

Critical Public Pedagogy of Displacement for Durable Peace in Post-Conflict Colombia

United Nations Institute of Training and Research

Masters Degree in Conflictology

Jaselyn A. E. Hatcher

Tutor- Enrique Tessieri

Academic Year 2015-2016

Seoul, South Korea. September 2016.

Contents

Introduction

1.) Introduction	3
2.) Justification	5
3.) Personal Motivation	7

Contextual Framework

4.) Theoretical Framework	8
5.) Methodology	10
6.) Context of the Population Concerned	12
7.) Objectives	13
8.) Expected Results	14

Scaffolding the Project

1.) Colombia's History of Conflict	16
3.) Drivers	18
4.) Displacement	26
5.) Post-Conflict?	28

Writing the Project

1.) The Case Against Neoliberal Public Pedagogy	29
2.) Scholar-ACTIVIST Research	31
3.) Creating Critical Public Pedagogy?	33
3.) Sociological Intervention	36

Conclusions	40
-------------	----

Bibliography	43
--------------	----

*They unraveled
the dead skin
Coyote threw
on him¹*

Introduction

In the discussion of conflict formation, there are two basic types of incompatibilities: one being over explicit values such as a piece of territory or a commercial right, and the other being more implicit such as the mutually incompatible interests of the repressed and the repressors. We would be mistaken to only include in political analysis the first category. Not long ago, analyses on conflicts were formed in the manner of “East-West”, and then sometime later it became “North-South” and has since transitioned to “the Center countries (US, Japan, Canada etc)-The capitalist elements of the ‘periphery’ nations in the developing world”. But none of these analyses capture conflict formation accurately. Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts have been overwhelmingly intra-state. According to Galtung’s analysis there are several kinds of intra-state conflict formations: class conflicts, racial/ethnic conflicts, and territorial conflicts.² But even intra-state conflict is not an empirical phenomenon. Capitalism vs. socialism, superpowers vs. the rest; these formations interact and feed into one another, creating complex systems of conflict. In 2016, this spectrum of conflict formation has put forced displacement at the highest level ever recorded.

Globally, one in every 122 humans is now either a refugee, an internally displaced person (IDP), or seeking asylum. If this were the population of a country, it would be the world’s 24th largest.³ And the response has been in many ways, less than empathetic. “We should thank the one million desperate migrants for exposing a few uncomfortable truths,” said migration expert Kilian Kleinschmidt “They have exposed the fact that we are not as tolerant as we thought...”⁴

¹ Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony*, (Penguin Books: New York, New York, 1977) 257. This is a Native story representing empowerment and healing.

² Johan Galtung, “Theories of Conflict,” Columbia University et.al. 1958-1973. Lecture Notes Compilation, 125-127. Online: https://www.transcend.org/files/Galtung_Book_Theories_Of_Conflict_single.pdf

³ Johnathan Clayton, “Worldwide Displacement Hits All-Time High As War and Persecution Increase,” June 18, 2015. Online: <http://www.unhcr.org/558193896.html>

⁴ IPI, “Peace Café Discusses People on the Move,” April 5, 2016. Online: <https://www.ipinst.org/2016/04/peace-cafe-discusses-people-on-the-move#2>

Displacement tends to be described exclusively in relation to its immediate trigger for data collection and reporting purposes. But analyzing and responding to displacement is a complex phenomenon that results from multiple underlying drivers. The interaction of economic, social, political, and environmental drivers that have accumulated over time have paved the way toward conflict and violence and forced people to flee their homes.⁵

In the majority of displacement crises (especially protracted crises) the scope and severity is determined by "...political factors that include state fragility, weak governance, corruption, prioritizing economic interests over IDP's needs and rights and the misuse of resources." Data from conflict-related displacement contexts shows a strong correlation between protracted displacement and political crisis, and Colombia is no exception.⁶

This harmful trend of a lack of tolerance towards refugees can be seen between Syria and the EU, in Kenya with Somali refugees, in literature and analysis regarding the Hutu and Tutsi refugees of Rwanda in Uganda and the DRC, in the anti-human rhetoric and policies of developed countries such as Australia, England (who recently voted to leave the EU and whose hate crime rates against migrants has surged since the leave vote)⁷ and the United States. Refugees are to blame for sexual assault in Germany, for crippling economies, for just about everything. You would be forgiven for thinking 'refugee' had become a derogatory term.

The political economy of the western world is shifting, and with it, its deep effects on the less developed countries of the world. This dynamic can encourage one to define the world in terms of a migrant-generating south (comprising Latin America, Africa, and parts of South and South-East Asia) and a migrant resisting north (Western countries, and parts of Europe). But the majority of forced displacement occurs in a South-South basis. Despite this, much of the analysis of the unequal treatment of refugees and migrants has been framed in terms of northern treatment of southern migrants. The North-South framework also "...overlooks the extent to which states within the developing world, many of them victims of the anti-migration regimes of the global north, have come to replicate the North's policies and popular rhetoric at a regional level."⁸

⁵ "Understanding the Root Causes of Displacement: Towards a Comprehensive Approach to Prevention and Solutions," IDMC/ Norwegian Refugee Council Briefing Paper. December 08, 2015, 2-4

⁶ "Understanding the Root Causes of Displacement," 4

⁷ Ben Westcott, "Brexit: Racist Abuse in the UK Reported since Vote to Leave EU," June 28, 2016. Online:: <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/27/europe/racist-attacks-post-brexit/>

⁸ Saul Tobias, "Neoliberal Globalization and the Politics of Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa" *Journal of International and Global Studies* 4.1 (2012): 2

A financial crisis in Europe, and civil war in Syria; A fossil fuel shortage in the US, and civil war in Colombia; how are such global phenomenon seemingly worlds away from each other related? The formation of what we know now as the world we live in, full of nation states and functioning in a global economic pecking order, came from subjugation; came from colonization; came from global capital. The source of displacement currently is the resurgence (if it ever really left) of these same principles. But now the largest import and export in the global economy is war. War pays the bills. Bananas and coffee and cotton are no longer as lucrative as counterinsurgency. World military expenditure continues an upward course in 2016 according to data gathered by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.⁹ The US has the largest military budget in the world: in the fiscal year of 2015, military spending accounts for 54% of all federal spending, at a total of \$598.5 billion dollars.¹⁰ US based companies disproportionately comprise the largest global arms producers. The United States makes more money on war than any other country: 40 of the top 100 arms-producing companies in the world are based in the US.¹¹ This war economy is being built at the expense of the global south. Of the 7 countries with the largest conflict induced displacement, every one of them is in the global south.¹² Of the 40 active armed conflicts listed by the International Institute of Strategic Studies, 37 of them are in the global south.¹³ In Colombia, almost a quarter of a million people have been killed, and 5,840,590 registered as displaced in the decades long conflict.¹⁴

Justification

For Colombia, a significant occurrence has been the success of the peace talks. In June of this year the FARC and the Santos government signed a peace agreement after almost 52 years of fighting and 4 years of negotiations. This peace agreement is a bilateral and definitive ceasefire. The agreement also contains provisions on the demobilizations of 6,800 troops and 8,500 militia members of the FARC around the country. An agreement has been reached and if agreed to by the FARC leaders during their National Guerilla Council Sept. 13th-19th, demobilization will

⁹ SIPRI, "SIPRI Presents Latest Military Expenditure Data at UN Headquarters," April 8, 2016. Online:

<https://www.sipri.org/news/2016/sipri-presents-latest-military-expenditure-data-un-headquarters>

¹⁰ National Priorities Project, "Military Spending in the United States, 2015," Cited June 23, 2016. Online:

<https://www.nationalpriorities.org/campaigns/military-spending-united-states>

¹¹ John Brownlee, "Guess Which Country's Companies Profit Most From War?," February 23, 2015. Online:

<http://www.fastcodesign.com/3042669/infographic-of-the-day/guess-which-countrys-companies-profit-most-from-war>

¹² Julia Blocher, "IDMC's Annual Flagship Report Reveals Record Breaking IDP Figures For Second Year Running," May 14, 2014.

Online: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/blog/2014/a-record-33-3-million-now-displaced-by-conflict-and-violence-worldwide-as-one-family-flees-inside-syria-every-60-seconds/>

¹³ "IISS Armed Conflict Database: Conflicts by Status," Cited June 18, 2016. Online:

<http://acd.iiss.org/en/conflicts?tags=D6943ABDB5364229B5A0E3338AC94EA1>

¹⁴ Louise Hojen, "Colombia's 'Invisible Crisis,': Internally Displaced Persons," COHA, February 02, 2015. Online:

www.coha.org/colombias-invisible-crisis-internally-displaced-persons

begin immediately.¹⁵ Around this time last year the FARC suspended a unilateral ceasefire in the wake of an air strike by the Colombian Army.¹⁶ This time however, a bilateral ceasefire has been agreed to and there is much hope for the future.

Meanwhile, peace talks have yet to officially begin with the second-largest guerilla group, the ELN.¹⁷ The ELN wanted the government to agree to a bilateral ceasefire. Now that they have agreed to such a proposition in the case of the FARC, there may be hopes of peace talks between the government and the ELN this year.

In a recent interview regarding the ceasefire, Santos acknowledged that there were still conflicts with other, smaller groups in the country, many of whom were linked to drug trafficking, but that the biggest obstacle to peace had now been overcome.¹⁸ Recent reports however state that it is these ‘smaller groups’ of neo-paramilitaries, not guerillas, who are Colombia’s primary human rights violators.¹⁹ Paramilitarism was supposedly dismantled when the AUC was demobilized in 2003-2006. During this time former congressmen and hundreds of people in the military were convicted of collaborating with the AUC. More problematically, following this unsuccessful ‘demobilization’ mid-level commanders formed new neo-paramilitary groups.²⁰

In regards to Colombia’s displaced population, Agreement 5 of the recent Havana Peace Accords²¹ suggests reintegration as the best option for going forward. But institutions such as the UNHCR argue that this option is not desirable or even feasible for most displaced people. Since the end of the cold war many policies implemented in post-conflict societies have been overwhelmingly neoliberal, and do not often leave positive effects for the most vulnerable populations.²² To find a way forward this paper will recommend a critical public pedagogy of

¹⁵ Adriaan Alsema, “Violence Between Colombia’s State and FARC Rebels Formally Ends After 52-year War,” *Colombia Reports* August 28th, 2016. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/violence-colombias-state-farc-rebels-formally-ends-52-year-war/>

¹⁶ “Farc Suspends Truce After Colombia Army Attack,” *BBC News Online*, May 23rd, 2015. Online: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-32846164>

¹⁷ “Colombia’s Santos Accuses ELN Of Undermining Peace Talks,” *Telesur English*, May 28th, 2016. Online:

<http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Colombias-Santos-Accuses-ELN-of-Undermining-Peace-Talks-20160528-0015.html>

¹⁸ Sibylla Brodzinsky and Jonathan Watts, “Colombia and FARC Rebels Sign Historic Ceasefire Deal To End 50- Year Conflict,” *The Guardian*, June 23rd 2016. Online: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/23/colombia-farc-rebel-ceasefire-agreement-havana>

¹⁹ Claire Dennis, “Neo-Paramilitaries, Not Guerillas, Colombia’s Primary Human Rights Violators: Report,” *Colombia Reports*, November 06th, 2015. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/neo-paramilitaries-not-guerrillas-are-colombias-primary-human-rights-violators-report/>

²⁰ Claire Dennis, “Neo-Paramilitaries, Not Guerillas, Colombia’s Primary Human Rights Violators: Report,” *Colombia Reports*, November 06th, 2015

²¹ “Agreement Victims” *FARC-EP International* Cited August 20, 2016. Online: <http://farc-epeace.org/peace-process/agreements/agreements/item/939-agreement-victims>

²² See James Ahearne, “Neo-Liberal Economic Policies and Post-Conflict Peace-Building: A Help or Hindrance to Durable Peace?,” in *Polis Journal* vol. 2, Winter 2009: 1-44.

displacement based around a scholar-ACTIVIST corrected method of sociological intervention. This project has recommended specific action for future implementation.

The outcome will be both a scholastic and activist goal. We will be exploring the application of critical public pedagogy²³, insights on rentier capitalism and the war economy²⁴, as well as the concepts of sociological intervention²⁵ in a framework based on decolonial theory.²⁶ In this way we will be reflecting on one or several of the theories relating to conflict resolution by pedagogical means as an expansion on the discussion of forced migration as it relates to conflictology.²⁷ The central question will then be “does sociological intervention (and scholar-ACTIVIST research) have a role to play in grassroots initiatives in post-conflict Colombia?”

Personal motivation

The topic of a shared humanity naturally affects us all. The current climate of Western nations towards people such as refugees, immigrants or ethnic minorities is less than tolerant. But simply attacking this dialogue with liberalism may not produce results. To humanize requires empathy; to empathize requires power dynamics to be illuminated; to illuminate requires research.

Human beings have always found social markers to relate: tribe, clan, family. Social markers can also serve a more menacing purpose of assigning value to individuals or groups based on their proximity to us. This valuation creates a kind of caste, and oftentimes without explicitly acknowledging it we inherit and act upon these valuations. In this way, oppression is created. In our current political landscape, there are multiplicities of oppression such as (but not limited to) nationality, racism, classism, and sexism. Within each individual nation-state, culture, and sub-culture there are again more levels: an ever widening and deepening gash.

Modern globalization has been taking place for some time now. The increase in the exchange of knowledge and capital fueled by technological innovation has brought the world into a deep state of connectivity. To value this connectivity depends on ones relationship to it. If we were to see

²³ See Henry A. Giroux, Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals,” in *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, vol. 1, no.1, March 2004: 59-79.

²⁴ Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations, Rentier Capitalism, and the War System in Colombia,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(3), December 2008, 113-144.

²⁵ Based on Alain Touraines work, and reflections from other scholars. See Alain Touraine. *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

²⁶ See Mignolo, Walter D. (2007) 'DELINKING', *Cultural Studies*, 21:2, 449 - 514

²⁷

globalization as a metaphor one could argue that there is this same sense of leveled significance: one can see the relationship on a spectrum from kingdom rule, to a dance, to an abusive relationship, to slavery. In each of these metaphors the power dynamic is an essential element in determining our relationship to the modern world. With the onset of globalization, climate change gave humanity a wake-up call about scarcity: There is only so much fresh water, only so many plots of land, only so much oil to be found below ground. As we move forward into a world more deeply connected than ever before, we run the risk of destroying possibly our greatest resource: each other.

Theoretical framework

Where research grows from “...matters as much if not more that the kinds of research methods/strategies used or the theoretical frameworks that inform such work.”²⁸ Borrowing from Fals-Borda, Linda Tuiwhai Smith, W. Mignolo, and Anibal Quijano, the theoretical framework is curious enough to listen for the possibility of narratives diverging from the classical canon of research methodology. Research, in the sociological sense, has a history of implicitly and explicitly justifying conquest. Decolonial approaches highlight the relations of power within research by wondering: who is the questioner, who can be the researcher, whose knowledge counts, and whose words are read and heard.²⁹ If this research is a dialogical discussion on liberation, as Audre Lord has said, that change must come from the depths of us. We must touch our own terror and loathing and see whose face it wears.³⁰ Decolonial research is only a mirror into those depths. It is concerned with how we proceed in reconstructing research agendas; how we conduct decolonial research without reproducing colonial structures, and ultimately, how we get beyond the masters tools.³¹ This process requires that political, sociological, and philosophical research take seriously the epistemic perspectives and insights of those in the Global South.³² In the Latin American context, this involves a duality: the economic/political

²⁸ Miguel Zavala, “What Do We Mean By Decolonizing Research Strategies? Lessons From Decolonizing, Indigenous Research Projects in New Zealand and Latin America,” *Decolonization, Indigeneity, Education and Society* Vol. 2, No. 1, 2013: 57

²⁹ Aram Ziai, “Opening Address: Beyond the Masters Tools: Post and Decolonial Approaches to Research Methodology and Methods in the Social Sciences,” Kassel University, Germany: January 14-15, 2016. Online: <http://www.uni-kassel.de/veranstaltung/beyond-the-masters-tools/welcome.html>

³⁰ Audre Lorde. Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle The Master's House: Comments At "the Personal And The Political" Panel: (second Sex Conference, October 29, 1979)

³¹ Aram Ziai, “Opening Address: Beyond the Masters Tools: Post and Decolonial Approaches to Research Methodology and Methods in the Social Sciences,”

³² Ramon Grosfoguel, “Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality,” *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World, School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts, UC Merced*, 2011. Online: <http://dialoglobal.com/texts/grosfoguel/Grosfoguel-Decolonizing-Pol-Econ-and-Postcolonial.pdf> 4

critique(s) and perspective(s), and the racial/ethnic critique(s) and perspective(s).³³ Both critiques are not just relevant but necessary for understanding the present state of the bodies of those involved in displaced spaces.

Modernity, liberalism and imperialism can radically shape cultural discourse. If we take for instance its impact on race, Goldberg states: "...race, as a category, was linked to human reason and morality, to science, to colonialism and to the rights of citizenship in ways that produced the racialized discourse and racist practices of modernity" Race is a created category. Forced displacement is a created category. It is not such a long stretch of the imagination to see this same discourse and mechanisms can apply to displaced people in our societies.³⁴

The point of being explicit in theoretical interpretation is to be aware of imperialistic (traditional) research methods and why choosing to engage in a potentially divergent pathway is important. Linda Tuiwhai Smith points out that imperialism tends to be used in at least four different ways: imperialism as economic expansion; Imperialism as the subjugation of 'others'; Imperialism as an idea or spirit with many forms or realizations, and; Imperialism as a discursive field of knowledge.³⁵ This kind of imperialism can be expressed in peace research as much as any other.³⁶ Lise Howard contests that peacekeeping (as a practice) can only effectively fulfill it's mandate when the local population is being learned *from*, not just 'taught'.³⁷ Tuiwhai Smith states, "In all community approaches process- that is, the methodology and method- is highly important. In many projects the process is far more important than the outcome."³⁸

To go beyond the master's tools requires an approach that's intention is not to represent a community but to listen to their concerns and develop objectives based on dialogical interaction. In Scholar-ACTIVIST research the focal point and beginning of any project is an ethical approach to studying social movements that does not exclude the idea that movements themselves are sights of knowledge production.³⁹ Starting from the need, you then branch out to what is viable, and what is feasible after testing concepts. This theory is currently being applied in the

³³ Ramon Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies..." 4

³⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 'The Intersections of Race and Gender' (Kindle Edition) paragraph 1

³⁵ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 'Imperialism' paragraph 3

³⁶ Although imperialism is not the language Autesserre uses. See Severine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*. Oxford: Cambridge University Press: 2014.

³⁷ Severine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*, 53

³⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 'Community Research' paragraph 9

³⁹ Marcelle C. Dawson and Luke Sinwell, "Ethical and Political Challenges of Participatory Action Research in the Academy: Reflections on Social Movements and Knowledge Production in South Africa," in *Research Ethics and Social Movements*, Kevin Gillan and Jenny Pickering, eds. (Routledge: New York, 2015)

field of research to produce radical change. This is not to say that scholar-activist research cannot be hegemonic, but that it takes steps to acknowledge and shift focus programmatically.⁴⁰

Methodology

This paper is based on two types of information: literature review of primary sources supplemented with secondary sources, and structured interviews. Interviews were performed via Skype, one-on-one, in-person, and through electronic, written correspondence. The main methodological objective of these interviews and source research was to gather modern theories on the causes and perpetuations of the Colombian conflict in a framework based on decolonial theory, shedding new light on long-standing systemic issues, and recommending possible options for a pedagogical way forward in the post-conflict setting. One of the objectives was to conduct research with various NGO's working with displacement in Colombia to ensure any recommendations were built off of existing sustainable frameworks.

In accordance with this objective, planning went into what groups would be contacted to discover what projects are already underway. There were two sets of interviews to begin with. The first set of interviews was conducted with NGO's and individuals who work for NGO's in Colombia, as well as a contact from the Colombian Embassy in Seoul. These contacts were:

Elizabeth Ferris (non-resident senior fellow in Brookings Institute of Foreign Policy)

Gloria Moronta Martin (Office of Communications at Unidad Para la Atencion y Reparacion Integral a las Victimas)

Edwin Ostos Alfonso (Minister Counselor at the Embassy of the Republic of Colombia in Korea)
Assistant Protection Officer at the UNHCR office in Bogota (name withheld)

Some of the initial questions asked in these interviews (conducted in both English and Spanish, but here only in English for the sake of brevity) were:

1.) What are some of the most effective projects being implemented by your organization at present, and why do you think they are effective?

⁴⁰ Marcelle C. Dawson and Luke Sinwell, "Ethical and Political Challenges of Participatory Action Research in the Academy: Reflections on Social Movements and Knowledge Production in South Africa,"

2.) In what way do these projects take into account issues of race and ethnic difference amongst the displaced population?

3.) What do you feel still needs to be done to effect change in the area of displacement recognition?

These interviews explored various ways in which displacement is seen from a policy perspective. In this way the interviews express somewhat of a Track 1 method of understanding. To get a more holistic perspective, discussions of community acceptance (from the perspective of refugee coordinators) were also included in this methodology. The interviews shed light on the various methods used in the process of forced migrant resettlement as well as some insight on potential pitfalls. These interviews were conducted with both US-based refugee workers and South Korean based refugee workers. The people interviewed were:

Jane Kim of the Empathy for a Better World Foundation (South Korea)

Charles Shipman (Arizona State Refugee Coordinator)

Some of the questions asked in these interviews were:

1.) In your years in refugee resettlement work, what have been some of the biggest obstacles to successful resettlement?

2.) What kind of pedagogical models have you engaged with during your time as a refugee worker?

3.) Have you found any of these methods more successful than others and why?

4.) Is there any way that the uprootedness of peoples can be seen in an inherently positive light? (This question pertains to the positional approach of specific actions to be implemented at the conclusion of the thesis.)

The literary sources concentrated on were: 1.) the war system in Colombia 2.) displacement perspectives and its effects in Colombia and 3.) sociological and pedagogical models relevant to displacement in Colombia and beyond.

In exploring the war system in Colombia, Nazih Richani's *Systems of Violence* was intrinsic to this understanding. Various other papers on neoliberalism, global policy, and the history of Colombia (including the recent panel of historians who presented their findings in Havana during the 2016 Peace talks with the FARC) were also consulted. In exploring perspectives on forced displacement, various NGO's working in Colombia and refugee coordinators in third-country resettlement were interviewed (as previously mentioned). Literary sources including papers written by various experts in forced migration, and statistical data from trusted organizations (Internal Displacement Monitoring System, UNHCR, International Peace Institute, the Norwegian Refugee Council) were consulted. In exploring potential sociological and pedagogical models, several literary sources were consulted: Paulo Freire, Roberto Unger, and Alain Touraine amongst many others.

Context of the Population Concerned

According to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, IDP's are "...persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border."⁴¹

In Colombia, this population has a trifold connection: political (leftist/Marxist), social (peasants/rural workers) and ethnic (concerns specific to ethnic groups such as indigenous peoples and Afro Colombians.)

According to the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia between 1996 and 2003 "...1,000 indigenous persons were murdered, while around 14,000 were forcedly displaced from their territories. More recently, between 2003 and 2006, 519 indigenous individuals were murdered, while 25,000 people were displaced. According to official sources, 1,641 indigenous

⁴¹ Global Database, "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement," *Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement and Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University*, 2007. Online: http://www.law.georgetown.edu/idp/english/id_faq.html

persons were assassinated between 1985 and 2006.⁴² Most displacements also take place in remote rural areas of Colombia where a large portion of the population are in precarious socio-economic situations.⁴³

Politicians and UN representatives have publicly emphasized the ethnic and racial aspect of Colombia's armed conflict. The situation for this ethnic minority is so poor, that The Inter-American Commission referred to it as a "...humanitarian and human-rights crisis." Since 2009, it has been recognized that the fundamental rights of the country's displaced Afro-Colombian population were being "massively and continuously ignored."⁴⁴

In relation to indigenous peoples, aside from war and narcotrafficking, foreign capital investments deliberately interfere with indigenous land to carry out any number of moneymaking ventures such as oil pipelines, mines, or dams. These projects are protected by hired paramilitaries who act with impunity towards indigenous people, particularly if they stand up against the projects. In this way we can see how closely globalization is related to the causes of forced displacement. "In other words, it is fundamental that one does not reduce the phenomenon of forced displacement to a collateral effect of the armed conflict, but that one understands it as a war strategy intended to protect certain economic interests." These economic interests will create a caste system of importance based on how the person's life fits into the neoliberal public pedagogy. Issues of race, class and capital converge here to produce a systemic effect on those with the least.⁴⁵

Objectives

To gather modern research theories in a framework based on decolonial theory shedding new light on long-standing systemic issues, and using the sociological intervention method to form a critical public pedagogy to include the displaced experience as a tool for durable peace in post-conflict Colombia.

Using the SMART mnemonic we can delineate specific objectives:

⁴² Erik Fatorelli, "Urban Indigenous People: The Multidimensional Vulnerability of the Colombian indigenous IDPs and the International Legal Instruments : The Case Study of Villavicencio," SSOAR, 2010. 11

⁴³ Louise Hojen, "Colombia's 'Invisible Crisis,' : Internally Displaced Persons," COHA, February 02, 2015.

⁴⁴ Human Rights Watch, "The Crisis In Buenaventura," last updated March, 2014. Online: http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/colombia0314webwcover_1.pdf, 4

⁴⁵ Erik Fatorelli, "Urban Indigenous People: The Multidimensional Vulnerability of the Colombian indigenous IDPs and the International Legal Instruments," 16

S- To provide compelling reasoning behind using/seeing displaced people as skilled resources in creating peace and preventing further conflict.

M- To put the burden of responsibility for Colombia's conflict where it belongs, focusing on proven drivers in the deterioration of Colombia's situation over time. We do this by measuring the theories up against the potential usage in Colombia.

T- To use the concepts of scholar-ACTIVIST research and recommend pathways forward for bottom-up civil society engagement on displacement.

R- To use methods of PAR that have been developed for a critical and activist agenda relevant to the population at hand to build a critical public pedagogy able to counter unhelpful alternatives (such as neoliberal public pedagogy)

T- The goal is to conjoin this research in 2016, relevant to the ongoing peace process in Colombia.

Expected Results

The first proposed research ethic is choosing sides. This means one must move away from the "...pretense of neutrality, objectivity, and impartiality."⁴⁶ This begs the question of who benefits from our research, and who really gets to decide the relevance of such research: academics? NGO-related workers and organizations? It is the pretense of this paper that those affected by the research will take up the real decision of relevance.

Expected results are based on the framework of connectivity and a shared vision. It is the idea surrounding Freireian pedagogy itself: feedback.⁴⁷ This feedback is based on equalization, which happens via shared information. Creating this feedback loop of scholar and activist develops connectivity. This connectivity (as opposed to the prescriptive nature of other forms of pedagogy) is the hoped for result of the final thesis. To apply this directly to displacement in the Colombian context, the expectation would then be quite bold: the creation of a critical public pedagogy of displacement and its potential for future development projects and policy implementation.

Throughout the UNITAR degree in conflictology, the importance of peace-based research and dialogue has been emphasized. Although conflict is a seriously justice-oriented issue, it is important to keep in mind that the overarching theme and goal of any research undertaken in this

⁴⁶ "International Conference Beyond The Master's Tools: Post and Decolonial Approaches to Research Methodology and Methods in the Social Sciences," Online: <http://www.uni-kassel.de/veranstaltung/beyond-the-masters-tools/welcome.html>

⁴⁷ See Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed 30th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Continuum, 2000.

degree is to impact peace. Forcibly displaced people are both a humanitarian and a developmental concern; an environmental and an economic concern. But migrants are not statistics, they are human; a fact a large majority seem to be forgetting.⁴⁸ The kind of advocacy expected from this research is directed at the systems and institutions that create obstacles to the fulfillment of humanity through the direct voices of the people themselves. Tying all of these strings together, the result is of pedagogy that can speak to a democratic authenticity in respect to uprootedness, neoliberal policies, and civil society demands. How can we build such a model that specifically engages with activism? A pedagogy that builds into itself an understanding of displacement and the concepts of knowledge, success, and upward movement rather than the perspective of ‘aid’ and ‘help’? These are the questions driving the results forward.

Many of the expectations are bold and intangible. However, some expectations can be delineated based on the position of the researcher, and the interviews that have previously been conducted (see ‘Methodology’ above). Tangibly, I expect:

- 1.) To find an abundance of research on the Colombian conflict that is either influenced by neoliberal policy and factions and divisions within the ideological differences represented by the ‘right’ or ‘left’ in Colombia itself. However, I also expect that through thorough search and questioning, a plethora of books, articles, and sources will be found that speak to a different and more bottom-up understanding.
- 2.) To end up depending heavily on the interviewed sources for ‘where to go to next.’ Having access to knowledge about what is being done by those who are doing it is invaluable information, and will shape the format of any applied theory.
- 3.) To form pedagogy of displacement that is based on several different educational models and projects already underway in varying parts of the world.
- 4.) To discover policy options that can feasibly be recommended. Since displacement is an economic, political, humanitarian, and developmental concern I expect this will end up being an inevitably necessary addition to the paper.
- 5.) I expect that the end result will be difficult to shape. Because of the nebulousness of displacement (or any humanitarian crisis), formulating an original, applied theory in this instance is a cause for concern.

⁴⁸ Owen Jones, “Refugees are Human: This Simple Fact Seems to Have Been Forgotten,” *The Guardian*, August 28th, 2015. Online: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/28/migrants-humans-drowning-suffocating-safety-statistics>

Colombia's History of Conflict

*They cut it up
bundle by bundle*

Start your story with the word “secondly”, and you neglect to discuss what came first. Start the story of Colombia in the midst of the drug trade and not in Eurocentric colonial thought, and you have an entirely different story: Start your story with guerilla attacks, and not the politics of *latifundios*, and you will have a different story. To begin the story of displacement from which to formulate pedagogical models, it is imperative that the process begins with what happened first.⁴⁹

Galtung's analysis of intra-state conflict formation factors rings true for Colombia. Territorial, racial/ethnic, and class fault lines served to create the country as we know it today, one of the most beautiful but unequal in the world. In 1824 Simon Bolivar's vision united present-day Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador and Colombia into the Republic of Greater Colombia. Although that vision saw separation into today's nation-states, the two political parties of Conservative (Bolivar's party) and Liberal (vice president Santander's party) remained. Unfortunately, so did the periods of war and peace that have marked Colombia's history: A brutal civil war from 1899-1902, and a very shaky peace until 1930. With the assassination of populist leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, a ten year period of violence known as *La Violencia* began, which many historians mark as the beginning of Colombia's current longstanding and intractable conflict.⁵⁰

Economically, Oxfam has noted that 80% of land in Colombia is owned and run by a mere 14% of people, and this inequality has actually increased in the last 50+ years. Between 1823 and 1931 the Colombian government sold off large tracts of land to pay debts, which resulted in a highly concentrated land ownership: just .4% of the population owns 62% of the country's most arable land.⁵¹ Before the 1920's, Colombia's economy was built on a peasant economic model; that is to say, the farming of beans, coffee, bananas, cocoa and various crops to be sold on the world market. However, “With the advent of oil exploration and the beginning of its commercial extraction in the 1920s, the peasant economy in areas of oil exploitation witnessed the pressures

⁴⁹ See Mourid Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah* (Anchor Books: USA, 2003) 178

⁵⁰ “Colombia,” Infoplease.com. Cited June 21, 2016. Online: <http://www.infoplease.com/country/colombia.html>

⁵¹ Joel Gillin, “Understanding the Causes of Colombias Conflict: Inequality,” January 7, 2015. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/understanding-colombias-conflict-inequality>

of a changing political economy.” The wages able to be earned in the oil industry were far greater than those of a peasant farmer, especially at a time when the market demands for cash crops like potatoes, cotton etc were sinking to new lows.⁵² Changes in the political economy continued in various sectors, increasing the divide between the haves and have-nots and building the foundation of violent conflict to come.

This dynamic of “*campesino* colonization” in the peripheral areas of the country (due to the failure to adopt agrarian reform and redistribute land) as well as political and historical tensions (inequality, both racial and economic) affected the way in which the government of Colombia was formed. It occurred in a “...gradual state-building process, which staggered political participation and resulted in an uneven state presence in the region.” With the addition of an unequal and uneven state, conflict soon led to the formation of strong insurgent groups who rose up from social bases in the peasant areas.

The peasant economy was a carry-over or continuation of the original colonial model forced onto what is now Latin America. This model encompasses the three main drivers of intra-state tension. In his paper ‘Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America,’ Anibal Quijano states that the beginnings of how we view the history of ‘America’ is a Eurocentric phenomenon. “...it is necessary to admit that the colonization of America, its immediate consequences in the global market, and the formation of a new model of global power are a truly tremendous historical change and that they affect not only Europe but the entire globe.”⁵³ In the beginning, racist practices including slavery of black people, and the serfdom and enslavement of indigenous people in the Americas imposed by the European colonists worked to serve the same purpose of producing goods for the global market. These factors converging with political ideologies and neoliberal economic policies set the scene for mass violence and displacement in a convergence dubbed ‘the war system’.

Drivers

Colombia’s conflict is incredibly complex and has a multitude of inter-connected factors. All of these factors are active not only in the war system, but are causes of mass displacement. The mere existence of a high incidence of violence is not an indicator that a war system exists. What is

⁵² Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations,” 117

⁵³ Anibal Quijano, “Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America,” *Nepantla: Views From South* vol1 iss. 3, 2000, 547

more important here is the violence stemming from the hegemonic crisis of the state exacerbated by a credible armed opposition, producing an impasse.⁵⁴

A war system is formed under three key conditions:

- 1.) the failure of the institutions, the channels, and the prevailing political mechanisms to mediate conflicts among social and political groups.
- 2.) The antagonists' success in adapting themselves to conflict by establishing a "positive political economy" through accumulating political and economic assets that make the condition of war the best available option and
- 3.) A balance of forces among the conflicting groups or actors that results in a comfortable impasse.⁵⁵

The issue of land is central to Colombia's conflict. About 76.9 percent of the land conflicts in 1971 took place in the *latifundios* of the Atlantic coast, in the inner valleys, and in the eastern llanos where large cattle *latifundios* and agrarian capitalism were developing. The rest of the land conflicts occurred in the Andean departments on *minifundios*.⁵⁶

Law 200 was one of the first laws of its kind that attempted to address this issue. In the end, Law 200 left the *latifundios* intact. All large landowners had to do was get rid of tenants and sharecroppers to avoid land claims (part of the stipulations in Law 200). "Buying out sharecroppers' shares and forcing them to sell became an institutionalized mechanism of violence that laid some of the ground rules of the war system of the 1970's and beyond."⁵⁷ Then there was law 100, which denied tenants and sharecroppers the possibility of becoming landowners.⁵⁸ *La Violencia* was the logical outcome of the sociopolitical crisis and the inability of the prevailing institutional arrangement to contain it.⁵⁹

As such since the turn of the twentieth century, the violence in Colombia can be explained partly in terms of failure of the state (defined as an ensemble of institutions) to adjudicate and resolve social conflicts, particularly in the distribution of income and resources such as land.⁶⁰ This means that the conflict has negatively affected the rural poor more than anyone else. As

⁵⁴ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia* (New York: Suny Press, 2013) 159

⁵⁵ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 3

⁵⁶ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 30

⁵⁷ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 19

⁵⁸ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 21-22

⁵⁹ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 22

⁶⁰ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 11-12

paramilitaries and guerilla organizations as well as the US and Colombian forces fight to protect their empires, abuses of civilians continue. In a humanitarian crisis such as this that involves approximately 6 million displaced people Colombia's ethnic groups are disproportionately affected.⁶¹ The people in Colombia's vulnerable sectors cope with their land being unsafe due to the planting of antipersonnel mines, and their person being unsafe due to threats of dismemberment, torture, and sexual violence.⁶² In some areas of the country, these acts continue with impunity.⁶³ These groups who commit these atrocities have at times benefited from the tolerance and collusion of state agents.⁶⁴

One of the key drivers of displacement is violence-based conflict dealing with insurgent groups. However, the armed struggle in Colombia continues despite offensive military strategies by the government.⁶⁵ To understand the current violence (including state-sanctioned) it's impossible to separate economic and political factors.⁶⁶ Research on the socio-institutional nature of insurgency might be able to offer some insight and help policymakers understand and explain the roots of insurgent cohesion and fragmentation, and the causes of organizational change.⁶⁷

The prewar networks in which insurgent leaders are embedded determine the nature of the organizations they can build when war begins. Preexisting social bases vary as a kind of resource, and insurgents attempt to build and protect these social ties in order to expand their organizational power. Likewise, different patterns of violence are linked to different patterns of organization.”⁶⁸

Towards the end of *La Violencia* in the early 1960's, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (or FARC as is its Spanish moniker) was formed out of frustration with the government and with a statute of defending the poor and working class. In 1964 the Colombian military attacked a FARC meeting, marking the historical beginning of this deadly insurgency/counterinsurgency game. The FARC survived in its early days by kidnapping for ransom. This encouraged various wealthy landowners and elites to form their own armed groups known as paramilitaries (the AUC being the largest.) In the 1980's the drug trade began to fund both of these sides of the violence, and the people began to suffer greatly. The FARC lost a

⁶¹ F. González, “The Colombian Conflict in historical perspective,” 4.

⁶² Human Rights Watch World Report: Colombia, 2015,” online: <http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/colombia>

⁶³ Human Rights Watch, “The Crisis In Buenaventura,”

⁶⁴ “Human Rights Watch World Report: Colombia, 2015”

⁶⁵ Renata Dwan and Micaela Gustavsson, “Major Armed Conflicts,” for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Cited May 25th, 2015. Online: <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2004/03>

⁶⁶ Jasmin Hristov, *Blood and Capital: The Paramilitarization of Colombia* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009) Consult ‘preface and acknowledgements,’ Kindle Edition.

⁶⁷ Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2014) 1

⁶⁸ Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*, 1

majority of its popular support, but the power was already in the hands of those with arms. Mass displacements in the middle regions of Colombia began occurring at this time, as did widespread killings, disappearances, dismemberments, and fear campaigns which left neither the guerillas, paramilitaries, Colombian military or the US without blood on their hands.⁶⁹ It is important to see that every part of the war system is complicit. Any tendency to separate and de-historicize the conflict from its roots is a dangerous game that encourages knee-jerk policies which have only served to fan the flames of violence.⁷⁰

Guerilla Groups: FARC and the ELN

The regional peasant movements began in Colombia during the 1920's and 1930's. People organized in response to harsh working conditions imposed on them by landowners, and the lack of agrarian reform in general. The main guerilla group in Colombia, the FARC, would currently fall under the category of an integrated insurgent group. "These groups are the most effective militarily and are resilient in the face of pressure from counterinsurgents. They are not necessarily widely popular or ultimately victorious, but their organizational cohesion makes them major political and military players in civil wars."⁷¹ For a long time, theory has placed emphasis on understanding insurgent groups by emphasizing issues of ideology, resource endowments and state policy. And although these analyses are helpful, it doesn't end up explaining why some insurgent groups are more successful than others, or help to determine what form of engagement should be established by interventions.⁷²

"These groups coalesced in the rural area of southern Tolima - with its nucleus in Chaparral, Viotá - the hub of Cundinamarca's coffee zone, and in other parts of the department such as Tequendama and Sumapaz. The authorities' use of force in response to these conflicts set the stage for the peasant resistance of the mid-1930s to evolve into an armed self-defense movement by the close of the following decade."⁷³ The ideological influences around this organizing were often socialist and communist. During the 1950's those in power (many of whom had significant influence in government) made great moves to keep their power. They dismantled labor

⁶⁹ Stanford University-Mapping Militant Organizations, "Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, Peoples Army," Cited June 20, 2016. Online: <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/89>

⁷⁰ Jasmin Hristov, *Blood and Capital: The Paramilitarization of Colombia*, Consult 'Colombia in the Literature: Myths and Reality About the War,' Kindle Edition.

