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Performative Reintegration: Ex-combatants' Transitions

Toward Civilian Identities in Colombia

by

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## Abstract

This dissertation builds a comprehensive analysis of the affective and ideological worlds of former guerrillas and their transitions towards civilian identities in contemporary Colombia, through the lens of a theatre and performance studies scholar. It is an ethnographically grounded and historically informed examination of how secondary care practices and institutions contribute to contemporary conflict transformation. It looks beyond familiar representations and binaries of victims and perpetrators, and follows a practice-based approach to the design and implementation of public policy that regards an affective turn towards embodied practice as a core element of reintegration. At its focus are reintegration programmes tailored for former combatants held in line with Colombia's multiple peace-building efforts. Built around these two pillars, this study presents the process of reintegration as a performative practice where human emotions and transactions illuminate how social processes produce new political subjects.

## Glossary and Abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations used in the dissertation. As a glossary, the list also provides brief descriptions of groups and organisations referred to in the dissertation. The official Spanish titles are given and English translations where applicable.

**ACR** Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración — Colombian Agency for Reintegration. Founded in 2003, the ACR is the government agency responsible for formulating and implementing public policy on reintegration for adults.

**AUC** Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia — United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia. The AUC was an umbrella paramilitary organisation. Founded in 1997, it brought together multiple counterinsurgent groups that were active throughout the country. The AUC demobilised between 2003 and 2006.

**CNGSB** Coordinadora Nacional Guerrillera Simón Bolívar — Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Board. An umbrella organisation aimed at unifying the efforts of multiple guerrilla groups between 1987 and 1990. Members included the FARC, M-19, ELN, MIR-PL, FRF, PRT and MAQL.

**CRS** Corriente de Renovación Socialista — Socialista Renovation Movement. A dissident faction of the ELN. Internal discussions in the ELN regarding the relevance of the continuation of armed struggle to enforce political and social change resulted

in the creation of the CRS in 1991. Three years later, in 1994, the CRS demobilised and signed a peace agreement with the Colombian government.

**DDR** Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration.

**ELN** Ejército de Liberación Nacional — National Liberation Army. Founded in 1964, the ELN is rooted in the Liberal guerrilla movements of the first half of the twentieth century and was deeply influenced by the 1959 Cuban Revolution and the success of the rebels of the Sierra Maestra. Initially comprised mostly of students, members of workers' unions and intellectuals, this group was also influenced by the thought and work of Marxist-Christians in an early stage of the Liberation Theology. The group has participated in several peace dialogues with the Colombian government since the 1980s. Dissident factions of the ELN demobilised during the 1990s. The group is still active and is the largest guerrilla organisation in the Americas.

**EPL** Ejército Popular de Liberación — Popular Liberation Army. The EPL was founded in 1967 and initially combatants were mostly members of the Communist party. It was influenced, in its first stages, by Maoist ideology. In 1975 the group aligned itself with Stalinist thought. In the 1980s the EPL participated in various peace dialogues in the Colombian government. In 1991 this guerrilla organisation demobilised after signing a peace agreement. A small dissident faction comprised of no more than 200 men is still active.

**ERG** Ejército Revolucionario Guevarista — Guevarista Revolutionary Army. A dissident faction of the ELN. It demobilised in 2008 due to ensuing confrontations with the Colombian Military and after a series of negotiations with the Colombian government.

**ERP** Ejército Revolucionario Popular — Popular Revolutionary Army. The ERP was a dissident faction of the ELN that started its activities in 1985. It was active until 2007 and ended its activities due to ensuing confrontations with the Colombian Military.

**FARC** Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia — Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. The FARC is rooted in Liberal guerrilla movements of the first half of the twentieth century and was officially founded in 1964. Initially comprised mostly of agricultural workers and their cooperatives, and supported by the Communist party. Since the 1980s the FARC has engaged in peace dialogues with the Colombian government. Formerly the largest guerrilla organisation of the Americas. Participating since September 2012 in peace dialogues with the Colombian government. On 26 September 2016, the final peace agreement was signed in Cartagena, Colombia, with a plebiscite vote due to take place in October 2016 to approve or reject the final agreement.

**FFG** Frente Francisco Garnica FFG — Francisco Garnica Front. An EPL dissident group that remained active after the EPL guerrillas demobilised. The FFG signed a peace agreement with the Colombian government and demobilised in 1994.

**FRF** Frente Ricardo Franco — Ricardo Franco Front. A dissident faction of the FARC active during the 1980s.

**ICBF** Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar — Colombian Institute for Family Welfare. The ICBF was founded in 1968. It is the government institution responsible for addressing the needs of children, adolescents and guaranteeing the well-being of families. It is also the institution that formulates and implements public policy on reintegration for children.

**IDDRS** Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Standards of the United Nations.

**M-19** Movimiento 19 de Abril M-19 — 19th April Movement. Emerging in 1973 in response to fraud in the 1970 presidential elections, this group comprised students, dissidents of other guerrillas, and members of the middle and working class. Since its beginnings, M-19 gained a broad following and popularity due to their unusual military tactics and humorous interventions in the public sphere. Its popularity was seriously marred in the 1980s due to violent attacks on government institutions and civilians. Participated in peace dialogues in the 1980s with two different governments, demobilised in 1989, and signed a final peace agreement in 1990.

**MAQL** Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame — Quintín Lame Armed Movement. An indigenous guerrilla movement founded in 1984 and active in the South-West region

of Colombia, in the Cauca Department. Named after Manuel Quintín Lame Chantre (1880-1967), a Cauca indigenous leader who fought for indigenous rights during the first half of the Twentieth century. The Quintín Lame, as the group is popularly known, aimed at defending indigenous people of Cauca from land colonisation, state violence, and other guerrilla organisations with economic interests in the area. It was comprised of members of various indigenous communities as well as citizens of other ethnic origins who supported their ideas. Demobilised in 1991 after signing a peace agreement with the Colombian government.

**MIR-COAR** Movimiento Independiente Revolucionario-Comandos Armados — Independent Revolutionary Armed Movement-Armed Commandos. The MIR-COAR was a unit associated with the MPM.

**MIR-PL** Movimiento Independiente Revolucionario-Patria Libre — Independent Revolutionary Movement-Free Fatherland. The MIR-PL formed due to internal confrontations and divisions in the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (PC-ML) in 1975 and unification of groups that left the PC-ML and founded an armed organisation in 1983. In 1989 the MIR-PL joined the ELN.

**MPM** Milicias Populares de Medellín — Popular Medellín Militias. The MPM were urban guerrilla units active in the city of Medellín. They demobilised in 1994.

**PRT** Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores — Revolutionary Workers' Party. The PRT started in 1975 due to internal confrontations and divisions in the Marxist-

Leninist Communist Party (PC-ML). The guerrilla group was founded in 1982 and demobilised nine years later in 1991, after peace negotiations with the Colombian government.

# Chapter 1. Introduction

Combatants and civilians are at centre stage during the development of war. They are also central characters in the transformation of violent conflict. The conflict analyst and peace building practitioner John Paul Lederach suggests that in everyday life we often experience conflict as a disruption in the ways in which our relationships flow: our communication is no longer effective and we cannot listen to each other, unless what the other person has to say corresponds to what we want to hear. Conflict, he argues, triggers feelings and emotions in our body and it can be difficult for those involved to be able to identify or define *what* the conflict is all about.[1] In a similar vein, political scientist Emily Beausoleil draws on neuroscience studies of 'the physiology of emotion, communication, receptivity, attunement, empathy, and creative thinking' to discuss the relationship between embodied practice, particularly dance, and how this is related to the plasticity of the brain, affecting patterns of thought and interaction, with significant implications for new ways of approaching conflict transformation.[2]

Lederach indicates that '[c]onflict transformation is more than a set of specific techniques; it is a way of looking as well as seeing. Looking and seeing both require lenses. Accordingly, conflict transformation suggests a set of lenses through which we view social conflict'.[3] The function of a lens is to bring into focus elements of a complex, specific reality. Lederach uses the metaphor of the lens to discuss the

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[1] John Paul Lederach, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, (Pensylvania: Good Books, 2003), pp. 7-8.
[2] Emily Beausoleil, 'Dance and Neuroscience. Implications for Conflict Transformation', in *The Choreography of Resolution. Conflict, Movement, and Neuroscience,* ed. by Michelle LeBaron, Carrie MacLeod, and Andrew Floyer Ackland (United States of America: American Bar Association, 2013), (p. 3).
[3] Lederach, p. 9.

multiple features and consequences of conflict. As one lens will only allow us to see a specific part of the whole image, then we need multiple lenses to be able to observe and approach a complex reality. He suggests the simultaneous use of three lenses:

> First, we need a lens to see the *immediate situation.* Second, we need a lens to see beyond the presenting problems toward the deeper *patterns* of relationship, including the context in which the context finds expression. Third, we need a conceptual *framework* that holds these perspectives together, one that permits us to connect the presenting problems with the deeper relational patterns [italics in original].[4]

Each of these lenses is different 'but each must be in relationship with the others if the various dimensions of reality are to be held together as a whole'.[5]

This dissertation seeks to understand how and to what extent the future of war-torn societies is envisioned and materialised through everyday performative practices aimed at transforming relational patterns between civilians and former combatants of guerrilla organisations.[6] It is an ethnographically grounded and historically informed investigation of the affective and ideological dimensions of the social-reintegration of former guerrillas in Colombia, and an examination of how secondary care practices and institutions contribute to contemporary conflict transformation. I look beyond familiar representations and binaries of victims and perpetrators, and instead follow a grounded approach to the design and implementation of public policy that regards an affective turn towards embodied

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[4] Ibid. pp. 10-11.
[5] Ibid. p. 10.
[6] Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*, (New York: Routledge, 1993); Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power. Theories in Subjection.*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

practice as a core element of reintegration.[7] Creative approaches to conflict transformation have been the object of enquiry in performance, politics and medical studies, while concerns with impact-measurement and cost-effectiveness are a central element in the development of public policy.[8] Drawing on participant observation, in-depth interviews, applied theatre and performance analysis, the dissertation explores the social dramaturgies of dignity, equality, love and desire that depend on the creation and implementation of public policy on reintegration. It aims to show that body-based methodologies can be understood and efficiently incorporated as integral components in enhancing conflict transformation processes.

## 1.2 DDR AND APPLIED THEATRE

The social reintegration of former combatants is perhaps the most important and contested stage of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programmes (DDR), it is a long-term process that involves all members of society.[9] Since 1989 the international community has worked towards the development of public policy standards and processes that address the challenges inherent to DDR and aim to guarantee sustainable peace-building in post-conflict societies.[10] Disarmament and demobilisation are technical stages: the United Nations Integrated Disarmament,

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[7] James Thompson, *Performance Affects : Applied Theatre and the End of Effect*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
[8] John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*, (Oxford University Press, USA, 2005). Michelle LeBaron, Carrie MacLeod, and Andrew Floyer Ackland, 'The Choreogrphy of Resolution: Conflict, Movement, and Neuroscience'*,* (Chicago, Illinois: American Bar Association, Section of Dispute Resolution, 2013). Thompson. Michael Shank and Lisa Schirch, 'Strategic Arts-Based Peacebuilding', *Peace & Change,* 33 (2008). E. M. Seppala and others, 'Breathing-Based Meditation Decreases Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms in U.S. Military Veterans: A Randomized Controlled Longitudinal Study', *J Trauma Stress,* 27 (2014).
[9] Bruce W. Dayton and Louis Kriesberg, *Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding : Moving from Violence to Sustainable Peace*, (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 8. Enzo. Nussio, *Percepciones, Emociones Y Estrategias De Exparamilitares En Colombia*, (Bogotá: Universidad de Los Andes, 2012).
[10] Nussio.

Demobilisation and Reintegration standards (IDDRS) defines disarmament as 'the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population', and demobilisation as 'the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups'.[11] In a descriptive approach to the mechanics of DDR processes, Anders Nilsson emphasises the importance of reintegration from a security perspective and argues that reintegration assistance should aim at securing ex-combatants' and their families full economic, political and social assimilation into civil society.[12] If reintegration efforts fail to guarantee sustainable livelihoods, the author concludes, security and stability are hindered. Nilsson indicates that '[t]he traditional view of the DD&R process is that it is a linear process with three distinct phases: disarmament followed by demobilization and reintegration' but in most cases these phases are run simultaneously.[13] In Afghanistan, Colombia and the Philippines, for instance, there have been DDR processes without the ending of armed conflict.

Despite the importance of reintegration, there are no standardised practices or clear benchmarks that indicate when a reintegration process has been successful, partly because reintegration programmes depend on the particularities of the context and the specific needs of the target groups for whom they are tailored.[14] Some authors insist on the need to avoid implementing standardised strategies and focus

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[11] United Nations, 'Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards', (United Nations, 2006).
[12] Anders Nilsson, *Reintegrating Ex-Combatants in Post-Conflict Societies*, (Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), 2005), pp. 4, 29.
[13] Ibid. p. 31.
[14] Ibid. Dayton and Kriesberg. Myriam Denov, 'Social Navigation and Power in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone: Reflections from a Former Child Soldiers Turned Bike Rider', in *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration,* ed. by Alpaslan Ozerdem and Sunkanya Podder (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 191-212. Nussio.

instead on the particularities of the context and specific needs for the target groups.[15]

Taking a more context-focused approach, another body of literature emphasises the role of ex-combatants in post-conflict scenarios as peace-builders or spoilers.[16] In all cases the weak point of DDR programmes has been recognised as the continuous marginalisation of child soldiers, and female and disabled ex-combatants. It has been argued that this is a consequence of DDR programmes focused mostly on the implementation of policies guided by assumptions of good practice, but not necessarily tailored according to the needs of target groups.[17]

From an applied theatre perspective, James Thompson in his book *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre and the End of Effect* demonstrates the importance of dedicating careful thought and planning to projects tailored for former combatants.[18] In the chapter 'Incidents of Cutting and Chopping', Thompson vividly examines the complexities of working in war-torn societies by revealing the simultaneous

[15] Steven A. Zyck, "But I'm a Man': The Imposition of Childhood on and Denial of Identity and Economic Oportunity to Afghanistan's Child Soldiers', in *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration,* ed. by Alpaslan Ozerdem and Sukanya Podder (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 159-72. Robert Muggah, 'Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Dealing with Fighterns in the Aftermath of War.', (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2009). Denov. Michael G. Wessells, *Child Soldiers : From Violence to Protection,* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009). Wenche Hauge, 'Girl Soldiers in Guatemala', in *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration,* ed. by Alpaslan Ozerdem and Sukanya Podder (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 91-103. Stefan Thorsell, 'Towards People-Centered Reintegration? An Analysis of the Economic Reintegration Strategy of Demobilised Combatants in Colombia', in *Colombia Internacional,* ed. by Laura Wills Otero and Enzo Nussio (Bogotá, 2013).
[16] Mats Utas, 'Fluid Research Fields: Studying Excombatant Youth in the Aftermath of the Liberian Civil War', in *Children and Youth on the Frontline. Ethnography, Armed Conflict and Displacement,* ed. by Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), pp. 209-36; Mats Utas, 'Victimcy as Social Navigation: From the Toolbox of Liberian Child Soldiers', in *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration,* ed. by Alpaslan Ozerdem and Sukanya Podder (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 213-28. Siobhán McEvoy-Levy, 'Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-Accord Peace Building'*,* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2006). Victoria Sanford, 'The Moral Imagination of Survival: Displacement and Child Soldiers in Guatemala and Colombia', in *Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-Accord Peace Building,* ed. by Siobhán McEvoy-Levy (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 49-80. Stephanie Schwartz, *Youth and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Agents of Change,* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2010). Juan Diego Prieto Sanabria, *Guerras, Paces Y Vidas Entrelazadas. Coexistencia Y Relaciones Locales Entre Víctimas Y Comunidades En Colombia.,* (Bogotá: Universidad de Los Andes, 2012).
[17] Nussio. Nilsson; Prieto Sanabria. Zyck.
[18] Thompson.

performances that support applied theatre practice. His focus on considering the role of receiving communities or civilians in the reintegration process, both as audience and participants in the latter, brings together discussions in the reintegration literature: it highlights the importance of avoiding the implementation of standardised practices and the need for understanding the context in which the practitioner intends to work. In a similar fashion, theatre scholar Laura Edmondson discusses the standardised narrative possibilities of the binary implicating victimhood and armed conflict in relation to children's involvement in war in Northern Uganda to explore the role of 'audiences and actors in the performance of war'.[19] She emphasises the role of visual and performing arts both as a methodology to facilitate the rehabilitation of former child soldiers, and as a mechanism to participate in global markets of humanitarianism and social development.

In this dissertation I work at the intersections between applied theatre and DDR. I aim at contributing to a better understanding of performance, both as paradigm and practice, for the purpose of reintegration, while exploring possible uses of embodied practice for conflict transformation. By bringing together the lenses of applied theatre, DDR and embodied practices in conflict transformation, the dissertation also illuminates the context of war in Colombia from a performance studies perspective. The dissertation contributes to scholarly discussion in the above-mentioned areas of study, while also seeking to contribute to the development of public policy for reintegration. To the best of my knowledge, a systematic study of the role of performance, both as paradigm and practice, in the reintegration of former combatants in Colombia has not been conducted. It is hoped that policy makers,

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[19] Laura Edmondson, 'Marketing Trauma and the Theatre of War in Northern Uganda', *Theatre Journal,* 57 (2005), 453.

theatre scholars and practitioners in the fields of peace-building and applied theatre will benefit from the analysis.

## 1.2 FIELDWORK: PROCESS AND METHODOLOGY

### *1.2.1 On Encounters*

I began working with ex-combatants in 2011 after completing my MA studies and seeking opportunities to apply art practice to assist victims of the armed conflict in Colombia. Interested in working with internally displaced persons to provide support in dealing with loss and coping with the challenges of resettlement, I believed that embodied art practice could provide a physical space in which to explore creative potential. In this sense, and echoing Dance Movement Therapy theorist and practitioner Mary Starks Whitehouse, I hold that the creative potential of individuals is not limited to the possibility or capacity of producing something. Whitehouse suggested that 'the basic creativity of the human being consists in working toward his own fullest development, the realizing of its own potentials, the allowing himself to grow. What we create first is ourselves and it is out of ourselves that the producing comes.'[20] I was less interested in people learning skills to create a performance about survival, rescue and reconciliation than I was concerned with the process of encounter, in the discovery of oneself through symbolic interaction. Of course, I understood myself as part of that encounter.

However, I was unable to find that particular job and instead volunteered to work with female ex-combatants in their social reintegration process. I learnt about

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[20] Mary Starks Whitehouse, 'Creative Expression in Physical Movement Is Language without Words', in *Authentic movement. A collection of essays by Mary Starks Whitehouse, Janet Adler and Joan Chodorow,* ed. by Patrizia Pallaro (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2000), pp. 33-40 (p. 40).

the Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, hereafter ACR), the government institution that designs and implements public policy on reintegration for adults through a friend that had worked as a volunteer for the ACR, during which she taught papier-mâché to a former paramilitary member so he could start his own business. As one might suspect, she found that during their meetings and conversations, it was more about what he taught her than she taught him. I joined the ACR though a programme called 'Banco de Tiempo' (Time Bank), through which people could offer to 'donate time' to teach skills or help ex-combatants to work through difficulties experienced during their adaptation to civilian life. So, I ended up working with 'perpetrators' instead of 'victims'.

I met with ACR staff to discuss the possibility of 'donating time'. After our conversation I proposed a 6-day workshop. In the description of it I wrote:

> This workshop aims to address the body as tool for building individual and collective identities. Drawing from a combination of dance, contact improvisation, performance and theatre exercises, we will generate awareness of the relationship between individual and collective bodies, and in what ways the destruction of the one inevitably triggers the disintegration of the other. We will also reflect on issues such as tolerance, respect and effective communication.[21]

My previous experience as a dancer and performance artist allowed me to feel confident about these ideas. I knew that we could work in order to achieve these

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[21] Este taller pretende abordar el cuerpo como herramienta de construcción de identidad individual y colectiva. Mediante la práctica de ejercicios provenientes de la danza, contact improvisation, la performance y el teatro, se busca generar consciencia de la relación entre cuerpos individuales y colectivos, y de qué maneras la destrucción de uno desencadena inevitablemente en la desintegración del otro. Mediante el taller se busca enfatizar temas como la tolerancia, el respeto y la comunicación efectiva.

goals through embodied practice. But there was nothing about 'performative practice/práctica performativa', 'embodied practice/práctica corporal' or 'performance' that was 'catchy' enough for my target audience. So the methodological description of the workshop was the following:

> Methodology: We will use belly dance as a tool to facilitate working through skills that will allow us to explore the proposed topics and related experiences through non-narrative/non-representational methods.

> Note: This workshop is not aimed at producing a public performance. We will privilege privacy and creative process. We welcome participants over 14 years old.

A few days before our first workshop session I wrote this journal entry:

> 6th.October.2011

> I have a recurring dream, or something of sorts. In my dream, which it is not always the same, I'm doing something: from having lunch with a group of people at a large table, to me kissing someone in a kitchen. While engaged in these activities, suddenly someone stops whatever is going on and starts talking about working with ex-combatants. The recurrent message is "approach them with tranquillity, generosity and love." The people who talk to me in these recurring dreams are characterised by physical expressions of joy, contagious joy, so that I become infected, infected by their exhilaration, and I feel comforted. I am immediately convinced that there is nothing to worry about. The message has been repeated over and over again in a succession of joyful, tranquil faces, in the past few nights. If I remain calm, everything will be fine.

Anxiety speaks to me in my dreams, but these feelings of anxiety disappear as the day advances. When I wake up each morning I feel anxious. I know it because my stomach hurts. It burns. My stomach hurts me. My body feels the anxiety each morning, but it then dissipates somewhere between sips of coffee and emails.[22]

On the morning of this journal entry I had a meeting with an ACR member. She told me that participants were excited about it. Most of the women who were interested in coming to the workshop had been recruited by their romantic partners. Their roles ranged from cooking to extortion and military command.

When I think about the build-up to this first encounter all I remember is fear: deep seated fear and silence. I did not know how to talk about my fear, but I wrote it down. I was born in 1983 in the beginning of a decade of rapid escalation of violence and war in Colombia, characterised by a succession of failed peace negotiations with nine different guerrilla organisations, the growth of counterinsurgent or paramilitary groups and a thriving, extremely violent, illegal narcotics industry. In the early nineties the distant rumour of war knocked on our door. Then, family friends were forcibly displaced, kidnapped or murdered by the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army guerrilla, hereafter ELN), and the threat of a similar destiny resulted in the internal displacement of my

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[22] 10.6.2011

Tengo un sueño recurrente. En mi sueño - que no siempre es el mismo - estoy haciendo algo: desde comer con un grupo de personas en una mesa grande hasta darme besos en una cocina, cuando alguien empieza a hablar sobre trabajar con personas desmovilizadas. El mensaje constante es el de 'acercarse con mucha tranquilidad, generosidad y amor'. Las personas que me hablan en estos sueños recurrentes tienen una expresión de alegría tal que me contagian y me tranquilizan, me convencen de que no hay nada de que preocuparse y me insisten en esa sucesión de rostros en las últimas noches, que si estoy tranquila todo va a estar bien.

La ansiedad me habla en sueños y creo desaparece en horas del día. Mi cuerpo despierto la siente en las mañanas, acompañado del dolor de estómago que se disipa entre el café y los correos electrónicos de la mañana.

grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles. The ELN invaded my grandfather's farm. He died uprooted, he was never able to go back to his land. My mother developed a form of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), having nightmares involving guerrilla-owned helicopters coming to our home, the impossibility of escape and, as consequence, feelings of being unable to protect my brother and I. In addition she felt a persisting sense that guerrillas were following her daily movements. So when I told her I wanted to work with former combatants she was terrified. Considering our family history, I really needed her approval. I explained that I was tired of being afraid and that for me a life lived in fear was not worth living. I told her that I wanted to understand why people went to war. I wanted to learn about their ideological motivations. I thought this not because I considered there were valid reasons for using violence for political purposes. But I refused to accept that our war was fought over individual greed, over nothing. All those who were gone, all that loss, over seemingly nothing. I wanted to understand so I could help, and I thought that by focusing on so-called perpetrators I could help victims as well.

I must say that the workshop with the ACR was a disappointment. It had been planned to run over six days, but we were only able to hold two sessions. On the third day when I arrived to give the workshop, they were painting the room that we had been assigned in a beautiful royal blue. It was impossible to breathe. The ACR staff responsible for supervising my work did not show up. There were multiple reasons for the failure in my view: at the time I did not know enough about the institution or about the target group. I was not sure what to expect from participants. While having many years of experience as a dancer and dance teacher, and some intuitive understanding of the political and social implications of working on peace-

building efforts in Colombia, I was unaware of the stages of the reintegration process. On the other hand, the ACR staff did not seem interested in learning about my ideas regarding art practice. Perhaps they were not sure what to expect from me either. We did not ask each other enough questions about how our experiences could be mutually nurtured. In addition this was, for me, an awkward experience because of feeling a need to demonstrate 'impact'. There was little interest in facilitating a process; the ACR wanted quantitative information they could talk about. The institution was more interested in journalists interviewing me and participants, and taking photos during the workshop to show in the social pages of local and national newspapers. The ACR was expecting a performance of happiness, well-being and care.

I declined to do this for multiple reasons. First, I was unsure if the workshop would be successful, and did not want to simply present it as a successful, innovative event, as the ACR wanted. On the other hand, I feared for my safety, and the safety of the participants. In a deeply polarised country I thought it was outrageous for a government institution to insist on exposing the identity of people who could consequently be targeted for working on peace-building. I felt that I could have potentially been in danger or mistakenly tagged as a guerrilla or paramilitary supporter. I also feared ex-combatants could be vulnerable if identified by their neighbours, or traced by armed groups. I did not want them to be stigmatised in their own homes. In order to increase the number of participants, the ACR asked members of the neighbouring community to come to a 'workshop'. By the end of the workshop they were asking how they could join so they could come to more classes, but they had not been clearly informed about what the ACR was or that some

workshop participants were ex-combatants. The extra participants decided not to come back.

Yet, despite my issues with the institution, lack of support and failure of the workshop, I loved the encounter: I loved meeting women who had been guerrillas and/or paramilitaries and were now studying and working as part of their process of reintegration in civilian contexts. I wanted to learn about them and within my own capabilities to help them improve their lives. I felt a combination of fear, curiosity and respect. I overheard conversations regarding family problems, legal limbos they were struggling with due to flawed peace agreements, lazy husbands and institutional surveillance and control—they were talking about the ACR. I also learnt that most ACR staff worked under dubious conditions. Healthcare was not provided, and contracts were renewed on a monthly basis and could be terminated without prior notice. Where these appropriate working conditions for those who 'build peace', or indeed, for anyone?

A few months later I found a job at an NGO to work in an arts-based reintegration programme for former child soldiers. Over the course of seven months I experienced the multiple pitfalls and successes of designing and implementing arts-based methods specifically tailored for former combatants who, due to their age, are considered victims of forced recruitment. This experience has significantly shaped my understanding of reintegration and the possibilities and limitations of institutional aid. I understand the institutional space for reintegration as a liminal place for ex-combatants to rehearse their changing identities and develop skills that are necessary to navigating their new social and cultural context, transform

themselves and develop sustainable livelihoods.[23] In this situation, what do ex-combatants think about themselves in their transitions to civilian contexts? How does institutional assistance facilitate this process? What is the role of civil society in this liminal stage of transformation?

### 1.2.2 Data Collection

Building on the experiences narrated in the previous section of this introductory chapter, I employed several methods to collect data for this study, from participant observation and in-depth interviews to historical and archival research. I conducted a total of 32 semi-structured in-depth interviews during the course of eight months of fieldwork in several cities in Colombia: Bogotá, Medellín and Cali (2013-2014). Some of these interviews were conducted thanks to the generous support of the ACR and the Peace and Reconciliation Program (PPR). The PPR is an education institution which implements a basic primary and secondary education program tailored for ex-combatants, members of communities vulnerable to violence and victims of the armed conflict.

Participation in this study was on a voluntary basis and there was no payment announced or made in exchange for being interviewed. I conducted interviews at the ACR and the PPR offices, in restaurants, cafes, public libraries and in a hostel, as well as in participants' homes, over several visits. In these cases, contact was established directly with potential interviewees that I had already met or through friends, and not via the above-mentioned institutions. The purpose of approaching potential participants through various routes was to collect information in locations where interviewees felt most comfortable, outside of government-run institutions,

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[23] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Antistructure.*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co, 1969).

thus enabling them to express opinions more freely. All interviews conducted in institutional settings took place over coffee or tea and snacks, such as biscuits or chocolates, provided by me or the institution I was visiting. Sharing something to eat or drink allowed for small talk that helped to start our conversations. During the days of institutional-based interviews I carried pens, coloured pencils and notebooks with me, which I gave out once the interview had finished, as a gesture of gratitude and appreciation. I often gave pens and/or notebooks and the colour pencils to interviewees who had children. When I was invited to conduct interviews over several house visits, lunch or breakfast, and morning or afternoon snacks were prepared. In these cases we cooked together (not that I was allowed to do much!) and we went to the shops together. Occasionally I was allowed to pay for some of the ingredients. Due to my continuous communication with various participants over time (months or years) I gained a better understanding of the relative coherence and continuity of institutional aid, and also the ways in which individuals are shaped by it in the long term.

During my interviews I was interested in learning about the lives of interviewees before, during and after their participation in the armed organisation they belonged to. Following the political analyst and economist Scott Gates when he indicates that it is important to draw a distinction between enrolment and retention practices and motivations in order to improve the design of reintegration programmes, my main goal was to engage in a conversation that allowed me to identify the multiple, shifting motivations of persons' involvement in warfare.[24] In the process of building these narratives, I was also interested in exploring their

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[24] Scott Gates, 'Why Do Children Fight? Motivations and the Mode of Recruitment', in *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration,* ed. by Alpaslan Ozerdem and Sukanya Podder (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 29-49.

ideological motivations. I found that it was important not to discuss ideological theories or the political transformation of the armed organisations, but instead to discuss the complexities of personal experiences. This allowed me to speak to the emotional consequences of war and reintegration from former combatants' perspectives. The names of participants have been changed and the specific dates and locations where interviews were conducted are not disclosed in order to protect their identities. I conducted a total of 31 interviews with former members of the ELN, the FARC, the AUC, the MAQL the M-19 and the CRS. I also interviewed six staff members and practitioners who are currently working or have been involved in reintegration programs and processes. The reader can consult the Glossary and Abbreviations section at the beginning of the dissertation where necessary for brief descriptions of groups and organisations referred to in the dissertation.

All translations from Spanish are my own, unless otherwise stated. I have included in the footnotes the original Spanish text of translations when scholarly work is concerned, for example work by historians, sociologists, anthropologists or political analysts. I have, however, provided the original Spanish in the main text when quoting the voices and the experiences that are not part of canonical narratives of guerrilla warfare. The experiences narrated in this dissertation contest notions of solidarity, camaraderie and equality commonly assigned to guerrilla organisations. These experiences have been thought through and narrated in Spanish, and the multiplicity of experiences related to cultural, social, regional and generational backgrounds can be recognised in the original Spanish forms, from verb conjugations to sentence structures. This information can be important but can be lost in translation, so I have retained the Spanish in its original form and offered it as

part of the discussion. The process of conducting the research and writing the dissertation involved so much translation: from movement and practice to scholarly description; from body language and affect to written narrative; and from Spanish to English. It might be that the reader will not be able to read and understand the Spanish text to appreciate the nuances of the use of language, but they can know that there is an intention in the form the text has and also the type of information that it contains. Where including the Spanish original would have interrupted the flow of the account in chapter 7, I have provided the original Spanish text in Appendix 1.

## 1.3 ROADMAP OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation builds a comprehensive analysis of the subjective and ideological worlds of ex-combatants and their transitions towards civilian identities in contemporary Colombia. It focuses on reintegration programmes tailored for former combatants held in line with Colombia's multiple peace-building efforts. It aims to examine both the creation and implementation of public policy on reintegration and the extent to which formal institutional rules, as well as the continuation of war shape citizen's possibilities for social inclusion and mobility. Built around these two pillars, this study presents the process of reintegration as a performance where human emotions and transactions illuminate how social processes produce new political subjects and contribute to conflict transformation.

Chapter 2, *The quest for peace,* provides an overview of the rise and development of the first guerrilla movements in the second half of the twentieth century in Colombia, while drawing attention to historical moments and social processes which lie at the core of canonical narratives of the initial stages of the Colombian armed conflict. It introduces affective ideas of what amnesty and

demobilisation mean for combatants and questions cultural imaginaries of heroism, sacrifice and martyrdom associated to guerrilla warfare. Chapter 3, *Scripts for peace: two decades of rehearsals in demobilisation programmes,* provides a chronological account of developments of peace dialogues and agreements celebrated in the 1980s and 1990s that have led to current public policy on reintegration in Colombia.

Chapter 4, *Knock them into shape: child soldiers and arts-based reintegration*, draws on the category of child soldier to deconstruct representations and binaries of victims and perpetrators. It develops the idea of reintegration assistance as backstage action and introduces a critique of applied theatre practice, its possibilities and limitations in reintegration programmes. Chapter 5, *New beginnings: on ideology, loss and desire,* describes affective cycles experienced by ex-combatants and triggered by promises of new beginnings before, during and after their involvement in guerrilla organisations. The chapter explores the notion of performative citizenships as subject to shifting ideological interpretations of political activism, solidarity, belonging and social justice.

Chapter 6, *Affective labours: on love, care and solidarity*, proposes the concept of 'affective labours' to understand how affective transactions and related practices of love, care and solidarity are experienced by female ex-combatants. It demonstrates how attention to affect in recruitment, retention and demobilisation provides important information that can improve reintegration programmes. Chapter 7, *Performative reintegration: an affective approach to applied theatre in secondary care practice,* provides and ethnographic account of an applied theatre workshop that I designed for the ACR. It proposes a methodological approach to applied

theatre in reintegration public policy, with an emphasis on the benefit of an affective

focus to applied performance in secondary care practice.

## Chapter 2. The Quest for Peace

In the short novel *El coronel no tiene quien le escriba* (*No one Writes to the Colonel*), Colombian fiction writer and journalist Gabriel García Márquez narrates three months in the life of the Colonel, a Liberal war veteran, 56 years after the ending of the War of a Thousand Days (1889-1902), the last Colombian civil war of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth century.[25] While it is a work of fiction, this short novel is based on García Márquez's grandparents' lives. In the novel the Colonel lives with his wife; their only son was assassinated at a cockfight for distributing clandestine Liberal information. October, the month when the novel starts, stirs the Colonel's feelings, imbuing his daily routines with severe constipation and aching bones, apparently due to the humid weather: October was both the month when the 1899 Liberal revolution began and also when the Conservatives' victory was codified in the Neerlandia treaty on 24 October 1902.[26] In this treaty the Conservative regime promised that once the members of the Liberal rebel forces disarmed, there would be granted amnesty and pardon, a safe-conduct and the necessary aid for them to return home.[27] For these war veterans, receiving amnesty and pardons implied admitting that rebellion was a mistake, and thus that their political and social demands were also mistaken. Historians Aída Martínez Carreño and Gonzalo Sánchez claim that the Liberal rebels in the War of a Thousand Days were fighting to gain a more politically active presence, the improvement of

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[25] Gabriel García Márquez, *El Coronel No Tiene Quien Le Escriba*, (Barcelona: Plaza & Janes, 1994).

[26] The Neerlandia treaty was the first of three peace treaties signed off to end the war. The other two were the Wisconsin (21 November 1902) and the Chinácota (3 December 1902) treaties.

[27] Urbano Castellanos and Carlos Adolfo Urueta, 'Anexo 1. El Tratado De Neerlandia', in *Tiempos De Paz. Acuerdos En Colombia ,1902-1994,* ed. by Medófilo Medina and Efraín Sánchez (Colombia: Panamericana Formas e Impresos S.A, 2003), (p. 58).

living conditions and civil rights for all people, and ending a period of Conservative hegemony.[28] In García Marquez's fictionalised account, once the Liberal rebels agreed to sign the peace treaty, the Colonel and his comrades waited for three months under a tree in the Neerlandia ranch to receive the promised government aid, without it ever being distributed. Three months later they returned home by their own means and continued to wait for the aid, and also for their pensions, neither of which ever arrived. 56 years after the ending of the war, the Colonel was still waiting, barely surviving. In his wife's words, they were rotting alive.

It seems that with the termination of the war, the rebels' social and political struggles were ignored, and combatants were swiftly subjugated to the existing political and economic order, thus making their efforts and multiple losses seem worthless. The above-mentioned Neerlandia treaty, for instance, establishes that following demobilisation those affiliated to the Liberal Army, whether carrying weapons or not, would be immediately granted a demobilisation certificate or safe-conduct pass, along with the assistance necessary to allow them to return in their place of residence. However, this relocation assistance would be granted only on condition that they declared their submission to the existing regime, reaffirmed their willingness to live under its law and authority, and agreed not to take up arms against the government. They thus had to endorse the very social, political and financial order they had been fighting against.[29] Members of civil society who resided in areas of significant guerrilla influence were also entitled to receive these benefits. However, as Garcia Márquez' narrative suggests, these public promises do

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[28] Aída  Martínez Carreño, *La Guerra De Los Mil Días. Testimonios De Sus Protagonistas*,  (Santafé de Bogotá: Planeta, 1999), p. 15. Gonzalo Sánchez G, 'Capítulo 2: De Amnistías, Guerras Y Negociaciones', in *Memoria De Un País En Guerra. Los Mil Días: 1899-1902,* ed. by Gonzalo Sánchez G and Mario Aguilera Peña (Bogotá D.C.: Planeta, 2001), pp. 329-66 pp. 330-31).
[29] Castellanos and Urueta, p. 58.

not correspond to what was delivered afterwards: subjection to the existing order was efficiently and, in some cases, violently conducted, and reintegration assistance was insufficient or non-existent.

Colombia has a long history of peace treaties, each followed by the reintegration or reincorporation to civilian life of members of insurgent, counter-insurgent and rebel organisations. The sociologist Mario Aguilera Peña indicates that since independence in 1819, there have been granted approximately two hundred amnesties and pardons as part of the termination of conflicts, and also to control and manage the influence of rebel and insurgent movements against existing governments.[30] Amnesties, on the one hand, can be given to groups of people, while pardons, on the other, can solely be granted on an individual basis. The lawyer and political scientist Miguel Ángel Afanador Ulloa indicates that an amnesty annuls the crime and the punishment, while the pardon annuls solely the punishment, but not the crime; he argues that both can be given on an unconditional basis—without requesting anything in exchange, or a conditional basis—subject to the fulfilment of a requirement, such as disarmament.[31] In his essay 'Refundemos la Nación: Perdonemos a Delincuentes Políticos y Comunes' Aguilera Peña indicates that throughout Colombian history, the granting of amnesties and pardons has been a cause for multiple debates: in the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth century debates were mostly focused around questioning the granting of judicial benefits to individuals who had engaged in ordinary criminal activities, when judicial benefits were meant to be given solely to those responsible for political

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[30] Mario Aguilera Peña, 'Refundemos La Nación: Perdonemos a Delincuentes Políticos Y Comunes', *Análisis Político,* 25 (2012), 2.
[31] Miguel Ángel Afanador Ulloa, *Amnistías E Indultos: La Historia Reciente, 1948-1992,* (Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia. República de Colombia: Departamento Administrativo de la Función Pública, 1993), pp. 17-18.

crimes.[32] The vast literature on these amnesties and pardons is mostly focused on legal analyses and historical overviews of the multiple moments when conceding amnesties and pardons was considered the best option to bring conflict to an end, or to prevent the escalation of violence. Afanador Ulloa suggests there are two types of analyses in relation to amnesty in Colombia: judicial and technical analyses of the creation and evolution of the law and its implementation; and historical, sociological, journalistic and political analyses.[33] Afanador Ulloa indicates that the

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[32] Aguilera Peña, p. 2.

[33] Judicial and technical analyses: Iván Orozco Abad, 'Elementos Para Una Fundamentación Del Delito Político En Colombia: Una Reflexión a Partir De La Historia', *Análisis Político,* (1990); Bernardo Gaitán Mahecha, *Curso De Derecho Penal General*, (Bogotá: Editorial Lerner, 1963); Alfonso Reyes Echandía, *Derecho Penal: Parte General*, (Bogotá: Publicaciones Universidad Externado de Colombia, 1972); Eduardo Umaña Luna, *¿Hacia La Paz? (Los Ilícitos Y Los Presos Políticos; Las Amnistías E Indultos)*, (Bogotá: Ediciones Comité de Solidaridad con los Presos Políticos, 1985).; testimonial work: Olga Behar, *Las Guerras De La Paz*, (Bogotá: Editorial Planeta, 1985); Álvaro Leyva Durán, '¿Paz? ¡Paz! Testimonios Y Reflexiones Sobre Un Proceso', (Bogotá: Leyva Durán Editores, Editorial Oveja Negra, 1987); Arturo Alape, *La Paz, La Violencia: Testigos De Excepción*, 1 edn (Bogotá: Planeta, 1985); Jacobo Arenas, *Cese Al Fuego: Una Historia Política De Las Farc*, (Bogotá, Colombia: Oveja Negra, 1985); Jacobo Arenas, *Correspondencia Secreta Del Proceso De Paz*, (Bogotá, Colombia: La Abeja Negra, 1989); Jacobo Arenas, *Vicisitudes Del Proceso De Paz: Notas, Documentos, Comentarios*, (Colombia: Editorial La Aveja Negra, 1990); Jacobo Arenas, *Paz, Amigos Y Enemigos*, (Colombia: Editorial La Abeja Negra, 1990). Consejería para la Reconciliación Presidencia de la República, Normalización y Rehabilitación, *Hacia Una Nueva Colombia: La Política De Reconciliación, Normalización Y Rehabilitación*, (Bogotá: La Consejería, 1989). ibid; Consejería para la Reconciliación Presidencia de la República, Normalización y Rehabilitación, *El Camino De La Paz*, (Bogotá: La Consejería, 1989). Laura Restrepo, *Historia De Un Entusiasmo*, (Bogotá: Editorial Norma, 1998). Patricia Lara, *Siembra Vientos Y Recogerás Tempestades*, (Barcelona: Editorial Fontamara, 1982).; video and documentary material: Carlos Ronderos Torres, Álvaro Torado Mejía, and Maria Victoria Uribe, 'Colombia: Rebelión Y Amnistía 1944-1986', (Bogotá: FOCINE, 1986).; sociological, historical and ethnographic analyses: Alfredo Molano, *Amnistía Y Violencia*, (Bogotá: Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 1980); Alfredo Molano, *Siguiendo El Corte: Relatos De Guerras Y Tierras*, (Bogotá: El Áncora Editores, 1989); Gonzalo Sánchez, 'Raíces Históricas De La Amnistía O De Las Etapas De La Guerra En Colombia', in *Ensayos De Historia Social Y Política Del Siglo Xx*, (Bogotá: El Áncora, 1984); Daniel Pécaut, *Crónica De Dos Décadas De Política Colombiana. 1968-1986*, (Bogotá: Siglo XXI Editores, 1989); Eduardo Pizarro, 'Los Orígenes Del Movimiento Armado Comunista En Colombia (1949-1966)', *Análisis Político,* (1989); Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa and Cristina de la Torre, *Amnistía, Hacia Una Democracia Más Ancha Y Profunda*, (Bogotá: Editorial Oveja Negra, 1983); Socorro Ramírez V and Luis Alberto Restrepo, *Actores En Conflicto Por La Paz. Proceso De Paz Durante El Gobierno De Belisario Betancur (1982-1986)*, (Bogotá: CINEP, Siglo XXI Editores, 1988); Ana María Bejarano, 'La Paz En La Administración De Barco: De La Rehabilitación a La Negociación Política', *Análisis Político,* (1990); William Ramírez Tobón, *Estado, Violencia Y Democracia*, (Bogotá: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI), Tercer Mundo Editores, 1990); Diana Duque Gómez, *Una Guerra Irregular Entre Dos Ideologías: Un Enfoque Liberal*, (Bogotá: Intermedio Editores, 1991); Comisión de Estudios Sobre la Violencia, Jaime Arocha R, and Gonzalo Sánchez, *Colombia, Violencia Y*

Colombian government has considered and implemented amnesties and pardons in the following situations: when the conflict is considered to represent a real threat for the stability of existing political institutions; when violence has extended over time, such as during a protracted violent conflict; when the armed actors are multiple and each one is fighting separately in order to establish their ideal of society and the state; when the state was unable to solve conflict through mediation or military interventions; and when the state recognises the political character of the conflict.[34]

In this chapter I provide an overview of the rise and demobilisation of the Llanos Guerrillas in order to discuss the symbolic implications of amnesty, and surrender, and to introduce affective ideas of what disarming and demobilising means for combatants. I am interested in looking beyond the judicial and legal implications of amnesty to view it as a mechanism that relies on the promise of change while at the same time it annuls the possibility of political action. Writing about the historic roots of amnesty and the social and political functions of war in Colombia, particularly during the nineteenth century, Sánchez indicates that 'amnesties had their own inner poison: granting them in exchange of rebels' disarmament and surrender, without any further consideration or substantial exchange, was the equivalent of emptying the wars of their social, political or cultural causes. Rebels believed they were fighting for a legitimate cause'.[35] Sánchez argues that despite its recurrence in Colombian history, amnesty is usually interpreted as an exceptional resource granted to facilitate the termination of violent

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*Democracia*, (Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colciencias, 1995).

[34] Afanador Ulloa, p. 187.

[35] Pero las amnistías tenían su propio veneno interior: otorgarlas a cambio de la simple rendición y entrega de las armas por parte de los rebeldes, que habían creído luchar por una causa legítima, sin ninguna otra contraprestación sustancial, equivalía a vaciar las guerras de su contenido social, político o culturalGonzalo Sánchez G, *Guerras, Memoria E Historia*, (Medellín: La Carreta Editores, 2009), p. 62.

conflict or after finalising a negotiation phase.[36] In a similar vein to Afanador Ulloa, Sánchez concludes that amnesties are implemented solely when, after continued military activity, the parties involved regard themselves as unable to win the war.[37] Recurrent amnesties are not only evidence of the failure to consider and address effectively the claims of those who surrender, so to bring the underlying causes of conflict to an end. They are also a resource for judicial oblivion that seeks the re-legitimisation of democratic order in the benefit of pacification.[38] Consequently, by granting amnesties in the name of pacification, social, economic and political elites present themselves as benevolent and generous without necessarily being held accountable for their own involvement and failure to end war effectively. Granting amnesty, then, is a way of dismissing and repressing dissident and insurgent voices of the promise of a new beginning. It constitutes an attempt to award legitimacy to the existing order 'through the subordinate return of dissidents to the political body of the nation'.[39] By means of amnesties and pardons, rebels and dissidents regain their rights and responsibilities as citizens. However, when combatants leave the ranks they return to civilian contexts that are ruled, with very few exceptions, by unaltered political, economic and social structures.

I start by discussing the establishment of the first guerrilla movements of the second half of the twentieth century, while also drawing attention to historical moments and social processes which lie at the core of canonical narratives of the initial stages of the contemporary Colombian armed conflict (1948-present). I provide this background in order to focus on the Llanos Guerrillas and their

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[36] Ibid. p. 38.
[37] Afanador Ulloa, p. 27. Sánchez G, p. 38.
[38] Sánchez G, p. 330.
[39] La amnistía pone de manifiesto un hecho anterior, la represión, pero al mismo tiempo obedece en Colombia a una permanente necesidad de relegitimación de la democracia formal, mediante la reincorporación subordinada de los disidentes al cuerpo político de la nación. Sánchez G, p. 35.

demobilisation. The demobilisation of this guerrilla was the first of the contemporary armed conflict. The negotiations and procedures that preceded the disarmament and demobilisation of this armed organisation, and the effects that these had on the lives of former combatants, have created cultural imaginaries of heroism, sacrifice and martyrdom, associated with the apparent need for insurgency and the violent nature of the political establishment. In discussing the demobilisation of the Llanos Guerrillas I explore the internal lack of cohesion among members, and the feelings of disillusionment and betrayal that result from it. The affective components of the binary amnesty and demobilisation demonstrate that the ideas of heroism, sacrifice and martyrdom assigned to commanders of guerrilla-based political and social revolution do not honour rank-and-file lived realities. This is a recurring aspect of guerrilla warfare, demobilisation and reintegration that will be discussed throughout this dissertation.

## 2.1 DISARMAMENT AND DEMOBILISATION: FRONT AND BACK STAGE

In his seminal book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, the sociologist Ervin Goffman introduces the concepts of 'front stage' and 'back stage' action to analyse various performances of everyday life. He argues that when meeting an individual, observers seek to acquire information that will help them 'know how best to act in order to call forth a desired response' from the newly-met person.[40] Goffman refers to how observers rely on conduct and appearance, previous experiences with similar individuals, and on what the new person says about herself in order to anticipate her

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[40] Ervin Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, 1956), p. 1.

present and future behaviour. Those who meet the new person 'must accept the individual on faith, offering him a just return while he is present in exchange for something whose true value will not be established until after he has left their presence'.[41] But Goffman argues that while observers study this new person, she, in turn, performs for her new audience in order to control the ways in which she is perceived, as well as their responses to herself. 'Thus, when an individual appears in the presence of others, there will usually be some reason for him to mobilize his activity so that it will convey an impression to others which it is in his interests to convey'.[42] This initial impression, Goffman suggests, has a 'distinctive moral character' and determines how people will behave in the future.[43] He writes:

> Society is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in a correspondingly appropriate way. Connected with this principle is a second, namely that an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain social characteristics ought to have this claim honoured by others and ought in fact to be what he claims he is. In consequence, when an individual projects a definition of the situation and thereby makes an implicit or explicit claim to be a person of a particular kind, he automatically exerts a moral demand upon the others, obliging them to value and treat him in the manner that persons of his kind have a right to expect.[44]

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[41] Ibid. p. 2.
[42] Ibid. p. 3.
[43] Ibid. pp. 4-5.
[44] Ibid. p. 6.

The interactions between individuals and the reciprocal influence of their actions constitute social performances. Goffman is interested in the techniques and strategies deployed by individuals in order to sustain their roles by means of front region performance and backstage activity interactions. Front, indicates Goffman, is 'that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance. Front, then, is the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance'.[45] The front region is where the performance takes place, before the audience.[46] A backstage, Goffman writes, 'may be defined as a place relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course. […] It is here that the capacity of a performance to express something beyond itself may be painstakingly fabricated; it is here that illusions and impressions are openly constructed'.[47] Front and back stage co-exist and what happens on one side depends on the activities of the other. Audience members of the front region are, however, expected not to see the backstage action.[48]

In his book *Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo*, political scientist Peter Andreas draws on Goffman's notion of front and back stage action to 'scrutinize the relationship between the material and performative aspects of conflict, international intervention and post-war reconstruction' and the interdependence between formal and informal activities,

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[45] Ibid. p. 13.
[46] Ibid. p. 66.
[47] Ibid. p. 69.
[48] Ibid. pp. 69-70.

front and back stage, during war.[49] Andreas indicates that when discussing complex social scenarios such metaphors provide an opportunity to 'draw attention to discrepancies between the formal scripts and the more informal behavior behind the scenes, the multiple roles the actors can simultaneously play, and the relationship between the visible, audience-directed official "face-work" of the front stage and the less visible unofficial action backstage'.[50] The promise of peace and assistance in transition and resettlement as seen in García Márquez' novel and also in the Neerlandia Treaty is part of the 'formal script', the front-stage promise of what will be done after signing the peace agreement. Once the ending of war is codified in a document, the subsequent disillusion, loss and precariousness which characterises the Colonel's life is part of the 'back stage' action, the consequences of the failure, or perhaps the unwillingness to deliver the front stage promise. Also part of the back stage is the continuous criminalisation of Liberals's political activities, as depicted in the assassination of the Colonel's son. The Colonel's story is one of many examples of the double-play, the inter-dependence, involved in the cycles of promises and the failures of fulfilment that combatants go through before, during and after enlistment; of the front stage action, as exemplified in the Treaty, and back stage action, as illustrated in the lives of the Colonel, his wife and their son.

In this regard, and moving away from fictional narratives, Martinez Carreño's examination of the testimonies, personal journals and written correspondence between war veterans and civilians during The War of a Thousand Days further illuminates how accepting the amnesty and judicial pardon also implied that rebels subscribed to the established order and renounced any possibility of demanding

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[49] Peter Andreas, *Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo*, (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell Univesity Press, 2008), p. ix.
[50] Ibid. pp. 3-4.

changes that could improve their post-war lives.[51] To illustrate the difficulties of veterans' civilian adaptation, Martínez Carreño draws on the testimony of Juan C. Castelblanco, a Liberal war veteran who was granted amnesty in 1902. After the disarmament ceremony he did not receive any aid and was forced to walk many miles back home, sick and begging for money. On arriving at his land he realised there was nothing left for him to have gone back to: his two eldest sons had been murdered, the cattle, horses and sheep that he owned had disappeared and his property had been destroyed by Conservative forces loyal to the government. After selling his land for an insignificant amount of money, he migrated to Bogotá, the capital, with Tiberio, his only surviving son. Because his last name was registered at the time of demobilisation to produce the safe-conduct document, Tiberio was discriminated against in Bogotá for being the son of a Liberal veteran and had to change his surname to Castel in order to be admitted at school and granted a scholarship, in 1904. At the time of the testimony Juan was 88 years old, unable to work and had been financially dependant on his son for several years.

Castelblanco, as well as the Colonel, acted upon the promise of a new beginning made by members of the Conservative establishment. The latter's performance in the front stage was carefully crafted so that it conveyed feelings of desire for a different life, the possibility of a future. However, the precarious living conditions and disillusionment illustrated in the experiences narrated by García Márquez and the words of Castelblanco did not match the standards of assistance that they expected following their disarmament and demobilisation. Goffman suggests that when a performer 'is to give expression to ideal standards during his performance, then he

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[51] Martínez Carreño; Aída Martínez Carreño, 'Después De Los Tratados', in *Tiempos De Paz. Acuerdos En Colombia, 1902-1994,* ed. by Medófilo Medina and Efraín Sánchez (Colombia: Panamericana Formas e Impresos S.A., 2003), pp. 43-52.

will have to forgo or conceal action which is inconsistent with these standards'.[52]

Accordingly, and going back to Andreas, the discrepancies between the formal scripts—in this case, the peace agreements and related public performances—and the 'informal behaviour behind the scenes'—in this case, the failure or unwillingness to fulfil the initial promise—are hidden in the back stage, that place where former combatants' process of subjection 'to the political body of the nation' unfolds.[53]

## 2.2 LA VIOLENCIA AND THE RISE OF THE LIBERAL GUERRILLAS

The ending of the War of a Thousand Days in 1902 and the growth of the coffee trade at the beginning of the twentieth century created an atmosphere of hope for peace and financial growth in Colombia. In their influential book *Bandoleros, Gamonales y Campesinos. El Caso de la Violencia en Colombia,* Gonzalo Sánchez and the social anthropologist Donny Meertens suggest that the convergence of these political and economic shifts indicated that it was possible for the country to establish a long-term presence in the international market, which was considered a necessary base for the establishment of peace.[54] Sánchez and Meertens indicate that during the first three decades of the twentieth century an incipient industrialisation process and economic expansion came along with changes in the traditional Liberal-Conservative party structure of the country that characterised most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The authors suggest that economic growth also generated social divisions which stimulated the establishment of worker and peasant movements of socialist and communist inclination, and which challenged the

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[52] Goffman, pp. 69-70.
[53] Andreas, pp. 3-4. Sánchez G, p. 35.
[54] Gonzalo Sánchez G and Donny Meertens, *Bandoleros, Gamonales Y Campesinos. El Caso De La Violencia En Colombia*,  (Bogotá: El Áncora Editores, 1983), p. 29.

traditional party configuration.[55] The worker and peasant movements, along with indigenous uprisings during the 1920s and 1930s and the creation of the Communist Party, started changing the political power dynamics between members of social classes and introduced a discussion around land ownership in the national economic debate.[56] Land ownership was recognised to be an important focus of conflict because it challenged the continuation of class-based and social divisions promoted by Liberal and Conservative oligarchies.[57]

In 1945 Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, a member of the Liberal Party, started a presidential campaign that generated a climate of social agitation without precedents; he advocated the unification of the people against Liberal and Conservative political and economic oligarchies. Gaitán, who had worked extensively for previous Liberal presidents, became a symbol of hope in the possibility of change for workers and peasants by presenting himself as an alternative to the political polarisation that had in fact allowed economic and political elites to remain in power.[58] Gaitán also advocated a change in the ways Conservatives perceived and addressed Liberals. In response to multiple massacres conducted during the first months of 1948 by the *pájaros*, gangs of hitmen of Conservative affiliation, Gaitán addressed the Conservative president Mariano Ospina Perez (1946-1950) in a speech in the Plaza de Bolívar, the centre of social agitation in Bogotá:

> Sir, prevent violence. We want the defence of human life, which is the least a people can ask. Mr President, our flag is in mourning and this silent crowd, the silent cry of our hearts unites in this claim: that you treat us, our

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[55] Ibid. p. 30.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid. pp. 32-33.

mothers, our wives, our children and our possessions, as you want us to treat you, your mother, your wife, your children and your possessions — Impedid, señor, la violencia. Queremos la defensa de la vida humana, que es lo menos que puede pedir un pueblo. Señor presidente, nuestra bandera está enlutada y esta silenciosa muchedumbre y este grito mudo de nuestros corazones sólo os reclama: que nos tratéis a nosotros, a nuestras madres, a nuestras esposas, a nuestros hijos y a nuestros bienes, como queries que os traten a vos, a vuestra madre, a vuestra esposa, a vuestros hijos y a vuestros bienes.[59]

The demand was simple and straightforward: to be treated with respect. Two months after this public appearance Gaitán was murdered in Bogotá's city centre, on 9 April 1948. The assassination of Gaitán ignited a violent Liberal insurrection initially known as El Bogotazo that was met with violent repression by the Conservative regime in power at the time.[60] The capital was almost completely destroyed and Liberal-Conservative party members' violent confrontations expanded rapidly to other parts of the country.[61] This initial wave of violence and the following years are known as La Violencia (1948-1964).

Regarding La Violencia, the anthropologist Maria Victoria Uribe Alarcón writes that:

[It] was a confrontation between Liberals and Conservatives that, although it allowed changes in land-ownership by expelling terrified owners, it did not fundamentally alter the overall distribution of wealth, and the structures

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[59] Cited in Walter J. Broderick, *Camilo El Cura Guerrillero*, (Bogotá, D.C.: Icono Editorial Ltda., 2013), p. 62.
[60] María Victoria Uribe Alarcón, *Antropología De La Inhumanidad: Un Ensayo Interpretativo Sobre El Terror En Colombia*, (Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma, 2004), p. 27.
[61] Sánchez G and Meertens, p. 33; Uribe Alarcón, p. 27.

of domination. It was an irregular war that had no leaders, no ideals, and during which uncountable massacres were conducted in rural areas.[62]

In the period between 1948 and 1964 some two hundred thousand to three hundred thousand men and women were murdered, twenty thousand people left the country and over two million persons were internally displaced, of a total of eleven million people—the estimated population at that time. The number of victims of sexual violence and orphaned children remain unknown.[63] The victims of La Violencia were mostly poor people from rural areas where 70% of the population was located. Uribe Alarcón argues that the victims were neighbours that shared the same schools and whose only difference was their affiliation to Liberal or Conservative parties.[64] The assassination of Gaitán, El Bogotazo and La Violencia were critical moments in Colombia's political and social history not only due to their extremely high human and material loss, but also because of their impact in political and social events related to the initial stages of the contemporary Colombian armed conflict.

It was during La Violencia that the first guerrillas appeared, in the view of many commentators. These groups were scattered around the country with no central control or organisation.[65] In a series of interviews conducted by former FARC member, journalist and historian Arturo Alape, multiple political, military and religious figures who lived through La Violencia were asked whether they

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[62] Fue una confrontación entre Liberales y Conservadores que, aunque permitió que las tierras cambiaran de manos mediante la expulsión de sus aterrorizados dueños, en lo fundamental no alteró la distribución general de la riqueza, ni las estructuras de dominación. Fue una guerra irregular que no tuvo caudillos, ni ideales y durante la cual se ejecutaron incontables masacres en las áreas rurales. Uribe Alarcón, p. 23.

[63] Ibid; Arturo Alape, *Diario De Un Guerrillero*, (Bogotá: Ediciones Abejón Mono, 1973), p. 9; Rafael Rueda Bedoya, 'El Desplazamiento Forzado Y La Pacificación Del País', *Enfoques y Metodologías sobre el Habitat: Memorias de un Experiencia Pedagógica,* Ensayos Forhum 15 (2000); Cesar Augusto Ayala Diago, 'Deseos Imaginados, Consenso Y Realidades En El Proceso De Paz De 1953', in *Tiempos De Paz. Acuerdos En Colombia, 1902-1994,* ed. by Medófilo Medina and Efraín Sánchez (Colombia: Panamericana formas e impresos S.A., 2003), pp. 137-62 (p. 156).

[64] , pp. 26, 35-36.

[65] Sánchez G and Meertens, pp. 33, 38.

considered the appearance of guerrillas was a direct result of that period. General José Joaquín Matallana, member of the military and leader of multiple operations aimed at attacking early expressions of communist and liberal guerrillas, said that it was the people of the Llanos, a territory that was mostly Liberal in affiliation, and their guerrillas, who first rebelled against the Conservative government of Bogotá, demanding the decentralisation of political power.[66] Responding to the same question, Gilberto Vieira, former president of the Communist Party, likewise indicated that guerrilla resistance started in 1949, in the Llanos, due to a failed coup d'etat planned between the Liberal elites and members of the Military. The plan failed, but Vieira suggested that it started the expansion of the guerrilla movement to other parts of the country.[67] Monsignor German Guzmán, co-author of the first and most influential academic study of La Violencia, considers the guerrillas are a direct result of Conservative government violence, consequently making the Liberal's need to protect their own lives a priority, and he also attributes their appearance to a desire to avenge Gaitán's death.[68] Guzmán's observation on the self-defensive nature of these groups echo the words of Arturo Alape:

> *The most important thing was to protect one's own life, to invent ways to keep oneself safe, however primitive these may be. To learn how to survive in an urgent situation was fundamental. