trying to show an open panorama on the studies in the matter. The study is also an invitation to reflect further on the meaning of disaffection and abstentionism, in addition to considering politics as a relationship, and the contextualization of the political culture of a group within the entire population of the country.

What is the panorama of the relationship between youth and politics in Mexico? What role do young people have in politics and elections? What responsibilities are attributed to them? What index of interest and socio-political participation do they possess? What are their characteristics in terms of political opinion and their political culture? For whom do those who do it vote? And specifically, for whom did they vote in the last elections? These last two questions focused on Mexico City, through the survey review.

Although data and information are prioritized in order to present a broad documentary panorama of the subject, it is no less true that the review of aspects is inspired by current theoretical approaches regarding the relationship between youth and politics. Just as, in works of recent years for the Mexican case, in 2003 the author did not wonder why politics were not interested in youth, but rather why youth should be interested in politics? Given its electoral use, not its conception as a political subject, but rather as an object of policies.

There is also the most current review on the subject coordinated by Silvia Gómez Tagle (2012), who reflects on a survey of youth political culture, without forgetting to mention all the studies of government institutions in this regard. As regards theory, two current perspectives will be present: the modernist and the postmodernist regarding the consideration of youth participation. Briefly, they will be presented following the work of Ignacio Zuasnabar and Inés Fynn (2017). The first highlights the disenchantment, distancing from the youth, and

the loss of trust in political actors and institutions; which is due to the political actors' lack of interest in youth problems and concerns. This leads to what is considered, from this approach, a rupture of the traditional forms of political participation. The second, argues that there is no apathy and that participation, rather than decreasing, has changed. Today there are other modalities of political participation, requiring a redefinition of what is thought and practiced as politics, and a transition from a state-centric to a sociocentric conception.

These pages present official information, from experts and media, such as figures from surveys with questions, in a certain way, typical of this type of public opinion exercise and from the indicated source. However, it is important to recognize that we are currently at a pivotal point of approaches and opinions where everyone can contribute.

The study is based on general data on youth in Mexico – making the point with statistical figures on politics and elections. Subsequently, the article focuses on the youth vote and the discourses around it, in the heat of the 2018 elections. The following point is an approach to the interest in politics and opinion about voting, as well as party identification and pre-electoral preferences in Mexico City through diverse information, and, especially, a survey on the subject. To conclude, a segment of what has been said, and above all, an invitation to reflect on the youth and politics debate in light of the results of the city survey and the last election in the country, highlighting the importance of contextualization for youth studies.

## **Methodology**

There are two ways of accessing information for the present work. First, a review of sources and documents of various types is carried out, from government and civil organization reports to published surveys. A detailed press review is also conducted, which shows, in general, the panorama of youth political participation in the country and at the time of the July 1, 2018 elections in particular.

Secondly, and for the topic of political culture and electoral participation, specifically for the year 2018, information from a pre-electoral and political culture survey conducted by a group of professors from the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco unit (UAM/X) south of Mexico City

(CDMX) with the collaboration of a group of students in June 2018 in the CDMX is reviewed. Translated with [www.DeepL.com/Translator](http://www.DeepL.com/Translator) (free version) The characteristics of the “Encuesta sobre la Cultura política 2018” are: the sample size consists of 800 cases, contains a margin of error of +/- 3.5, and has a confidence level of 95%.

Ten questionnaires per section were applied in electoral districts, in every 10 households, in different neighborhoods and delegations of Mexico City. The variables and socio-demographic factors were: gender – 48.8% male and 51.3% female; age – 29.3% between 18 and 29 years old, 32.8% between 30 and 44, 38% aged 45 and over; level of schooling – 5.1% no education, 10.5% primary school education, 22.4% secondary school education, 36% high school diploma, 26% university degree; occupation: – 17.4% housewives, 13.3% students, 5.1% retired, 7.3% unemployed, 43.8% workers, and 13.3% self-employed; sector – 22.8% public sector, 34.1% private sector; 43% self-employed.

## Results

### Youth, Numbers, Politics and Elections

To begin to frame the topic, figures on youth in the country are presented<sup>1</sup>. According to the 2015 Intercensal Survey of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Información (INEGI) (2018) there are 30.6 million young people, that is 25.7% of the total population, 49.1% men and 50.9% women. These are subdivided into age groups: 30.1% from 25 to 29 years old, 34.8% from 20 to 24 years old and 35.1% from 15 to 19 years old.

In terms of the schooling of the oldest group – 7.1%; of the second oldest – 25.5%; and of the third youngest, – 62.4%. With respect to the labor market, the National Occupation and Employment Survey indicates that the unemployment rate of the Economically Active Population (EAP) of the older youth group is 4.6%, the intermediate group, 6.7% and the younger group, 6.4%. Of those employed 59.5% work in the informal sector (INEGI, 2018).

Regarding the specific issue of politics, first, various data on youth participation in some spaces of the public sphere in general and institutional politics

---

1. In general, there will be more talk about youth or young people, since it is about reviewing and analyzing the relationship with the politics of a particular age group, between 18 and 29 years old, although of course there is diversity among the youth and perhaps in other ways talking about youth would be more convenient.

in particular are presented, then some characteristics of their political culture, and finally their role in the elections. All of this is of a general nature, as some points will be studied in greater depth with specific studies at a later date.

Ollin's National Index of Youth Participation (INPJ) (2015-2016) reports that in Civil Society Organizations (8,686 in total) almost half of the participants are youth; however, in formal structures they are three out of 10, and in decision making one out of 10. In government agencies (counting 213 institutions) of more than half a million participants, 100 are composed of young people, and in the structures of civil servants, as well as among decision-makers, there is one young person for every 10 participants. The private sector employs more than 50 million people, including more than 15 million young people, three out of 10 of whom are young people in the formal structures of this sector, and one out of 10 in decision-making. For their part, in the political parties of eight million militants (counting five parties) there are more than one million young people in their ranks, two out of 10 people involved are young people and zero out of 10 in decision making (Ollin, 2016). The panorama regarding the participation of young people in the public sphere is clear in terms of their reduced or non-existent presence in positions that imply power or decision-making.

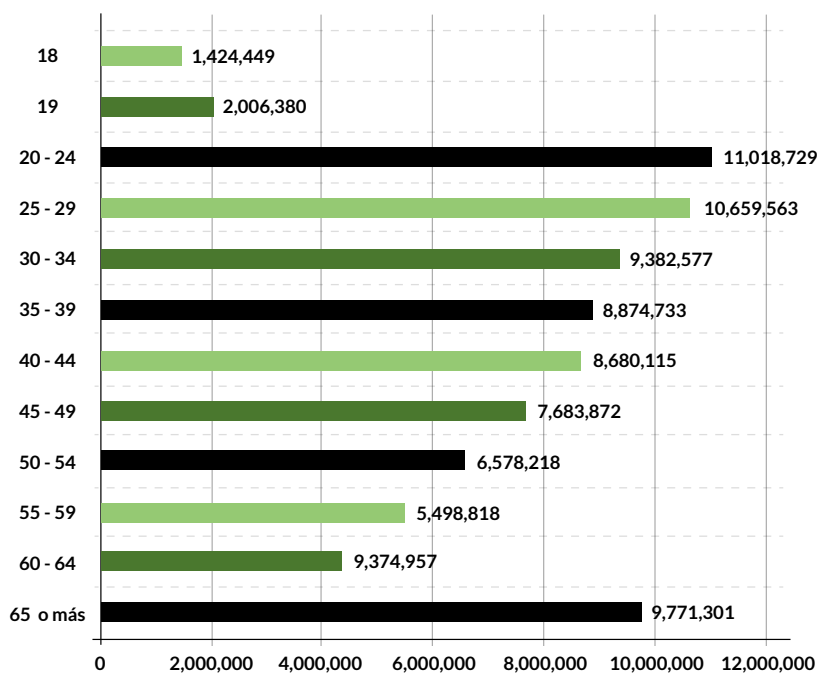
According to the latest National Survey of Youth Values (ENVJ) of the Mexican Institute of Youth (IMJUVE) in 2012, and among other issues, the family (91.1%) is pointed out as the most important institution in their lives, 79% considers that hitting a woman is not justified, 44% strongly agree or agree on the right to marriage of a homosexual couple, their use of internet connection is daily or several times a week for 72%, 62.5% are in social networks, 61.7% are informed by television. Regarding the specific issue of the public sphere, 34.5% consider that the economic situation of the country is worse than the previous year (2011), 32.5% consider that the political situation of the country is worrying. Regarding laws, 8.6% (on a scale of zero to 10) said they respect laws. In terms of values between freedom and security, 38.9% consider freedom to be better, while 34.1% say it is security (Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, IJ/UNAM, 2012). Thus, observing diverse social attitudes while expressing social values that could be defined as traditional is possible.

According to the same source now focusing on institutional policy, 46% said they had little interest, 43.2% said none at all and 9.5% said they had a lot of interest. As to the reasons for the top two positions, dishonest politicians, among other factors, were singled out. The data also show that there is no participation in organizations, associations, groups or movements (92.6%), and those that do participate are in urban tribes, in the YoSoy 132 movement (2012) or in a party. The democracy rating is 6.9 (IJ/UNAM, 2012), indicating that disinterest reigns. There exist critical appraisal of political actors, and social

and political participation is scarce. This seems to be a trend in several countries as some studies point out (IKNOWPOLITICS, 2017).

Finally, to conclude this general data section, figures around the 2018 elections are shown in which 85,953,712 million Mexicans had the right to vote, according to the nominal list. Among them were 25 million 18- to 25-year-olds (25,109,121) which equates to 29.2% potential voters, almost 22 million 20- to 29-year-olds (21,678,692) and almost 3.5 million 18- and 19-year-olds (3,430,878) according to the National Electoral Institute (INE, 2018, p.1) (Figure 1). The historical electoral weight has been and is considerable, hence the concern from certain governmental instances and political positions, regarding the youth's disinterested and abstentionist attitude. Campaigns for the vote and even certain discourse, as will be seen, point out, encourage or criticize them, and hold them responsible from the political adult, academic and media point of view, for their low interest and political participation, and in particular the elections.

Figure 1. Nominal List Statistics



Note. Adapted Nominal Statistics Electoral List and Registry, INE, 2018.

According to the experience of past elections, half of the young people do not vote, hence the calls and speeches from different sources, especially during the political campaign and from electoral authorities, opinion leaders, political analysts and civil society organizations, and of course, from the candidates inviting them to vote. Although they are the most informed, interconnected and politically critical generation, their lack of voting is enormous. As a result, specific campaigns emerged such as *#Me gusta que votes* (I like that you vote), which invited an informed and responsible vote against youth abstentionism, which was as a consequence, according to what it had claimed, out of anger, lack of trust and the corruption deployed in the country. Although it is insisted, according to certain positions, that the low electoral participation does not correspond to lack of interest, but to other reasons of a very different nature. In any case, the following section delves deeper into the positions made public regarding the elections and the youth vote, the general reflections and the direct invitations to vote for this age group.

### **Elections, Speeches, Campaigns and Young Voters**

To begin with:

This Thursday the electoral counselor, *Ciro Murayama*, published a breakdown of the electoral roll in which he assures that the young population, between 18 and 39 years old, and women, are the population groups that will define the results of the next electoral contest to be held on July 1, when Mexico will elect its next president (INE, 2018).

Like the previous quote, there were numerous voices around the elections that repeatedly and forcefully pointed out that the youth was going to decide the vote in a tone that denoted certain undertaking of responsibilities of the age group considered young, which includes 18 to 29 years old. Political speeches, journalistic articles, and academic analysis, qualified them as “fundamental actors” and even pointed out that “the future of democracy” was at stake and in their hands. This was justified, as of the 86 million Mexicans entitled to vote, 25 million or 29%, fall within the cited age bracket according to data from the Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) (2018), and as previously noted.

Several were the statements in that sense: “young people between 18 and 37 years old who will vote for the first time in a federal election will define the outcome of the 2018 presidential elections, assured *Jaime Juárez Jasso*, executive vocal of INE” (De la Luz, 2018).

“The president of INE himself, Lorenzo Córdova confirmed that the suffrage of the millennials will be what defines the July 1 elections as ‘that thing that young people are not interested in this election is a lie’” (De la Luz, May 18, 2018). However, there were also dissenting voices:

Gerson Hernández Mecalco ... pointed out that there is no evidence that says that young people will be the ones to define the election: “In fact, young people are the ones who abstain from voting the most ... The information from the INE spokesperson and Córdova is not proven, I would not dare to say so, I would even criticize Lorenzo Córdova’s statement when he assured that there is going to be more participation of young people” (De la Luz, May 18, 2018).

Despite this, from one point of view or another, the youth appeared to be responsible for the destiny of the election, voting or not voting, converging both positions in the adult opinion which emphasized the youth as protagonists in the election.

Here it is appropriate to pause and show how the youngest, who begin their foray into voting, vote more and then stop voting. According to studies by the Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE) – now INE – over the last few years, in the different electoral processes, from 2000 to 2015, the greatest abstentionism has been on the part of the youth. Within the age group there are also differences, the range that goes from 20 to 29 years is the most abstentionist, the 18 to 19 years who enter the right to vote for the first time not as much. Therefore, although this last age group votes less than adults and even older people, in fact, it does so more than the next youth segment. As a sample, a study for the last three elections is presented (Table 1) (IFE, 2017).

**Table 1.** Voter Turnout by Age Group

Age groups	2009	2012	2015
18-29	44%	62%	45%
20-29	35%	53%	36%
30-39	40%	58%	43%
40-49	48%	67%	51%
50-59	55%	72%	57%
60-69	58%	74%	62%
70-79	54%	69%	60%
80 y +	32%	50%	41%



The issue of participation in virtual networks is something very prominent among young people, both in politics and in other issues; such activity was also pointed out and highlighted in the public debate of those days: “In these elections, it is very important to understand that young people, through techno-politics will have a very important incidence” (Flores, February 18, 2018). Young people will detonate debates in networks:

the ability of these new generations in networks and communication through technologies, young people also inhabit the streets so an activism is expected from them built from their living environment (Flores, February 18, 2018).

On the other hand, youth diversity was also addressed, Sergio Aguayo Quezada said that despite the fact that “the youth vote will have an impact” they are still “a very fragmented segment of the population that responds to very diverse cultural stimuli.” In that sense, he pointed out that we will have votes, activism, but also apathy, abstentionism and “gangs of young hackers who are dedicated to defamation, to the dissemination of false news, and who are mercenaries of politics because they are at the service of whoever hires them” (Flores, February 18, 2018). As noted, there is diversity, hence the importance of not making pejorative remarks that generalize or stigmatize the behavior of this age group. Several statements were made about the millennials, a generation that is more interconnected and considered more critical, politically speaking.

Enrique Toussaint explained that the most apathetic citizen is the one under 29 years old because:

People over [age 29] grew up in a country where the only civic act that people did was going to vote. Now the millennial sees it as a matter of freedom. So millennial abstentionism is going to be lower in these elections (Flores, February 18, 2018).

These types of circumstances mean that 2018 “could be a key moment for the country,” said Rossana Reguillo Cruz. And she, like Toussaint, observes the possibility that “as the poll dates get closer, there are going to be more youth-related issues” (Flores, February 18, 2018). One problem, according to analysts, is that just as youth is not a substantial part of the government’s agenda, neither does it figure exceptionally in the presidential candidates’ projects of the virtual – except, perhaps, in Andrés Manuel López Obrador’s (AMLO) project. The lack of proposals for the benefit of Mexican youth is a reflection, according to Toussaint, of the “obtuse” way politicians “understand young people.” “Political parties still think that young people are not that important in electoral terms

because they are very abstentionist. They make their calculations and prefer to secure the over-40 vote. That's a mistake" (Flores, February 18, 2018).

The media generally echoed adult opinion (*El Universal*, April 11, 2018a), and some youth voices were also collected on the topic. For example, several newspaper reports that picked up on youth anger toward politics on the eve of the elections pointed to lack of job opportunities, poorly paid jobs, lack of representation of their needs and interests, fear of taking to the streets, discouragement and distrust of politicians, distrust of their speeches and their candidates' promises, corruption, etc. (*El Universal*, May 31st, 2018b). Like this one, in several cases, expressions of young people were transcribed that denoted disenchantment and criticism of politics. But there were young people, who from a political party, campaigned for their candidates and for the youth vote.

In view of the above, and as in previous elections, the "megustaquevotes.mx" campaign – created by more than 10 voting promotion and advertising organizations, aimed at promoting youth suffrage in particular, which advocated for basic and responsible information about the elections (how to obtain the voting credential, the days and means of dissemination of the debates), etc. – appeared. This fought against the lack of voting, especially in sectors distrusted by corruption and that tended to turn anger into abstentionism (Itxaro Arteta, 2018).

With the movement *me gusta que votes*, *Ollin Jóvenes en Movimiento* young people were expected to be aware of the importance of their vote and of going to the polls on July 1. "It should not be forgotten that young people are the ones who vote the least, almost half of us do not participate in the electoral processes, due to the disenchantment toward institutions and electoral processes," highlights the association. In a communiqué *Ollin Jóvenes en Movimiento* charges that abstentionism is because the country's young people "are angry with the electoral process and incidents of corruption" (Indigo Staff, March 16, 2018).

In the campaign, among other things, one could read:

Today, one out of every three voters is under 30 years old; this means that in the upcoming elections, where more than 18,311 positions will be elected throughout the country, 25 million young people will be able to decide who will be their representatives and 12.6 million of them will vote for the first time for president of the Republic. Let's remember that the 2012 presidential election was won with 19 million votes; this means that young people will be able to decide who we want as representatives in the coming years (*me gusta que votes*, 2018).

And the main text of the campaign continued:

For these elections, the largest in history, we want to reduce youth abstentionism by 3.6 million votes compared to the previous presidential election. But it is not only about going out and voting, but also about casting a responsible and informed vote; thinking about the information that will circulate in social networks during the next months, and with the Internet as the main source of information, we have created the site *megustaquevotes.mx*, where you can find all the information you need to know before going to vote; this information is non-partisan, unbiased and verified by young experts. The website is part of a strategy that we will be developing over the next few months in different social networks and media, in order to encourage young people to vote in the #Elections2018 (I like you to vote, 2018).

As mentioned, and as in previous electoral campaigns, the youth vote was promoted in a concrete, specific and insistent manner, and also as in other calls, the quantitative weight of the youth electorate was emphasized; sometimes in speeches that denote the latent or patent responsibility of youth in this regard, which leaves the subject open to reflection.

However, as it has already been said and will be said again, non-participation in elections is not equivalent to political disinterest, according to some voices, as politics and participation is much more than elections; however, it is still true to say that there is disinterest and abstentionism among young people toward formal and institutional politics, and in electoral processes in general, as was proven in figures previously presented.

## **Political Culture, Electoral Preferences, Data**

Having exposed general issues about politics and youth, especially information in numbers, and in particular around the 2018 elections and campaign-specifically opinions and speeches, this section focuses on a selection of political culture characteristics related to interest and voting, youth electoral preferences according to data from various sources, and fundamentally a pre-election survey of 2018, presented previously in the methodological section.

To begin with, one of the questions in the survey asked about interest in politics. It is observed that among the general population, regular disinterest predominates (33.30%), as well as among the youth (35.50%), although somewhat more so in the latter, if we take into account the number of years of each group and the percentage of the population surveyed in them. And although there are different percentages among each group, there is not a much greater lack of interest among the youth sector (Table 2).

**Table 2.** How interested are you in politics? 2018

Level of interest	Age groups			Total
	18-29 Years old	30-44 Years old	45 and over	
Very interested	9.80%	6.90%	7.90%	8.10%
Interested	23.50%	20.20%	23.00%	22.30%
Regular	35.50%	37.40%	28.00%	33.30%
Little	22.70%	23.30%	26.30%	24.30%
Nothing	7.70%	12.20%	14.80%	11.90%
No answer	0.90%	0.00%	0.00%	0.30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

This same question in the last published National Youth Survey (IIJ/UNAM, 2012) contrasts somewhat, since on that occasion, 89.6% said they were little or not at all interested in politics and in this case in 2018 adding both degrees of interest, or rather disinterest, only 30.4% is obtained; which is striking. On the one hand, the first is a national survey and the one analyzed here is from Mexico City; and on the other hand, six years separate one and the other source, from 2012 to 2018, and many things happened in that period. However, if the figures of the 2018 survey on the subject are compared with another survey on Political Culture in 2012 (Ramírez, Carrillo, Fernández, Reyes del Campillo, 2012), the differences point out that disinterest has also decreased, since on that occasion the little and nothing categories added up to 37.5%.

In the 2012 National Survey (IIJ/UNAM, 2012) and as discussed at the beginning of this text, the explanation of the previous opinion was requested, and the resulting answers were: 37.4% because politicians are dishonest, 22.8% not interested, 22.7% do not understand, and 13.6% do not have time. This does portray a disinterested, critical, distant and apathetic spectrum, as some studies highlighted at the time. However, recent city survey information and data seem to point in another direction.

Another question in the survey asked about knowledge directly related to interest and vice versa, and on this point the youth had greater knowledge than the adult population (80.80% compared to 78.60% or 71.40%). Specifically, respondents were asked the names of the candidates for city government in the 2018 elections (Table 3). This means that there is more information and interest that is reflected in the knowledge of the youth.

**Table 3.** Could you tell me what is the name of any of the CDMX candidates for head of government? 2018

Answer	Age groups			Total
	18-29 Years old	30-44 Years old	45 and over	
Right	80.80%	78.60%	71.40%	76.50%
Wrong	8.60%	11.50%	19.40%	13.60%
Does not know	9.80%	9.20%	8.90%	9.30%
No answer	0.90%	0.80%	0.30%	0.60%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Regarding the importance of the vote, curiously, the very important category with 43.60% stands out among young people; and in the case of the important category with 38% is in second place for this age segment (Table 4). If the vote is important in an abstract sense, it could be assumed that perhaps electoral participation derives from it, which would be the concrete act of suffrage.

**Table 4.** Could you tell me how important the vote is to you? 2018

Answer	Age groups			Total
	18-29 Years old	30-44 Years old	45 and over	
Very important	43.60%	47.30%	37.50%	42.50%
Important	38.00%	32.80%	42.80%	38.10%
Regular	12.00%	13.00%	10.90%	11.90%
Little	5.60%	3.80%	5.90%	5.10%
Nothing	0.40%	3.10%	1.60%	1.80%
No answer	0.40%	0.00%	1.30%	0.60%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

On the issue of respect for suffrage, it seems that the youth consider that it is not respected, in a higher percentage than the population of other age groups, 68.40% compared to 64.50% and 60.90% (Table 5). Although it is not respected, it could be assumed in this case that, contrary to the previous answer, it would lead to not voting.

**Table 5.** Do you consider that the vote is respected? 2018

Answer	Age groups			Total
	18-29 Years old	30-44 Years old	45 and over	
Yes	23.50%	29.00%	28.00%	27.00%
No	68.40%	64.50%	60.90%	64.30%
Does not know	7.30%	5.70%	9.20%	7.50%
No answer	0.90%	0.80%	2.00%	1.30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The answers to the four previous questions seem to show a youth with certain interest and high knowledge, who consider the importance of voting, but who do not respect it. What is noteworthy about this survey is the possibility of contextualizing and contrasting these youth's political attitudes with the general population, since sometimes in youth studies with the age range the researchers are working with, generalizations and statements are made that do not take into account the general social framework and citizenship as a whole. The youth is above all part of the population of a country and/or a city, and therefore shares its political culture; despite the differences that, of course, may occur according to generational, social and even individual factors.

The following questions focus on political ideology, party identification and electoral preferences, also in the context of the general population of Mexico City, and outline the political landscape of Mexico City today.

Regarding political-electoral identification and in the context of 2018, the surveyed youth opted for the National Regeneration Movement (Morena), in first place, with 46.6%, and in a higher number than other population segments such as the middle-aged, with 42.40%, and the older segment with 41.50% (Table 6). It should be noted that the response for "none" in the youth age group also had a numerically significant result of 28.20%.

**Table 6.** Which political party do you most identify with? 2018<sup>2</sup>

Political party	Age groups			Total
	18-29 years old	30-44 years old	45 and over	
PRI	4.30%	6.90%	8.60%	6.80%
PAN	12.00%	14.10%	10.50%	12.10%
PRD	4.30%	6.90%	6.30%	5.90%
MORENA	46.60%	42.40%	41.50%	43.30%
PT	0.00%	0.40%	1.30%	0.60%
PVEM	0.00%	0.40%	0.70%	0.40%
PANAL	0.00%	0.40%	0.30%	0.30%
Citizen Movement	0.90%	0.40%	0.30%	0.50%
None	28.20%	22.50%	28.30%	26.40%
No answer	3.90%	5.70%	2.30%	3.90%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The question on electoral preferences also showed AMLO as the preferred candidate among the citizenry with 52.10% of nominations for President of the Republic, and, among the latter, especially among the youth, who indicated this option at 56.40%. All of this also coincides with what has previously been seen on partisan political identification (Table 7) and, of course, coincides with the pre-electoral surveys and exit polls that circulated in those days. It is necessary to add that the sum of cancellation, blank vote and abstentionism seems to be small, although it is a subjective and opinionated question that must also be considered.

---

2. PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), PAN (Partido Acción Nacional), PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática), MORENA (Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional), PT (Partido del Trabajo), PVEM (Partido Verde Ecologista de México), PANAL (Partido Nueva Alianza).

**Table 7.** If today were election day, for which candidate would you vote for the presidency of the republic? 2018<sup>3</sup>

Candidate	Age groups			Total
	18-29 Years old	30-44 years old	45 and over	
RAC	16.20%	18.30%	17.10%	17.30%
JAMK	4.30%	8.00%	8.20%	7.00%
AMLO	56.40%	47.30%	53.00%	52.10%
JRC	7.70%	2.70%	2.60%	4.10%
Does not know yet	4.30%	8.00%	8.20%	7.00%
I will void my vote	2.10%	1.90%	2.00%	2.00%
I will not vote	0.90%	4.60%	2.30%	2.60%
I will vote blank	0.90%	0.80%	0.00%	0.50%
No answer	4.70%	5.70%	4.00%	4.80%
None	2.60%	2.70%	2.60%	2.60%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

As an illustration of voting preferences, a historical study of exit polls is briefly presented that yields the following information: in 2000, 44.4% of young people voted for the National Action Party (PAN); in 2006, their vote was divided between the PAN with 33.6% and the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) with 32.4%. In 2012 they voted for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) with 32.8% and also the PRD with 30.4%. Finally, in 2018 their vote was: 46.7% for the Morena-led coalition, 19.6% for PAN-PRD, and 17.7% toward that of the PRI (Mitofsky, 2018a).<sup>4</sup>

This same polling firm points to the greater vote for AMLO in 2018 on the part of the youth, since young people between 18 and 29 years old considered casting their vote for this candidate by 41.7% – according to a national pre-electoral study in June – while people between 30 and 49 years old did so by 36.3% and those aged 50 or older by 34.2%. On the other hand, those who would vote for

3. RAC (Ricardo Anaya Cortés) of PAN, JAMK (José Antonio Meade Kuribreña) of PRI, AMLO (Andrés Manuel López Obrador) of Morena and JRC (Jaime Ramírez Calderón) as independent presidential candidate.

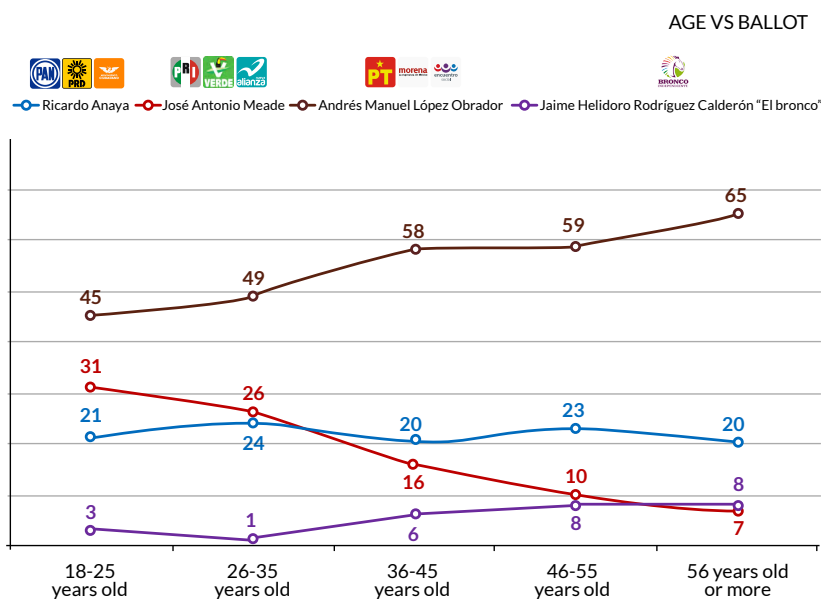
4. In the traditional political arc and in *grosso modo* to summarize their political ideologies, the PAN is a right-wing party, the PRD is a left-wing party, and the PRI, which led the country for more than 70 years, is considered by some to be a centrist party.



Ricardo Anaya would be those in the middle age group: 20.5% from 18 to 29, 24.4% from 30 to 49 and 13.1% from 50 and over. Those who said they would vote for José Antonio Meade were the oldest: 20.6% from 50 to 29, 19.5% from 30 to 49 and 9.6% from 18 and over. The independent Jaime Rodríguez also had more support from the youth: 5.9% from 18 to 29, 2.9% from 30 to 49, and 0.9% from 50 and over (Mitofsky, 2018b).

Finally, a national exit poll shows that “people between 26 and 35 years old are those who voted for AMLO in the highest proportion, said candidate reached 63% of the votes among that population” (Parametría, 2018), and among young people between 18 and 25 years old, 55% voted for him. It should be noted that people with a higher level of education also voted for this candidate and these are usually younger (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Presidential Vote



Parametry EXIT POLL/1,321 cases/Error (+/-) 2.7%/ July 1, 2018.

**Note.** Figure taken from Parametría (2018, p.1). Presidential vote

Another source reaffirms what has already been pointed out:

The results in the exit polls were overwhelming: the youth vote set a trend in the election of the presidential candidate, since the total of first-time voters (18- to 24-year-olds) and millennials (25- to 35-year-olds) who opted for Andrés Manuel López Obrador would have totaled 47% of the total percentage, while the *baby boomers* and the silent generation would have only granted 22% and 9% respectively (SIMO consulting, 2018).

The same question as the previous one, but now about the candidates for the City Government Presidency, points to Claudia Sheinbaum (CS) with 34.40%, as the one who, apparently, was going to be the most voted according to the survey statements and more so by young people: 37.20%. While Alejandra Barrales (AB), with 21%, was in second position and seemed to be more preferred by older people, with 20.60% and 23.40% respectively in the other two age groups (Table 8). It should be noted, as in the previous question, that the cancellation, blank vote and not going to the polls represent a small percentage of the total. It is also important to point out that the majority of the population and the youth, especially, identify with Morena and say they will vote for AMLO. Curiously, in the vote for Head of Government, both issues are not so strongly reflected.

**Tabla 8.** Could you tell me for which candidate you plan to vote for head of government of Mexico City on July 1, 2018?<sup>5</sup>

Political party	Age groups			Total
	18-29 years old	30-44 years old	45 and over	
ABM	18.40%	20.60%	23.40%	21.00%
CSP	37.20%	32.80%	33.60%	34.40%
LOE	0.90%	1.50%	0.30%	0.90%
MRC	2.10%	2.30%	3.00%	2.50%
MBT	2.60%	1.20%	1.60%	1.80%
MAP	2.10%	7.30%	5.30%	5.00%
PCC	0.40%	0.00%	0.30%	0.30%

5. ABM (Alejandra Barrales Magdaleno) for the CDMX al Frente; CSP (Claudia Sheinbaum Pardo) for MORENA; LOE (Lorena Osorio Elizondo) independent candidate; MRC (Marcos Rascón Córdova) for the Partido Humanista; MBT (Mariana Boy Tamborrell) for PVEM; MAP (Mikel Arriola Peñalosa) of PRI; PCC (Purificación Carpineyro Calderón) of PANAL.

Political party	Age groups			Total
	18-29 years old	30-44 years old	45 and over	
Does not know yet	21.40%	16.80%	20.40%	19.50%
I will void my vote	4.30%	3.10%	1.60%	2.90%
I will not vote	1.30%	3.40%	2.30%	2.40%
I will vote blank	1.30%	0.80%	0.30%	0.80%
No answer	5.60%	5.70%	4.00%	5.00%
None	2.60%	4.60%	4.00%	3.80%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Another study by Mitofsky (2018b), now focused on Mexico City, points out regarding the 2018 elections that youth voted for Claudia Sheinbaum, although other age groups also did so (Table 9).

**Table 9.** Vote For Head of Government

<b>18-29</b>	40.2	32.8	10	4.6	12.4
<b>30-49</b>	41.5	27.9	13.5	5.2	11.9
<b>50 and over</b>	38.1	28.7	14.6	4.6	13.6

Claudia Sheinbaum was the most voted and, as already pointed out in the previous pre-election poll of the city, was supported somewhat more by the group of young people. All following the party identification and the vote for President of the Republic previously presented, with the percentage differences also shown.

## Conclusions

So far this is the panorama of citizens' opinions, highlighting those of the youth age group, such as interest and knowledge, consideration of the vote and everything related to electoral preferences in 2018. This, together with the social and political participation of youth, their electoral weight, their participation in

terms of suffrage, and the circumstances and controversies of their role in the electoral juncture of 2018 have constituted the descriptive, explanatory and reflective review of the current situation of the relationship between youth and politics in Mexico, particularly in the country's capital.

This is an important topic, especially in the context of the endowment of political institutions and social participation, as well as citizen perceptions and opinions in this regard, especially in an interesting era that, it seems, is on the verge of change, so that in the future it will be necessary to continue to broaden and deepen the subject addressed here, in Mexico and in the world.

It is highlighted, firstly, that in Western democracies, youth apathy and political disaffection are emphasized, according to various approaches, just to contextualize the present work (Morán, Benedicto, 2002; Giraldo, 2010) and (IKNOWPOLITICS, 2017).

On the one hand, modernist theory points out that there has been a deterioration of social capital and a weakening of community and political culture that puts democracy at risk. Due to this erosion, processes of political disaffection take place, people feel that the political system does not represent them, which leads to a certain distancing and loss of confidence in political institutions and actors. Specifically, young people consider that politics is disinterested in them, their concerns and problems, which leads to political disaffection and the decrease or breakdown of traditional forms of political participation (Zuasnabar, Fynn, 2017).

On the other hand, postmodern theory does not see such apathy, disaffection and reduction of youth participation in politics, but rather a change in the forms of participation different from the traditional ones, hence it invites the redefinition of what political participation means and broadens the concept of it to issues of values and attitudes, as well as, new participatory forms (Zuasnabar, Fynn, 2017). Social movements, specific social protest, participation in networks, ecological interests, and various collective demonstrations are part of this conceptualization.

Both perspectives, despite their different approaches, would fully enter into the explanations related to youth abstentionism in Mexico, as well as to the country's traditional political culture where the deep and long-standing distrust toward political actors and institutions stands out, regardless of the age group in question. What has been observed in recent years is the high abstention rate among young people, which is higher than that of other social sectors. It is also clear that there is a reduced presence of young people in areas of power and decision making, as has been proven by the information provided in these pages, without forgetting the scarce interest of young people in politics according to surveys and studies that have also taken place recently.

Secondly, one must remember what has already been mentioned: the responsibility that is placed on the youth in relation to the election because of

their electoral weight, as has already been made clear, by adults, politicians, academics or the media. This has taken place in all electoral processes in recent times; here it occurred around 2018. This controversy and statements seem to be based more on the numerical importance of the youth than on their right to vote or the social and political interest of their participation, and on a certain approach that indoctrinates the positive and the duty to vote as something basic for democracy. Some more balanced voices contextualize the youth vote in the vote of the entire population entitled to it and point out a youth role that has its light and dark elements as that of the citizenship as a whole, far from stigmas and reproaches, and also, far from idealizations.

Third and finally, a review of some characteristics of the political culture and political-electoral participation of youth in the CDMX today is called for. On the one hand, according to the survey data, disinterest in politics was not found to be higher than that of the citizenry as a whole. On the other hand, there is greater political knowledge than other age groups. The vote is more or less important in similar proportion to the rest of the population consulted in the survey. However, a higher percentage of young people believe that the vote is not respected. It is worth remembering and emphasizing that this information and data belong to a survey of Mexico City at the 2018 electoral juncture, and in addition, that the analysis is carried out comparatively with other segments of the population, and not only the youth age group is studied, as it is sometimes done.

Having said and reiterated the above, the results point to characteristics of political culture and public opinion of the youth that do not differ much from the rest of the citizenry, and, when they do, they do not highlight the disinterest, apathy or alienation that is usually attributed to them, that is, they seem to distance themselves from the perspective of political disaffection, as has been repeated, in the case studied.

In terms of party identification, Morena seems to be the one favored by young people; however, and in general terms, a significant number of the population shares this position. Regarding the vote for the presidency, more young people than adults say they will vote for AMLO, and the majority of citizens also pointed in that direction. Something similar can be affirmed for Claudia Sheinbaum, for the position of Head of Government of the city, in a much lower percentage than the previous position.

This has been a review of the panorama in figures and speeches, from official studies, specialists or in the voice of the youth protagonists regarding their relationship with politics and the electoral moment through a survey. The issues reflect a more affected youth citizenship, less distant and apathetic, and more participatory than the political and academic discourse sentenced.

## References

- Arteta, I. (March 16, 2018). Me gusta que votes: la campaña para que 3.6 millones de jóvenes participen en las elecciones. *Animal Político*. <https://www.animalpolitico.com/2018/03/me-gusta-que-votes-la-campana-de-ong-para-que-3-6-millones-de-jovenes-participen-en-las-elecciones/>
- De la Luz, Érika. (May 13, 2018). Dimensionan peso del sufragio joven. *Excelsior*. <http://www.excelsior.com.mx/nacional/dimensionan-peso-del-sufragio-joven/1238612>
- El Universal. (April 11, 2018). Jóvenes se desencantan de la política. *El Universal*. <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/elecciones-2018/jovenes-se-desencantan-de-la-politica-en-mexico>
- El Universal. (May 31, 2018). Voto joven definirá elección del 1 de julio. *El Universal*. <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/elecciones-2018/voto-joven-definira-eleccion-del-1-de-julio>
- Fernández-Poncela, A. M. (2003). *Cultura política y jóvenes en el umbral del nuevo milenio*. INJUVE/IFE.
- Flores, E. (February 18, 2018). El voto joven puede decidir cuál es el rumbo que tomará el país: tiene 40% del padrón el 1 de julio. *sinembargo*. <http://www.sinembargo.mx/18-02-2018/3382700>
- Giraldo-Zuluaga, G. A. (2010). Ciudadanía y participación política en los jóvenes de Manizales. *Anfora*, 29, 91-104. <https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora/article/view/109/104>
- Gómez-Tagle, M. E. (2012). *La cultura política de los jóvenes*. COLMEX.
- IKNOWPOLITICS. (2017). *La participación política de la juventud*. <http://iknowpolitics.org/es/discuss/e-discussions/la-participaci%C3%B3n-pol%C3%ADtica-de-la-juventud>

- Indigo Staff. (March 16, 2018). Elecciones 2018 “Me gusta que vote”, movimiento que muestra a jóvenes la importancia de votar. *Reporte Indigo*. <https://www.reporteindigo.com/piensa/me-gusta-votes-movimiento-muestra-a-jovenes-la-importancia-votar/>
- Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. (December, 2012). *Resumen Encuesta Nacional de Valores de la Juventud 2012*. <http://historico.juridicas.unam.mx/invest/areas/opinion/envaj/resumen.htm>
- Instituto Federal Electoral (2017). *Estudio comparativo sobre la Participación Ciudadana en las Elecciones Federales del 2009, 2012 y 2015*. [https://www.ine.mx/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/DECEYEC\\_Comparativo\\_VF.pdf](https://www.ine.mx/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/DECEYEC_Comparativo_VF.pdf) [Accessed September 11, 2018].
- Instituto Nacional Electoral. (2018). INE voto joven y femenino definirán la próxima elección presidencial. *Noticias Electorales*. <http://www.noticiaselectorales.com/mexico-ine-voto-joven-y-femenino-definiran-la-proxima-eleccion-presidencial/> [Accessed September 13, 2018].
- Instituto Nacional Electoral (2018). Lista Nominal y Padrón Electoral, [Figure]. [https://portalanterior.ine.mx/archivos3/portal/historico/contenido/Estadisticas\\_Lista\\_Nominal\\_y\\_Padron\\_Electoral/](https://portalanterior.ine.mx/archivos3/portal/historico/contenido/Estadisticas_Lista_Nominal_y_Padron_Electoral/)
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Información (INEGI). 2018. *Estadísticas a propósito del día internacional de la juventud*. [https://www.inegi.org.mx/contenidos/saladeprensa/aproposito/2019/Juventud2019\\_Nal.pdf](https://www.inegi.org.mx/contenidos/saladeprensa/aproposito/2019/Juventud2019_Nal.pdf) [Accessed October 10, 2018]
- Me gusta que votes. (2018). *Me gusta que votes*. <https://megustaquevotes.mx/> [Accessed November 25, 2018].
- Mitofsky. (2018a). *Análisis votante 2000-2018*. <http://consulta.mx/index.php/estudios-e-investigaciones/elecciones-mexico/item/1073-mexico-analisis-del-votante-en-elecciones-presidenciales-2000-2018> [Accessed October 21, 2018].

- Mitofsky. (2018b). *México 2018: En la recta final, las preferencias al inicio de junio* [PDF File]. <https://repositoriodocumental.ine.mx/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/97151/2-Estudio-Consulta-3a15junio-resultados.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>
- Mitofsky. (2018c). Votantes de CDMX. Análisis de la encuesta de salida. <http://www.consulta.mx/index.php/estudios-e-investigaciones/elecciones-mexico/item/1095-votantes-en-cdmx-analisis-de-exit-poll> [Accessed November 22, 2018].
- Morán, M. L.; Benedicto, J. (2002). *La construcción de una ciudadanía activa entre los jóvenes*. INJUVE.
- Ollin. Jóvenes en movimiento. (2016). *Índice Nacional de Participación Juvenil 2015-2016*. <http://ollinac.org/indice-nacional/>
- Parametría. (2018). ¿Quiénes eligieron a AMLO como presidente? [Figure]. [http://www.parametria.com.mx/carta\\_parametrica.php?cp=5053](http://www.parametria.com.mx/carta_parametrica.php?cp=5053) [Accessed November 22, 2018].
- Ramírez, R.; A. Carrillo, A. M. Fernández, J. Reyes del Campillo (Coords.). (2014). *Entre la tradición y la modernidad. Cultura política y participación ciudadana en el Distrito Federal*. UAM/Ítaca.
- SIMO Consulting. (July 9, 2018). El voto generacional: los jóvenes marcan tendencia en la historia política de México en las elecciones del 2018. *Terceravia.mx*. <https://terceravia.mx/2018/07/el-voto-generacional-los-jovenes-marcan-tendencia-en-la-historia-politica-de-mexico-en-las-elecciones-del-2018/>
- Zuasnabar, I; I. Fynn. (2017). ¿Qué sienten los jóvenes latinoamericanos sobre la política? *Diálogo Político*, 1, 28-39. [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=9e100de7-8815-51ba-e6ca-13a468f9958b&groupId=287914](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=9e100de7-8815-51ba-e6ca-13a468f9958b&groupId=287914)



Esta revista se publicó en el mes de  
agosto de 2021

Manizales - Colombia