⁷¹ Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*, 6

⁷² Juan Masullo J., "Book Review: Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse," *Global Policy*, May 15, 2015. Online: <http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/15/05/2015/book-review-networks-rebellion-explaining-insurgent-cohesion-and-collapse>

⁷³ Ricardo Vargas, "The Revolutionary Armed Forces Of Colombia (FARC) and the Illicit Drug Trade," *The Transnational Institute* June 07, 1999. Online: <https://www.tni.org/en/briefing/revolutionary-armed-forces-colombia-farc-and-illicit-drug-trade>

movements and in many unofficial ways, outlawed communism.⁷⁴ This aggression continued on, and was the background for the formation of the largest guerilla group in Colombia: The Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, or the FARC.

Assumptions about why people joined the FARC diverge greatly depending on ones political proximity. “The closer parties felt to the insurgents, the more they emphasized ideological purposes, while center-oriented respondents also mentioned poverty as a reason for joining the movement. Right wing parties underlined crime and blackmail, though it is worth mentioning that demobilized paramilitaries indicated that for many people caught in the middle of the conflict it was inevitable to become insurgents.”⁷⁵

The FARC also fulfilled many responsibilities traditionally held by states in the areas of their strong presence:

“Playing the role of de facto state dispensing justice, regulating market relations, and protecting the environment by applying what FARC calls *reglas de convivencia*. The rules stipulate laws and sanctions regarding issues such as carrying arms, fishing and hunting, working hours, liquor consumption, prostitution, interfamily violence, drug abuse, and cutting trees. The impasse provided stability to the war system and allowed guerilla groups and the state to coexist and accommodate their strategies to these conditions.”⁷⁶

Seeing as the FARC is a vertically integrated group based on discipline and obedience, the motives of the movement are better defined if we examine the motives of its leadership: represent Colombia’s rural poor by seizing power through armed revolution, and establishing government.⁷⁷ This in turn produces an opposition to privatization of natural resources, and the influence of multinational corporations and other countries such as the U.S.⁷⁸

The ELN was also founded for similar reasons as the FARC. But rather than peasant activists, the ELN’s ranks were dominated by students and left-wing intellectuals. It has been said that this

⁷⁴Ricardo Vargas, “The Revolutionary Armed Forces Of Colombia (FARC) and the Illicit Drug Trade,” *The Transnational Institute* June 07, 1999.

⁷⁵ Georgios Xenokratis “Rebels, Criminals, or Both? The Role of Ideology in the Colombian Conflict.” In “Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015” *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies* : 11

⁷⁶ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 85

⁷⁷ Georgios Xenokratis “Rebels, Criminals, or Both? The Role of Ideology in the Colombian Conflict.” 11

⁷⁸ “The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia,” Hubpages Online, August 30, 2011. Online: <http://hubpages.com/politics/The-Revolutionary-Armed-Forces-of-Colombia>

combination caused the ELN to be more ideologically radical. So much so that they traditionally shunned the trade in drugs as “antirevolutionary” until a cocaine processing complex was found in 2015 to be run by them. The majority of their estimated 2,000 members operate in Northeastern Colombia.⁷⁹

Whatever the intended goals of the guerilla groups have been, the outcome of their actions has lent them inadvertently to war-system dynamics that cause displacement.⁸⁰

Paramilitaries/*Bacrim*

Paramilitary groups converged in the 1990s under a unified leadership and with a conservative political program to support the state’s armed forces and to protect drug routes and landed elites.⁸¹

The landowning class built its own militias to protect their interests, and the narco bourgeoisie built its paramilitary organizations. These paramilitaries have strong connections to the Colombian military. The military has actually been instrumental in the ascendancy of paramilitary organizations since the 1960’s. Many groups were formed with the active participation of local commanders. Half of the commanders of the Colombian army are investigated for alleged links to paramilitary groups.⁸² Considering that guerillas were threatening the social order from which all these groups benefited, it is not surprising they played an integral part in the war system.

Officially, paramilitary groups no longer exist in Colombia. The largest paramilitary group (the AUC) demobilized between 2003-2006. One of the most dangerous creations of the demobilized paramilitaries and the proliferation of narcotics are breakaway ‘*bacrim*’ or *bandas criminales*. In 2012 *bacrim* caused 43% of all displacements. They target land claimants, making it incredibly difficult to enforce land restitution processes and perpetuating a culture of fear amongst displaced people (direct threats to family members number as one of the strongest indicators for why displaced people do not want to move back to their places of origin).⁸³ Since 2012, more than 700

⁷⁹ Danielle Renwick, “Colombia’s Civil Conflict,” *CFR Backgrounders*, August 25, 2016. Online: <http://www.cfr.org/colombia/colombias-civil-conflict/p9272>

⁸⁰ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 57

⁸¹ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 100

⁸² Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 51

⁸³ Klaus Deininger, Ana Maria Ibanez, and Pablo Querubin, “Towards Sustainable Return Policies For The Displaced Population: Why Are Some Displaced Households More Willing To Return Than Others?” HICN Working Paper 07, 2004: 13

internally displaced people and their leaders attempting to reclaim land through the Victims Law reported threats from *bacrim*.⁸⁴

Insurgency comes in various shapes and sizes. The paramilitaries in Colombia and the guerillas may appear to serve one and the same purpose, but there are some very important differences. The guerillas originated from the struggle against capitalism, whereas paramilitaries were formed to protect the individuals with large capital (be it landowners or narcotraffickers). In the end their interests are irreconcilable.⁸⁵

Civil wars are not simple clashes of will. Guerillas in Colombia have managed to propagate a system of fear. Paramilitaries have been able to embed themselves into state and economic structures, collude with officials as armed political parties and mobilize as allies for economic gain or against mutual enemies.⁸⁶ Paul Staniland states “In the political economy research on civil war, there is a real danger of turning insurgents into simple criminals out for loot and lucre...sometimes armed groups are in fact solely driven by material urges, but building policy on this assumption risks misunderstanding the roots of rebellion and adding dubious intellectual legitimacy to the machinations of counterinsurgent regimes.”⁸⁷

The latter has been done with insistence in Colombia. “Insurgent behavior is not chosen or implemented in a vacuum. Capturing the organizational roots of strategic interaction is crucial to understanding how war is waged...the endogenous processes of interaction and historical change that are at the heart of war are precisely what we need to understand.”⁸⁸ And understanding insurgency is intrinsic to the potential for durable peace.

Rentier Capitalism

Rentier Capitalism is a term used to refer to a form of capitalism that monopolizes resources and gains without adding back to an economy. It is a particularly monopolistic, unequal and parasitic form of capitalism. Multinational corporations (MC's) are culpable in this form of violence, especially in Colombia. They not only generated violence but also “...financed opposing forces:

⁸⁴ Caitlin Watson, “Forced Internal Displacement in Colombia: Challenges of Addressing Victims’ Needs and Implementing the Ambitious Victims’ Law,” In “Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015” *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies* : 50

⁸⁵ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 105

⁸⁶ Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*, 223

⁸⁷ Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*, 228

⁸⁸ Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*, 220

guerrillas on one side, the state and paramilitaries on the other.” Richani goes on to say “... Wittingly or unwittingly, MCs helped to maintain a balance of forces (a comfortable impasse) that allowed the perpetuation of the war system, which explains the long duration of the civil war.”⁸⁹ Dyncorp is the largest firm operating in Colombia. They are hired by the U.S. State Department’s International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Bureau under a reported \$600 million contract to support coca eradication programs in Colombia. As an estimate, Dyncorp maintains 335 employees in Colombia, only one- third of whom are U.S. citizens. The rest are mercenaries from other Latin American countries.⁹⁰

The US and her interests are then not free from complicity in this war. Besides the enormous budget and training assistance the US has provided to Colombia, the collusion of multinational corporations (many who have close ties to the US) in the rentier capitalism of Colombia is deeply tied to the continuation of war. The strong links between the U.S. government and private military companies that contract with it have raised serious questions about the legality and frequency with which governments are accepting private security companies services.⁹¹

One would perhaps think that war is bad for business, but for multinational corporations in war-torn Colombia the opposite seems to be true. Corporations working in extractive sectors (oil, gold, and coal) are not dependent exclusively on the market of violence to gain their profit, but benefiting from displacement through land grabs and other forms of capital formation.⁹² However, private security corporations (PSCs) trade directly in the market of violence. International and national agents, including the aforementioned corporations, use PSCs services. This profiting from violence and displacement is at the center of the war economy.⁹³ It is estimated that oil and security MC’s may have provided between 40 to 60 percent of the guerrillas’ income over the last two decades.⁹⁴

Six multinational corporations have been alleged to have links to paramilitaries in Colombia. Lawsuits have been brought against many of said companies by labor unions that have alleged

⁸⁹ Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations,” 115

⁹⁰ Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations,” 135

⁹¹ Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations,” 134-135

⁹² “Widespread illegal mining for gold and platinum also contributes to forced displacement. In 2012, some 87% of displacement occurred in municipalities that receive royalties from mining and oil production, such as Chocó, Cauca, and Antioquia.” See Caitlin Watson, “Forced Internal Displacement in Colombia: Challenges of Addressing Victims’ Needs and Implementing the Ambitious Victims’ Law,” In “Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015” *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies* : 49

⁹³ Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations,” 116

⁹⁴ Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations” 126

their hiring of paramilitary groups to assassinate union members.⁹⁵ Multinational firms also provide the Colombian government diplomatic support for its position against the guerrillas, as was clearly manifested by the lobbying campaigns of Occidental Oil and BP in the U.S Congress to increase the military assistance to Colombia, actively engaging in war system dynamics.⁹⁶

Another aspect is that a rapidly changed subsistence economy and the ease of coca cultivation pushed many poor peasants to grow coca. Today the mid-level commanders of the ‘demobilized’ paramilitary groups formed the majority of Colombia’s drug trafficking organizations. Guerillas have also been complicit in the drug trade, benefiting from the taxation on coca farmers and labs. The UN estimates that over 300,000 farming families in these deeply rural regions survive off of coca cultivation, with few options for legally reintegrating into the economy.⁹⁷

This aspect of the rentier economy at odds with a subsistence peasant economy is not a rupture in the war system so much as a continuation by differing means. Poor peasants, *colonos*, indigenous, and Afro-Colombian communities whose lands became the target of speculators (such as narcotraffickers real estate companies, and wealthy individuals) and multinational companies have remained the victims in this newest cycle as well.⁹⁸

The war system was not the optimal choice of the actors, but rather was dictated by the conflict strategies that actors under a condition of military impasse adopted. The origins of the war system lie in the instability of property rights in rural areas coupled with the large landowners, cattle ranchers, narcobourgeoisie, and the multinational corporations’ interests in propelling rentier capitalism in rural areas, and creating a complex web of violence.⁹⁹

Displacement

Just as the causes of conflict are complex, so is displacement. When people living in conflict-dominated countries were asked about their greatest fears, fear of displacement was among their top three concerns “...after losing a loved one and economic hardship – but above death, physical

⁹⁵ These companies are Coca Cola, Drummond, BP, Occidental Oil, Silver Shadow and Defense Systems Limited. Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations,” 130

⁹⁶ Nazih Richani, “Multinational Corporations,” 130

⁹⁷ Adriaan Alsema, “Drug Trafficking in Colombia,” *Colombia Reports* August 2, 2015. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/drug-trafficking-in-colombia/>

⁹⁸ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 36

⁹⁹ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 129

injury and sexual and gender-based violence.”¹⁰⁰ The majority of municipalities where the actors of the war system coincide are in the areas where *latifundios* and large cattle ranchers dominate and where a rentier economy is flourishing. This represents continuity in the history of land struggle: narco-trafficking did not represent a rupture but rather an aggravation of this crisis.¹⁰¹ CODHES demonstrate that 65 percent of those forced to abandon their lands and homes as a direct result of the massacres and death threats by narco-traffickers lost their rights to the land.¹⁰²

Colombia’s minority groups are suffering from a historical marginalization that has led to greater representation of these groups in overall IDP numbers. Although Colombia has comparatively progressive laws about these groups, they also tend towards a regressive implementation.¹⁰³ Despite differences in ideology and at some turns, implementation, Colombian minority communities suffer unjustifiably in the face of all armed actors. Both indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities have come to regard all armed actors as invaders and threats to their land and traditional societies.¹⁰⁴

In comparison with those who have not been displaced, IDPs have lower standards of living. The *Comisión de Seguimiento*, a monitoring institution mandated by the Constitutional Court to assess governmental policies and comply with the Court’s decision to devote more resources to IDPs, issued a series of reports documenting their particular vulnerabilities. People interviewed for this study cited different figures, likely due to the fact that Afro-Colombians and indigenous groups – traditionally poorer and more marginalized – are so over-represented in the displaced population.¹⁰⁵

Displacement has been viewed by the Colombian Constitutional Court as an ‘unconstitutional state of affairs, or something that represents a break in the normal working order of the expectations of society.’¹⁰⁶ Law 1448 of 2011, Article 13 incorporates the ‘principle of differential approach that guides all processes, measures and actions carried out to assist, serve, protect and

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Ferris and Rebecca Winthrop, “Education and Displacement: Assessing Conditions for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Affected by Conflict,” *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011*: 4

¹⁰¹ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 114

¹⁰² Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 115-116

¹⁰³ Maude Morrison, “Living at the Margins: The Impact of the Conflict on Colombia’s Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Populations,” In “Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015” *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*: 33

¹⁰⁴ Maude Morrison, “Living at the Margins: The Impact of the Conflict on Colombia’s Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Populations,” 35

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth Ferris, “Changing Times: The International Response to Internal Displacement in Colombia,” *Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement* December 2014: 16-17. Online: <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Changing-Timesthe-Intl-Response-to-Internal-Displacement-in-Colombia-December-2014.pdf>

¹⁰⁶ E-mail exchange with UNHCR Colombia Protection Officer August 2016.

fully compensate victims of the conflict.¹⁰⁷ This implementation of public policy support and reparations was put in place as a recognition that armed conflict has disproportionately affected certain vulnerable groups of people including (but not limited to) indigenous, afro-Colombian, and Roma peoples.¹⁰⁸

In terms of overcoming the shortcomings identified by the Constitutional Court in 2008, 2009, and 2011, in 2015 the national government focused its efforts on: understanding the particularities of the population affected, and strengthening instruments and information services for this population.¹⁰⁹ Out of this decision was designated free education with special emphasis on ensuring access to vulnerable people and victims of the armed conflict.¹¹⁰ The progress was such that by 2014 87.8% of children and young people aged 5-17 regularly attend an establishment of formal education, and the displaced population is not far from the non-displaced population in terms of numbers.¹¹¹

The UNHCR/UNDP implemented a joint plan working with displaced peoples in certain parts of Colombia with high rates of IDPs (mainly Soacha outside of Bogota) on the TSI scheme, or Transitional Solutions Initiative. The budget for this program in total is USD 14, 773, 461.81 and is allocated to both development and humanitarian themes. There are specific community phases that have been implemented since June 2012. The budget allocated has been used on the needs of various communities and ranges in use from access to basic services, strengthening institutions and organizations, protecting victims and their rights, economic development, land and housing, monitoring and evaluation, and access to housing.¹¹² Grassroots organizations such as *the Liga de Mujeres*, are proactively using research to advance their own agendas to policymakers and humanitarian organizations.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ E-mail exchange with Minister Counselor of the Colombian Embassy in the Republic of South Korea. Translated from the original Spanish.

¹⁰⁸ E-mail exchange with Minister Counselor of the Colombian Embassy in the Republic of South Korea

¹⁰⁹ Colombian Constitutional Court Information on *Auto 298* of the 27th of July, 2015 (translated from the original Spanish). pg. 25

¹¹⁰ Colombian Constitutional Court Information on *Auto 298* of the 27th of July, 2015. pg. 26

¹¹¹ Colombian Constitutional Court Information on *Auto 298* of the 27th of July, 2015. pg. 27

¹¹² UNHCR, "Concept Note: Transitional Solutions Initiative UNDP and UNHCR in Collaboration With the World Bank," online: <http://www.unhcr.org/partners/partners/4e27e2f06/concept-note-transitional-solutions-initiative-tsi-undp-unhcr-collaboration.html>

¹¹³ See Kristin Bergtora Sandvik & Lemaitre, Julieta (2015) 'From IDPs to Victims in Colombia: A Bottom-Up Reading of Law in Post- Conflict Transitions' in Saul, Matthew & Sweeney, James A. (eds.) *International Law and Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy*, Routledge.

Post-Conflict?

The formal, bilateral ceasefire and “leaving aside” of weapons took place on August 29th, 2016 (during the writing of this paper). Between September 13th and September 19th the FARC will hold their 10th (and last) National Guerilla Conference and vote on the peace deal. If accepted, the FARC will proceed with demobilization as early as September 23rd. From the day of the signing, a 180-day demobilization process will begin immediately.¹¹⁴ The FARC’s units will begin to move to Temporary Hamlets following routes agreed upon by the government and the FARC. The monitoring mission will oversee this process including the gathering of FARC’s individual weapons. After a final peace accord the FARC’s weapons stockpiles must be moved to the *Zonas* under the supervision of the UN mission.¹¹⁵

The ELN peace talks have also established an agenda. Exploratory dialogues have been happening for about 2 years in various countries around South America. In the translation of the agenda for the ELN/Government talks is number 5. “The End of the Armed Conflict”, it states, “The objective of this point is to put an end to the armed conflict in order to eradicate violence in politics, and encourage the ELN’s transition toward legal politics...”¹¹⁶

With a shift in the political attitude among an important segment of the dominant classes beginning in the 1990’s, the possibility of a negotiated settlement with the guerillas was closer than ever. This was mainly because of the increasing costs of war, which are bad for Colombia’s economy and integration in the global markets.¹¹⁷ But even though this is a positive shift, it must be noted, “...a durable peace has costs for the dominant class, the state and international stakeholder such as the US.”¹¹⁸ The move will require shifting from the current rentier model to one that supports peasants and small landed producers. It will also require a shift in land distribution, and policies aimed at the eradication of the drug trade. The current strategy imposed by the US and some other countries to counter narcotics is a combination of fumigation, eradication, and persecution. This strategy does not allow poor people who may grow the crops

¹¹⁴ Adriaan Alsema, “Violence Between Colombia’s State and FARC Rebels Formally Ends After 52-year War,” *Colombia Reports* August 28th, 2016. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/violence-colombias-state-farc-rebels-formally-ends-52-year-war/>

¹¹⁵ “Summary of the FARC-Government Ceasefire And Disarmament Accord,” WOLA, June 23, 2016. Online:

<http://colombiapeace.org/2016/06/23/summary-of-the-farc-government-ceasefire-and-disarmament-accord/>

¹¹⁶ “English Translation of the ELN Peace Talks Agenda,” WOLA, April 1 2016. Online:

<http://colombiapeace.org/2016/04/01/english-translation-of-the-eln-peace-talks-agenda/>

¹¹⁷ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 129

¹¹⁸ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 248

any leverage for renegotiating their reincorporation into the legal economy. Strategies like this continue to put poor people in the worst position.¹¹⁹

It must be taken into consideration that post-Conflict Colombia will resemble a project in state building across many regions of the country. This will be a massive task, and it will coincide with the demobilization of the FARC (and possibly the ELN). But as the FARC leaves these areas in which it provided an almost state-like presence, the real threat of a power vacuum being filled by *bacrim* remains a cause for concern.¹²⁰ Yet another danger is the potential for a neoliberal public pedagogy to influence future post-conflict decision-making.

The Case Against Neoliberal Public Pedagogy

“Neoliberalism is an ideology requiring free markets and democracy as a necessity to develop a free and prosperous state.” It does this by favoring the “...privatization of state owned entities, eliminating or cutting funds allocated to social programs, reform in labor sectors, and values healthy competition to increase economic growth.”¹²¹ Essentially it insists human wellbeing can best take place by maximizing entrepreneurial freedom within the framework of private property, individual liberties, free markets and free trade.¹²² However, as has been stated, war systems are likely to emerge where and when state institutions falter in arbitrating, negotiating, and adjudicating conflict that surrounds the society fault line. In Colombia, that conflict is land distribution.¹²³ The problem with such policies lies in who really benefits. “To turn the neoliberal rhetoric against itself, we may reasonably ask: in whose particular interests is it that the state take a neoliberal stance and in what ways have these particular interests used neoliberalism to benefit themselves rather than, as is claimed, everyone, everywhere?”¹²⁴ It “...privileges personal responsibility over larger social forces, reinforces the gap between the rich and poor by redistributing wealth to the most powerful and wealthy individuals and groups, and it fosters a mode of public pedagogy that privileges the entrepreneurial subject while encouraging a value system that promotes self-interest, if not an unchecked selfishness.”¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 93

¹²⁰ Maia Blume, “Addressing Inequality in Post-Conflict Colombia,” In “Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015” *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*: 24

¹²¹ Caitlin S. Fitzgerald, “Reassessing Neoliberal Economic Reform in Post Conflict Societies: Operation Iraqi Freedom,” *Critique: A Worldwide Journal of Politics* Fall 2009/ Spring 2010: 1

¹²² David Harvey, “Neo-liberalism as creative destruction.” *The Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography* 88 (2006): 145

¹²³ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 195

¹²⁴ David Harvey, “Neo-liberalism as creative destruction.” 145

¹²⁵ Henry A. Giroux, “Neoliberalism’s War on Democracy,” April 26, 2014. Online: <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/23306-neoliberalisms-war-on-democracy#a1>

The pushing of neoliberal economic policies in Latin America has been done through various means, and there is substantial literature showing that social stratification has directly resulted from such policies.¹²⁶

Under Uribe's Colombia's numerous neoliberal economic policies were sanctioned to increase development. But development is not always a moral cause. As well as increasing jobs and reducing poverty, development can mean displacement and human rights violations.¹²⁷

It is not just important to consider how specific states benefit from neoliberal policies, but also specific classes, as it can be argued that these global policies are driven by certain classes of people attempting to ensure their prosperity.¹²⁸

Another example of such policies is the U.S.- Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement signed in 2006, and put into effect in 2012. The U.S has provided Colombia with billions of dollars to fight the drug trade under Plan Colombia. The majority of this money went to the military and its various efforts.¹²⁹ But if the United States wished to reduce the coca production in Colombia, "the most effective policy would be to redirect military aid into funding government subsidization of legal crops" even though the U.S.-Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement prohibits such action.¹³⁰ Overall, Plan Colombia introduced significant changes to the incentive structures of the conflict's key actors and profoundly changed the political economy of the war system by oiling its gears after being at an impasse.¹³¹ In 2010 Oxfam International also commissioned a study that showed the unfair terms of the Trade Promotion Agreement.

Although neoliberalism may have begun as a system of policies intending to reorganize international capitalism as a political project, it also had the intention to re-establish conditions for capital accumulation and the restoration of class power, the latter being evinced in Colombia.¹³² For the point of this paper, the critique of such policies (based on competition and growth) centers on both the economic and social impact. Neoliberalism has become a kind of public pedagogy inserting itself in every aspect of society. Policies that do not take into account peoples varied starting points will never serve to equalize a deeply unequal population.

¹²⁶ Jenny O'Connor, "The U.S War on Communism, Drugs, and Terrorism in Colombia," *Council on Hemispheric Affairs* April 11, 2013. Online: <http://www.coha.org/the-u-s-war-on-communism-drugs-and-terrorism-in-colombia/>

¹²⁷ Leonardo Baccini and Johannes Urpelainen, *Cutting the Gordian Knot of Economic Reform: When and How International Institutions Help*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) 213

¹²⁸ Saul Tobias, "Neoliberal Globalization and the Politics of Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa" 3

¹²⁹ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 189

¹³⁰ Jenny O'Connor, "The U.S War on Communism, Drugs, and Terrorism in Colombia," *Council on Hemispheric Affairs* April 11, 2013.

¹³¹ Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*, 189

¹³² David Harvey, "Neo-liberalism as creative destruction." 149

Scholar-ACTIVIST Research

Forms of participatory action research are not new to Colombian soil. One could argue they were in great part born there. Orlando Fals-Borda helped give PAR its start in the social sciences with his work in peasant communities in the 1970's. One can see the lasting effects of PAR in the project of *Zonas de Reservas Campesinas* (ZRC's). Although not created to be revolutionary, what matters is the way in which peasant farmers have used this platform for the betterment of communities, directly and indirectly enhanced with PAR. The "...basic ethos of PAR, regardless if the acronym is used or not, is alive and well in Colombia."¹³³ These research methods have been seen as the research of the margins.

Scholar-ACTIVIST research is a continuation of PAR, the latter having been re-appropriated by large organizations and used in a more mainstream agenda since its inception. Much of its critical nature has been influenced and re-purposed by neo-liberalism, having profound effects on its application in the developing world.¹³⁴ Scholar-ACTIVIST research (with the emphasis on activist) aims to regain this critical element through the lack of binary between scholastic and activist goals. With activism as sites of knowledge and not just action, places of traditional 'learning' can then become sites of activism and not just education.

The importance of keeping a critical element to PAR can be seen throughout Latin America. Many countries have been let down by civic initiatives. Civic initiatives have become in many ways a reaction to both neoliberal economics and a critique of the civil society that donors are intending to help create. These types of civic initiatives have been categorized by Kaldor as the "neoliberal version"; the kind promoted in former socialist countries intended to restrain state power and substitute some functions of the state, and the "activist version"; where civil society "...refers to active citizenship, expanded spaces, and growing self-organisation outside formal political circles."¹³⁵ NGO's in this circle grew, but also grew to be perceived as donor driven and

¹³³ Jose Gutierrez, "Participatory Action Research (PAR) and the Colombian Peasant Reserve Zones: The Legacy of Orlando Fals-Borda," *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, vol 22. Spring, pp. 59-76. Online: <http://www.developmenteducationreview.com/issue22-focus3?page=show>

¹³⁴ See Steven Jordan, "Who Stole my Methodology? Co-Opting PAR," in *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, vol. 1, no. 2, July 2003: 185-200.

¹³⁵ Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer To War*, (Polity Press: Cambridge, 2003) 8-9

accountable from the top down.¹³⁶ For many activists, the “time of the NGOs has passed” due to this view that NGOs are upholding the status quo.¹³⁷

But it is important to remember that connectivity between organizing groups and NGOs can also have positive results. In the recent Havana Peace Accord the successful push for an Ethnic Chapter creating verification mechanism “...that will include international participation will be created in order to monitor, identify and contribute to effective implementation of ethnic rights in the post-accord era. It recognizes that in addition to the conflict, ethnic groups have suffered due to colonialism, slavery, exclusion and injustices. Further, it stipulates that these communities have specific individual and collective rights that are enshrined in international and national norms that Colombia has committed itself to uphold.”¹³⁸ This chapter was made possible by the panel of the Ethnic Commission for Peace and Defense of Territorial Rights (CE) made up of representatives of various ethnic minority groups (CONPA and the ONIC) and backed by certain civic organizations and political representatives.¹³⁹ Displacement in Colombia ranges in ethnicity, place, gender, and age. No one system of action or unitary prescription can encompass the needs of each group, or the individual within that group, but this recognition not just of the current needs of ethnic minorities, but also the historical aspect of conflict drivers is an important step in durable peace. How then can the combination of scholar-ACTIVIST research and its concerns mesh with the potential of civic initiatives to counter hegemonic expressions of change in post-conflict environments?

Creating a Critical Public Pedagogy

“Inspiration for many of the greatest cultural accomplishments has often come from being placed at the periphery of a civilization.”¹⁴⁰

So what are the real alternatives to this hegemonic expression? Public sphere pedagogy has been criticized for the same reasons Jurgen Habermas’s conception of the public sphere were criticized: the creation of what is known as the public sphere is based on varying forms of exclusion. Therefore the forms of PSP that have been regularly implemented (town hall meetings,

¹³⁶ Armine Ishkanian, “Civil Society and Development in Postsocialist Armenia,” ‘Critical Postsocialisms. Cited July 30, 2016.

Online: <https://postsocialisms.wordpress.com/presentations/neoliberalism-civil-society-and-development-in-postsocialist-armenia/>

¹³⁷ Armine Ishkanian, “Civil Society and Development in Postsocialist Armenia,” ‘Critical Postsocialisms. Cited July 30, 2016.

¹³⁸ “ACSN Celebrates Inclusion of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Rights in Final Colombia Peace Accord,” ONIC, August 26, 2016. Online: <http://www.onic.org.co/noticias/70-destacadas/1427-capitulo-etnico-logro-de-hombres-y-mujeres-que-sonamos-y-luchamos-por-nuestros-pueblos-en-paz>

¹³⁹ “ACSN Celebrates Inclusion of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Rights in Final Colombia Peace Accord,” ONIC, August 26, 2016.

¹⁴⁰ Quoting Max Weber. Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Democracy Realized: The Progressive Alternative* (Verso: London) 2008, 233

large debates and student voices programs) serve a kind of bourgeoisie element in society. A critical public pedagogy on the other hand, can be seen as a form of radical democracy.¹⁴¹

The financial crisis is slowing down or reversing economic growth as development assistance and development programs become less of a priority and consist of more financial shortfalls.

Communities will be susceptible to the impacts of economic meltdown- marginal livelihoods will be increasingly constrained, impoverishment will be accentuated.”¹⁴² We see the effects of this in IDP providing countries as well as the traditionally accepting countries: elites fear a loss of power and wealth, and violence is the best way to protect their interests. To invert this cycle, “...innovative but resource-scarce ways will need to be found to strengthen civil society and government structures, but in highly adverse circumstances.”¹⁴³

In 1968 Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* involved proposed teaching methods that changed the framework of education from a banking model, to a dialogical model inspired from his work with oppressed peoples in Brazil. If one in every 122 people in our world right now is displaced, that is the greatest untapped resource of all: people with empathy, and a need for justice and security; Survivors of conflict, war, and near extermination. Borrowing from Freire’s model, educational tools can be formulated that recognize IDP’s not as piggy banks to be filled with ideas and policies, but as prophetic benefits to a democratic society. We can recognize and respect their needs as a teaching tool, a framework for looking at the world. Pedagogy surrounding the experience of victims of conflict (in this case, IDPs) offers reform on the social level. This reform will insist on feedback loops, and a historicization that will work to ensure a ‘positive peace’ outcome.¹⁴⁴

In the world of pedagogy there are several theories about the purpose it serves. Functionalists believe pedagogy conveys basic knowledge and skills to the next generation. Conflict theorists on the other hand, see the purpose of pedagogy as “...maintaining social inequality and preserving the power of those who dominate society.” Although education can be a beneficial system in an

¹⁴¹ Patrick A. Roberts and David J. Steiner “Exploring the Normative and Political Challenges of Radical Democracy,” in *Handbook of Public Pedagogy*, Jennifer A. Sandlin, Brian D. Schultz and Jake Burdick (Routledge: UK, 2010): 21

¹⁴² Roger Zetter, “Forced Migration in an Era of Global Financial Crisis- What Will Happen to Refugees?” 6

¹⁴³ Roger Zetter, “Forced Migration in an Era of Global Financial Crisis- What Will Happen to Refugees?” 5

¹⁴⁴ A term coined by Johan Galtung in the editorial section of the first printing of the *Journal of Peace Research* in 1964. Positive peace can only occur through human understanding creating collaborative and supportive relationships.

ordered society, conflict theorists believe education can be intended to lull people into being obedient workers.¹⁴⁵

When formulating pedagogy it is important to acknowledge that education can serve both of these functions in society. To combat the more insidious potential, Unger argues for a departure from rote learning and authoritarian and nationalistic aspects of traditional education. Unger importantly sees those who learn as having a prophetic benefit to society. The independence of children encourages them to look critically at society and develop critical innovative powers. Importantly, this vision requires a section of society that is largely detached from the dominant culture.¹⁴⁶ In Unger's analysis, pedagogy of the displaced would serve the purpose of critically and innovatively moving post-conflict Colombia forward.

Unger is not alone in his thoughts. Touraine wants to see schools as centers of communication (as opposed to authoritarianism) and wants them to encourage "a critical consciousness that will promote a democratic awareness."¹⁴⁷ The most important aspect of this movement are teachers themselves. Unger states:

"The teachers must act against a background in which families, local powers, and the central authorities create, through their parallel and conflicting involvements, a space for the educators, and in which society, through the transforming work of democratic experimentalism, becomes less anxious to reproduce itself. Imaginative empathy for a possible humanity must gain the ascendancy in many minds."¹⁴⁸

In forming a critical public pedagogy of displacement there needs to involve two things

1. an intense study of a culture standing at some distance from the now dominant beliefs but one that
2. enjoys a genealogical relation to the present culture and a canonical status within it.

Freire's three necessary steps in the creation and re-creation of pedagogy (something permanent but fluid and changing) are:

Dialogue: in which the world is named through both lived experience and theory.

¹⁴⁵ "Theories of Education" *CliffNotes* Cited August 05, 2016. Online: <https://www.cliffsnotes.com/study-guides/sociology/education/theories-of-education>

¹⁴⁶ Lawrence Wilde, *Global Solidarity* (Edinburgh University Press: UK) 2013. 198

¹⁴⁷ Lawrence Wilde, *Global Solidarity*, 198

¹⁴⁸ Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Democracy Realized*, 232-233

PAR- PAR or Participatory Action Research was a relatively new method when Freire wrote his pedagogy of the oppressed. But since then it has taken on many different forms and one of those was sociological intervention as proposed by Frenchman Alan Touraine and the CADIS school. This form of research allows social movements to be studied from the perspective of someone involved in the activist aspect of the scholar-activist exchange.

Coding: Generating “codes” or images that speak about the world of the participants exclusively. The codes serve to become a way towards the students’ liberation through the process of decoding which happens subsequently. The new confidence and clarity leads directly to praxis.¹⁴⁹

As Unger suggests, we must reintroduce into the idea of progressive education the suppressed element of the cultivation of critical and prophetic powers.¹⁵⁰ The problem of classical education lies in two issues, a social one: that uses education as an ornament of the dominant or elite classes and as a mark of social distinction, and a cultural one: that lies in the adherence to a closed canon of what is to be taught that naturally weakens the reconstructive ability of the practice.¹⁵¹

To begin adjusting this process we need to take into account the importance of diversity in how we construct the future, AND the past. We can find genealogies rather than inherit them. We can define this classical educational canon as one line of thinking in a family of ways “...gaining distance from the established culture.”¹⁵² This duality involves both risk and hope: ideas fluid in Unger’s work. As societies we should be taking calculated risks, reforming our ability to take programmatic ideas and presuppose beliefs about social possibility into the reverse: a programmatic effort that stretches the limit of our understanding.¹⁵³

A format with which to engage information in a public pedagogy is the method of sociological intervention. Sociological intervention is a method that firstly allows conflict to be revealed and analyzed.¹⁵⁴ The study of sociological intervention can take place with/in social movements or groups. “Social movements are defined as networks of informal interactions between a plurality

¹⁴⁹ Levana Saxon, “Pedagogy of the Oppressed- What is it and Why It’s Still Relevant,” *Practicing Freedom* November 19, 2011. Online: <http://www.practicingfreedom.org/pedagogy-of-the-oppressed-what-is-it-and-why-its-still-relevant/>

¹⁵⁰ Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Democracy Realized*, 233

¹⁵¹ Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Democracy Realized*, 234

¹⁵² Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Democracy Realized*, 235

¹⁵³ Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Democracy Realized*, 237

¹⁵⁴ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,” *Revue Francaise De Science Politique-English* vol. 61 N. 3: 135

of individuals, groups and or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities.”¹⁵⁵ In the displaced community one can see that there are a plethora of grassroots organizations that are actively pursuing justice under the displaced umbrella. If we can choose to see displacement as a social movement (while respecting the plethora of identities therein) then we can begin to sociologically intervene as a form of scholar-activist research.

Creating a Critical Public Pedagogy Through Sociological Intervention

According to Touraine, a person can be both an activist and an analyst, and activist self-analysis serves to strengthen participation in the movement, “beyond the difficulties of the struggle”, making it a sustainable model for post-conflict Colombian departments.¹⁵⁶ For Touraine, the social movement is one dimension, a specific aspect of concrete struggles that always convey numerous meanings in varying combinations. What is essential is the idea that by aiming at the control of historicity, the social movement, through its conflictual action, produces the whole of society, transforms it and structures it. This determined the type of society that we live in.¹⁵⁷

Sociological intervention was originally developed to analyze the meaning of collective struggles. It has gone through an adaptation in usage as researchers turned their attention to analyzing social problems and experiences as well.¹⁵⁸ This method enjoys recognition in the academic world, but it remains largely unknown outside of specific sociologists in the French school.¹⁵⁹ The sociologists make their presence felt, they make objections and interjections and make their feelings known: in short, they intervene.¹⁶⁰

A sociological intervention takes place in such a way: have a group meet on several occasions to analyze components of action (sometimes these sessions are open and sometimes closed). If the session is open they also have an interlocutor who embodies the figure that the actors encounter in their daily lives or social experience. This interlocutor represents “the social, political and cultural environment within which the actors develop and, through confronting the group, help

¹⁵⁵ Mario Diani, “The Concept of Social Movement,” *The Sociological Review* vol 40 iss 1, February 1992: 1

¹⁵⁶ Alain Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye*, 154

¹⁵⁷ Michel Wieviorka, “Alain Touraine and the Concept of Social Movement,” Last Updated May 11, 2016. Online: <http://wieviorka.hypotheses.org/318>

¹⁵⁸ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,” 124

¹⁵⁹ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,” 123

¹⁶⁰ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,” 125

reveal the nature of the actors' social relations.”¹⁶¹ The closed sessions then focus on what occurred during the open sessions and are used to process and self-analyze by going back over comments and developing them for the future.

The intervention requires three researchers: a transcriber (secretarial sort of duties), an interpreter (who helps the group analyze its actions), and the analyst (who retains a kind of distance but encourages the group to analyze its prior self-analysis undertaken during the sessions).¹⁶² It is teamwork built on emotional and intellectual foundations and as such it's not so much the specificity of ones role that counts so much as the ability to work together well.¹⁶³

The aim is to understand how the actors can determine and construct themselves as subjects.¹⁶⁴ To achieve this, sociological intervention consists in organizing meetings of groups of ten to fifteen people in order to discuss a specific issue, which has been formalized and suggested by the sociologists. The groups bring together individuals who share either the same commitment or experience but who do not know one another. A sociological intervention involves having the same group meet on several occasions in order to analyze the different components of the action.”¹⁶⁵ This method is especially helpful in the context of people in a forced migrant situation. “Socially dominated, sometimes excluded, actors find in sociological intervention a forum for debate governed by a principle of equivalence: their word has as much value as that of the interlocutors they entertain who are quite often in more enviable social positions.”¹⁶⁶ Although activists may be experienced debaters and handle controversy and expressing themselves well, that is often not the case for those in more weak social positions, often dominated and excluded. “The interlocutor then plays an expressive role, offering actors the opportunity to enter a forum for discussion where an equal say is guaranteed.”¹⁶⁷

Because of this give and take, meetings tend to encourage actors to abandon a ‘them’ vs. ‘us’ mentality, because interlocutors can be seen as either opponents or partners: when analyzing social problems they are often both simultaneously. Someone from a displaced background may

¹⁶¹ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,”124-125

¹⁶² Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,”125

¹⁶³ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,”129

¹⁶⁴ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,”127

¹⁶⁵ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,”124

¹⁶⁶ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,”132

¹⁶⁷ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, “Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,”131

view a military official or even a council member or teacher as a useful actor but also one that locks them into dependency and doesn't really listen.¹⁶⁸

Unlike marketing research, the interview method used is based on a definition of the environment which is commonly understood by all. The researchers select participants and define the issue, but the participants choose to agree (as it requires a long-term commitment).¹⁶⁹

How does sociological intervention differ from other group methods and why choose to apply it specifically? It relies on retaining real group relationships through observation, experimentation, and intervention, and it looks to generate knowledge by its ambition to transform social reality. It is an 'action research' much like Paolo Freire's teaching tools and leadership models.¹⁷⁰ It invites actors into a research process in the gamble that the collective dimension of the discussion and the confrontations organized will, more than any other technique, lead to the revelation and analysis of the nature of the social relations. The method puts actors "in an analysis situation which does not correspond with daily experience; it places them opposite interlocutors who more often than not are beyond their reach, it forces them to reflect in conditions which minimize the pressure both of the decisions to be made and the circumstances".¹⁷¹

The concerns of this method are many. Firstly, it is a very laborious task. To implement this method you must: "Train a team, prepare the work beforehand, form and mobilize multiple groups that are generally geographically widespread, identify and call upon interlocutors – and be responsive to being let down – lead sessions, constantly keep discussions going within the team, etc. It's a long-term enterprise, during which there will be moments of increased investment."¹⁷²

There is also a serious concern in many departments where *bacrim*, guerillas, or paramilitaries are a consistent presence that the people cannot assemble and freely express divergent views because they are frightened. We have to acknowledge that in such situations, this method may not be useful.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,"130

¹⁶⁹ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,"140

¹⁷⁰ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,"136

¹⁷¹ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,"137

¹⁷² Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,"132

¹⁷³ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology,"133

If sociological intervention offers anything to the actors that it engages, "...it is intelligibility first of all: it provides them with the means to increase their understanding of the situations they are experiencing by resituating them within social relations."¹⁷⁴

Combining Touraine's model of sociological intervention and scholar-ACTIVIST research concerns, we can create pedagogy through Freire's template. Because sociological intervention can create a kind of binary of where knowledge is produced, it is necessary to include scholar-ACTIVIST research as it insists that knowledge is created both in the academy and in social movements.¹⁷⁵ To adjust this, one could argue that to shift the balance of the understanding of 'knowledge creation', researchers should use scholastic initiatives as a site of social change. One should also be careful to remember that "...movements and their activists also produce 'knowledge': they are not merely sites of activism."¹⁷⁶

Using Freire's three steps, we can formulate a template for critical public pedagogy. Dialogue would occur in small groups of 10-15 displaced individuals (the social group). The form of PAR used would be sociological intervention (adjusted through scholar-ACTIVIST research concerns). In implementing necessary decentralization, there would be numerous groups of displaced peoples (urban centers, ethnic mixes, indigenous groups etc.) and all in varying regions of the country. With nearly 6 million displaced across Colombia, there would be several different sites of research based on place (rural-urban displacement¹⁷⁷, intra-department displacement, or intra-municipality displacement¹⁷⁸) and ethnicity (Afro-Colombian, indigenous, Roma, etc.) and combinations of many of the above. There would also be groups based on where to go moving forward: those who desire to return to their homes, to relocate, or who prefer to be locally integrated.¹⁷⁹ Through the engagement of these groups and scholars, various codes will be produced and used to create a critical public pedagogy.

¹⁷⁴ Olivier Cousin and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology," 137

¹⁷⁵ Marcelle C. Dawson and Luke Sinwell, "Ethical and Political Challenges of Participatory Action Research in the Academy: Reflections on Social Movements and Knowledge Production in South Africa," in *Research Ethics and Social Movements*, Kevin Gillan and Jenny Pickering, eds. (Routledge: New York, 2015)

¹⁷⁶ Marcelle C. Dawson and Luke Sinwell, "Ethical and Political Challenges of Participatory Action Research in the Academy"

¹⁷⁷ Clara Ines Atehortua Arredondo and Jorge Salcedo, "The Effects of Internal Displacement on Host Communities: A Case Study of Suba and Ciudad Bolivar Localities in Bogota, Colombia," *Brookings Institute- London School of Economics Project on Internal Displacement*, Bogota, October 2011. 9

¹⁷⁸ Statistically, the majority of displaced people in Colombia actually remain in their own departments (60%) and 26% stay in the same municipality. See Klaus Deininger, Ana Maria Ibanez, and Pablo Querubin, "Towards Sustainable Return Policies For The Displaced Population," 13

¹⁷⁹ UNHCR, "Concept Note: Transitional Solutions Initiative UNDP and UNHCR in Collaboration With the World Bank," online: <http://www.unhcr.org/partners/partners/4e27e2f06/concept-note-transitional-solutions-initiative-tsi-undp-unhcr-collaboration.html>

One of the desired outcomes for the formation of ‘codes’ is to immediately engage in praxis.¹⁸⁰ Praxis is important as it pertains to the two main concerns of this paper: the implementation of agreement 5 of the Havana Peace Accords, and whether there is a better option for durable peace than neoliberal public pedagogy. As already stated, agreement 5 focuses on the return of both IDP’s and refugees to their regions of origin as the step forward. But many civil societies and grassroots organizations of displaced peoples insist they do not want to return for fear of new threats, lack of access to services, and because they have already integrated in their host communities.¹⁸¹ It is clear that there is no singular answer for this complex population. In regards to neoliberal public pedagogy, in this format displaced people will never be given the competitive edge and the potential for perpetuation of low-level conflict remains a grave concern. The idea of critical public pedagogy is to assess from an activist perspective the relevancy of these two options and produce alternatives based on the direct engagement with the social group concerned.

Conclusions

The potential for this method is vast. But its application in Colombia at present has quite a few risks. The application may be most useful within a situation where the people of a municipality already have a strong activist base (Quidbo, areas of Valle de Cauca for example). There is risk in this method. As Touraine warns, this method cannot be fully engaged unless those involved feel a sense of democratic safety.

In seeing whether the subject of critical public pedagogy of displacement would fit with the work already being done by civil society organizations in Colombia, the answers proved somewhat unfruitful.¹⁸² Education is indeed put at a very high priority and many organizations and activist groups are working towards respecting the voices of displaced peoples. But the work of many organizations is focused in the form of front-loaded services and tangible projects.¹⁸³ The possibility of developing a critical public pedagogy was not on the radar. The great benefit of this method however is the possibility to be begun from any institution, school or social group, working together on future issues.

¹⁸⁰ Levana Saxon, “Pedagogy of the Oppressed- What is it and Why It’s Still Relevant,”

¹⁸¹ UNHCR Colombia Protection Officer. E-mail Exchange. August 2016.

¹⁸² UNHCR Colombia Protection Officer. E-mail Exchange. August 2016.

¹⁸³ Charles Shipman, Skype Interview, August 19, 2016.

Rather than an 'if this/ not that' approach to the design of critical pedagogy, I propose a spectrum and a dialogue. The unique needs of each community in Colombia; the unique culture and truth, orientation and history, defy a centralized pedagogy. Instead I propose that through scholar-ACTIVIST research the tangible needs of each community can be discussed. Once those needs are delineated, projects can begin in a human-centered design perspective and the central government can participate by funding such projects rather than imposing a grand scheme for every department. In this way the method has potential to produce tangible results and work well with civil society organizations' goals while beginning the work from a track 3 base. Sociological intervention requires a long-term commitment and a long-range plan of engagement and critique. Colombia is beginning its new phase into post-conflict, and it will be very interesting to see if such methods can ground themselves in real change.

In a way, it is easy to consider that durable peace should be debated and produced in the world of economics, politics, or international policy. Within this framework there are many academics and politicians whose capacity we can rely on and who hold the keys to monetary interests. But those on the periphery of society have the ability to function in great cultural accomplishments, in democratic analysis, and in social action. The request from the people is for international solidarity. One Afro-Colombian IDP leader had the following suggestions for the steps that must be taken "First, more follow up on the implementation of norms pertaining to IDPs. Second, make every effort to ensure that there are enough resources to sustain IDP projects and that these resources are directly reaching the IDPs who need them. Lastly, US aid to Colombia should be focused on social rather than military assistance. International support should go to better health, shelter and education not to more weapons. This is to only way to help resolve Colombia's conflict."¹⁸⁴The UNHCR recommends that "Victims' compensation, including land restitution and recognition of IDP's rights, is necessary, but what is also necessary is eradicating the underlying roots of Colombia's crisis: specifically severe economic and social inequality."¹⁸⁵ The central question then, was whether pedagogical means could be seen as an expansion on the discussion of forced migration as it relates to conflictology. It would seem that with long-term engagement and commitment the potential is definitely there to create a positive change.

¹⁸⁴ Gimena Sanchez Garzoli, "An Interview With Afro-Colombian IDP Leaders," December 2003. Online: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2003/12/humanrights-sanchez-garzoli>

¹⁸⁵ Louise Hojen, "Colombia's 'Invisible Crisis,': Internally Displaced Persons," COHA, February 02, 2015.

The danger of a single story lies in understanding it as simply “a place of negatives.”¹⁸⁶ A place of positives takes long-term commitment from every party, multi-sectoral and comprehensive planning, concerted and strategic community capacity building, and effective policy implementation.¹⁸⁷ In formulating a critical public pedagogy from social action and sociological intervention, we could hope to start the story from its true beginning.

*Every evil
which entangled him
was cut
to pieces.*

¹⁸⁶ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, “The Danger of a Single Story,” (Video File) July, 2009. (7:20) Online: https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story#t-642547

¹⁸⁷ Charles Shipman, Skype Interview, August 19, 2016.

Bibliography

Interviews

Ferris, Elizabeth. E-mail Exchange. July 2016.

Shipman, Charles. Skype Interview. August 19, 2016.

UNHCR Colombia Protection Officer. E-mail Exchange. August 2016.

Journal Articles

Ahearne, James. "Neo-Liberal Economic Policies and Post-Conflict Peace-Building: A Help or Hindrance to Durable Peace?," in *Polis Journal* vol. 2, Winter 2009: 1-44.

Arredondo Clara Ines Atehortua and Jorge Salcedo, "The Effects of Internal Displacement on Host Communities: A Case Study of Suba and Ciudad Bolivar Localities in Bogota, Colombia." *Brookings Institute- London School of Economics Project on Internal Displacement*, Bogota, October 2011: 1-30

Blume, Maia. "Addressing Inequality in Post-Conflict Colombia," In "Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015" *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*: 21-31.

Brancati, Dawn. "Decentralization: Fuelling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism." Presented at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton, September 2005.

Cousin, Olivier and Sandrine Rui, "Sociological Intervention: Evolutions and Specificities in a Methodology," *Revue Francaise De Science Politique-English* vol. 61 N. 3: 123-142.

Crisp, Jeff. "The Urbanisation of Displaced People," for Cities Alliance, *CIVIS* no. 5, May 2011

Deininger, Klaus, Ana Maria Ibanez, and Pablo Querubin, "Towards Sustainable Return Policies For The Displaced Population: Why Are Some Displaced Households More Willing To Return Than Others?," HICN Working Paper 07, 2004: 13

Diani, Mario. "The Concept of Social Movement," *The Sociological Review* vol 40 iss 1, February 1992: 1-25.

Fatorelli, Erik. "Urban Indigenous People: The Multidimensional Vulnerability of the Colombian indigenous IDPs and the International Legal Instruments : The Case Study of Villavicencio," SSOAR, 2010. 1-71.

Ferris, Elizabeth. "Changing Times: The International Response to Internal Displacement in Colombia," *Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement* December 2014: 1-47. Online: <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Changing-Timesthe-Intl-Response-to-Internal-Displacement-in-Colombia-December-2014.pdf>

Ferris, Elizabeth and Rebecca Winthrop, "Education and Displacement: Assessing Conditions for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Affected by Conflict," *Education for All Global Monitoring Report* 2011: 1-49

Fitzgerald, Caitlin S. "Reassessing Neoliberal Economic Reform in Post Conflict Societies: Operation Iraqi Freedom," *Critique: A Worldwide Journal of Politics* Fall 2009/ Spring 2010: 1-18.

Giroux, Henry A. "Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals." in *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, vol. 1, no.1, March 2004: 59-79.

Gomez Prado, Jose L. "Privatising Security and War." *Forced Migration Review* iss. 37 March, 2011:19-21.

González, F. (2004) The Colombian Conflict in historical perspective. Accord an International Review of peace initiatives. Alternatives to War. Colombia's Peace processes, Issue 14, 10-17

Grosfoguel, Ramon. "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality." *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World, School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts, UC Merced*, 2011. Online:

<http://dialogoglobal.com/texts/grosfoguel/Grosfoguel-Decolonizing-Pol-Econ-and-Postcolonial.pdf>

Gutierrez, Jose. "Participatory Action Research (PAR) and the Colombian Peasant Reserve Zones: The Legacy of Orlando Fals-Borda." *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, vol 22. Spring, pp. 59-76. Online:

<http://www.developmenteducationreview.com/issue22-focus3?page=show>

Harvey, David. "Neo-liberalism as creative destruction." *The Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography* 88 (2006): 145-158

Jordan, Steven. "Who Stole my Methodology? Co-Opting PAR," in *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, vol. 1, no. 2, July 2003: 185-200.

Kaldor, Mary "NGOs Are Not The Same as Civil Society But Some NGO's Can Play the Role of Facilitator," *Sur - International Journal On Human Rights*, v. 11, n. 20, Jun./Dec. 2014: 468-472.

Lorde, Audre. Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle The Master's House: Comments At "the Personal And The Political" Panel: (second Sex Conference, October 29, 1979)

Lyon, Aisling. "Book Review: Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict Through Decentralization." *Journal of Peace, Conflict, and Development* (Issue 15, March 2010).

Marcelle C. Dawson and Luke Sinwell, "Ethical and Political Challenges of Participatory Action Research in the Academy: Reflections on Social Movements and Knowledge Production in South Africa," in *Research Ethics and Social Movements*, Kevin Gillan and Jenny Pickering, eds. (Routledge: New York, 2015):

Mignolo, Walter D. 'DELINKING', *Cultural Studies* (2007), 21:2, 449 – 514.

Morrison, Maude. "Living at the Margins: The Impact of the Conflict on Colombia's Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Populations," In "Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015" *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*: 33-45

Quijano, Anibal. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views From South* vol1 iss. 3, 2000 (533-580)

Richani, Nazih. "Multinational Corporations, Rentier Capitalism, and the War System in Colombia." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(3), December 2008, 113-144.

Roberts, Patrick A. and David J. Steiner. "Exploring the Normative and Political Challenges of Radical Democracy." in *Handbook of Public Pedagogy*, Jennifer A. Sandlin, Brian D. Schultz and Jake Burdick (Routledge: UK, 2010): 20-27

Rosen, Johnathan D. "The War on Drugs in Colombia: A Current Account of U.S. Policy," *Perspectivas Internacionales*, Vol 9, No. 2, 2013.: 68-69.

Tobias, Saul. "Neoliberal Globalization and the Politics of Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa" *Journal of International and Global Studies* 4.1 (2012): 1-16

Watson, Caitlin. "Forced Internal Displacement in Colombia: Challenges of Addressing Victims' Needs and Implementing the Ambitious Victims' Law," In "Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015" *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies* : 47-59

Xenokratis Georgios. "Rebels, Criminals, or Both? The Role of Ideology in the Colombian Conflict." In "Colombia: Understanding Conflict 2015" *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies* : 7-19.

Zavala, Miguel. "What Do We Mean By Decolonizing Research Strategies? Lessons From Decolonizing, Indigenous Research Projects in New Zealand and Latin America," *Decolonization, Indigeneity, Education and Society* Vol. 2, No. 1, 2013: 55-71.

Websites

Alsema, Adriaan. "Drug Trafficking in Colombia," *Colombia Reports* August 2, 2015. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/drug-trafficking-in-colombia/>

Alsema, Adriaan. "Violence Between Colombia's State and FARC Rebels Formally Ends After 52-year War," *Colombia Reports* August 28th, 2016. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/violence-colombias-state-farc-rebels-formally-ends-52-year-war/>

Blocher, Julia. "IDMC's Annual Flagship Report Reveals Record Breaking IDP Figures For Second Year Running," May 14, 2014. Online: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/blog/2014/a-record-33-3-million-now-displaced-by-conflict-and-violence-worldwide-as-one-family-flees-inside-syria-every-60-seconds/>

Brodzinsky, Sibylla. and Jonathan Watts. "Colombia and FARC Rebels Sign Historic Ceasefire Deal To End 50- Year Conflict," *The Guardian*, June 23rd 2016. Online: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/23/colombia-farc-rebel-ceasefire-agreement-havana>

Brownlee, John. "Guess Which Country's Companies Profit Most From War?," February 23, 2015. Online: <http://www.fastcodesign.com/3042669/infographic-of-the-day/guess-which-countrys-companies-profit-most-from-war>

Clayton, Johnathan. "Worldwide Displacement Hits All-Time High As War and Persecution Increase," June 18, 2015. Online: <http://www.unhcr.org/558193896.html>

Dwan Renata and Micaela Gustavsson. "Major Armed Conflicts," for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Cited May 25th, 2015. Online: <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2004/03>

Garzoli, Gimena Sanchez. "An Interview With Afro-Colombian IDP Leaders," December 2003. Online: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2003/12/humanrights-sanchez-garzoli>

Gillin, Joel. "Understanding the Causes of Colombias Conflict: Inequality." January 7, 2015. Online: <http://colombiareports.com/understanding-colombias-conflict-inequality>

Giroux, Henry A. "Neoliberalism's War on Democracy," April 26, 2014. Online:
<http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/23306-neoliberalisms-war-on-democracy#a1>

Hojen, Louise "Colombia's 'Invisible Crisis,': Internally Displaced Persons," COHA, February 02, 2015. Online: www.coha.org/colombias-invisible-crisis-internally-displaced-persons

Ishkanian, Armine. "Civil Society and Development in Postsocialist Armenia," "Critical Postsocialisms. Cited July 30, 2016. Online:
<https://postsocialisms.wordpress.com/presentations/neoliberalism-civil-society-and-development-in-postsocialist-armenia/>

Kennedy, Julia Taylor. "Can Human-Centered Design 'Fix' Humanitarian Aid?" *Policy Innovations*, October 05, 2015. Online:
<http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/innovations/data/00298>

MacKenzie, Debora. "End of Nations: Is There An Alternative To Countries?" *New Scientist*, September 3, 2014. Online: https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg22329850-600-end-of-nations-is-there-an-alternative-to-countries/?utm_source=NSNS&utm_medium=SOC&utm_campaign=hoot&cmpid=SOC%7CNSNS%7C2016-GLOBAL-hoot

Masullo, Juan J. "Book Review: Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse." *Global Policy*, May 15, 2015. Online:
<http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/15/05/2015/book-review-networks-rebellion-explaining-insurgent-cohesion-and-collapse>

O'Connor, Jenny. "The U.S War on Communism, Drugs, and Terrorism in Colombia," *Council on Hemispheric Affairs* April 11, 2013. Online: <http://www.coha.org/the-u-s-war-on-communism-drugs-and-terrorism-in-colombia/>

Reid, Michael. "Peace, At Last, In Colombia," *The Economist* online, June 25th, 2016. Online:
<http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21701178-government-declares-end-its-war-against-farc-peace-last-colombia>

Renwick, Danielle. "Colombia's Civil Conflict." *CFR Backgrounders*, August 25, 2016. Online: <http://www.cfr.org/colombia/colombias-civil-conflict/p9272>

Saxon, Levana. "Pedagogy of the Oppressed- What is it and Why It's Still Relevant," *Practicing Freedom* November 19, 2011. Online: <http://www.practicingfreedom.org/pedagogy-of-the-oppressed-what-is-it-and-why-its-still-relevant/>

Vargas, Ricardo. "The Revolutionary Armed Forces Of Colombia (FARC) and the Illicit Drug Trade," *The Transnational Institute* June 07, 1999. Online: <https://www.tni.org/en/briefing/revolutionary-armed-forces-colombia-farc-and-illicit-drug-trade>

Westcott, Ben. "Brexit: Racist Abuse in the UK Reported since Vote to Leave EU,," June 28, 2016. Online: <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/27/europe/racist-attacks-post-brexit/>

Wieviorka, Michel. "Alain Touraine and the Concept of Social Movement," Last Updated May 11, 2016. Online: <http://wieviorka.hypotheses.org/318>

Ziai, Aram. "Opening Address: Beyond the Masters Tools: Post and Decolonial Approaches to Research Methodology and Methods in the Social Sciences," Kassel University, Germany: January 14-15, 2016. Online: <http://www.uni-kassel.de/veranstaltung/beyond-the-masters-tools/welcome.html>

Zetter, Roger. "Forced Migration in an Era of Global Financial Crisis- What Will Happen to Refugees?" Cited June 20, 2016. Online: <http://www.age-of-migration.com/na/resources/updates/1b.pdf>

Author Uncited Sources

Agreement Victims" *FARC-EP International* Cited August 20, 2016. Online: <http://farc-epeace.org/peace-process/agreements/agreements/item/939-agreement-victims>

Colombian Constitutional Court Information on *Auto* 298 of the 27th of July, 2015: 1-77.
(translated from the original Spanish)

Colombia,” Infoplease.com. Cited June 21, 2016. Online:

<http://www.infoplease.com/country/colombia.html>

“Colombia’s Santos Accuses ELN Of Undermining Peace Talks,” *Telesur English*, May 28th, 2016. Online: <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Colombias-Santos-Accuses-ELN-of-Undermining-Peace-Talks-20160528-0015.html>

Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Unitary System,” Online: <http://global.britannica.com/topic/unitary-system>

“English Translation of the ELN Peace Talks Agenda,” WOLA, April 1 2016. Online: <http://colombiapace.org/2016/04/01/english-translation-of-the-eln-peace-talks-agenda/>

Global Database, “Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement,” *Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement and Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University*, 2007. Online: http://www.law.georgetown.edu/idp/english/id_faq.html

Human Rights Watch, “The Crisis In Buenaventura,” last updated March, 2014. Online: http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/colombia0314webwcover_1.pdf

Human Rights Watch World Report: Colombia, 2015,” online: <http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/colombia>

IDEO.org “The Field Guide to Human-Centered Design,” (Canada: 2015) 1-188.

IDMC, “Colombia,” Cited May 15, 2015. Online: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/americas/colombia>

“IISS Armed Conflict Database: Conflicts by Status,” Cited June 18, 2016. Online: <http://acd.iiss.org/en/conflicts?tags=D6943ABDB5364229B5A0E3338AC94EA1>

IPI, “Peace Café Discusses People on the Move,” April 5, 2016. Online: <https://www.ipinst.org/2016/04/peace-cafe-discusses-people-on-the-move#2>

National Priorities Project, “Military Spending in the United States, 2015,” Cited June 23, 2016. Online: <https://www.nationalpriorities.org/campaigns/military-spending-united-states>

SIPRI, “SIPRI Presents Latest Military Expenditure Data at UN Headquarters,” April 8, 2016. Online: <https://www.sipri.org/news/2016/sipri-presents-latest-military-expenditure-data-un-headquarters>

Stanford University-Mapping Militant Organizations, “Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, Peoples Army,” Cited June 20, 2016. Online: <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/89>

“Summary of the FARC-Government Ceasefire And Disarmament Accord,” WOLA, June 23, 2016. Online: <http://colombiapeace.org/2016/06/23/summary-of-the-farc-government-ceasefire-and-disarmament-accord/>

“The Ideas Box,” Libraries Without Borders for OpenIdeo. Last updated April 17, 2015. Online: <https://challenges.openideo.com/challenge/refugee-education/research/the-ideas-box>

“Theories of Education” *CliffNotes* Cited August 05, 2016. Online: <https://www.cliffsnotes.com/study-guides/sociology/education/theories-of-education>

“The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia,” Hubpages Online, August 30, 2011. Online: <http://hubpages.com/politics/The-Revolutionary-Armed-Forces-of-Colombia>

“Understanding the Root Causes of Displacement: Towards a Comprehensive Approach to Prevention and Solutions,” IDMC/ Norwegian Refugee Council Briefing Paper. December 08, 2015.

UNHCR, “Concept Note: Transitional Solutions Initiative UNDP and UNHCR in Collaboration With the World Bank,” online: <http://www.unhcr.org/partners/partners/4e27e2f06/concept-note-transitional-solutions-initiative-tsi-undp-unhcr-collaboration.html>

Books

Autesserre, Severine. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*. Oxford: Cambridge University Press: 2014.

Baccini Leonardo and Johannes Urpelainen. *Cutting the Gordian Knot of Economic Reform: When and How International Institutions Help*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Brancati, Dawn. *Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict Through Decentralization* (Oxford Press: NY, 2009)

Diaz, Fabio Andres. "Ethnic Conflict in Colombia? The Impact of the Unit of Analysis and the Area of Study on Recognition of Wars as 'Ethnic'," in *Conflict, Peace, Security and Development: Theories and Methodologies* by Helen Hintjens (Editor), Dubravka Zarkov (Editor)

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed 30th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Continuum, 2000.

Galtung, Johan. "Theories of Conflict," Columbia University et.al. 1958-1973. Lecture Notes Compilation, 125-127. Online:
https://www.transcend.org/files/Galtung_Book_Theories_Of_Conflict_single.pdf

Hristov, Jasmin. *Blood and Capital: The Paramilitarization of Colombia* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009) Kindle Edition.

Kaldor, Mary. *Global Civil Society: An Answer To War*, (Polity Press: Cambridge, 2003)

Kaldor, Mary. *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity, 2001.

Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*. New York: Suny Press, 2013.

Sandvik, Kristin Bergtora & Lemaitre, Julieta. "From IDPs to Victims in Colombia: A Bottom-Up Reading of Law in Post- Conflict Transitions." in *International Law and Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy*, Saul, Matthew & Sweeney, James A. (eds.) (Routledge; UK, 2015)

Santos, Boaventura De Sousa, Joao Arriscado Nunes and Maria Paula Meneses. "Introduction: Opening up the Canon of Knowledge and the Recognition of Difference," in *Another Knowledge is Possible*. Boaventura De Sousa Santos, ed. Verso: London May, 2008.

Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony*. Penguin Books: New York, New York, 1977.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books, London, 2012.

Staniland, Paul. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2014.

Touraine, Alain. *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Tranchant, Jean-Pierre. "Decentralization and Ethnic Conflict: The Role of Empowerment." May 5, 2007.

Unger, Roberto Mangabeira. *Democracy Realized: The Progressive Alternative*. Verso: London, 2008.

Wilde, Lawrence. *Global Solidarity* (UK: Edinburgh University Press 2013)

Online Talks

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. "The Danger of a Single Story," (Video File) July, 2009. (7:20)
Online: https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story#t-642547

Betts, Alexander. "Our Refugee System is Failing. Here's How We Can Fix It." Ted.com, February 2016. Online:
https://www.ted.com/talks/alexander_betts_our_refugee_system_is_failing_here_s_how_we_can_fix_it

Kaldor, Mary. "Breaking the Wall of War," Falling Walls Berlin Conference 2011: 1:00-11:35.

Richani, Nazih "NYU Presents: The Colombian Conflict: A Symposium on History, Geography and Politics," October 22, 2015, 1:37:00- 2:11:00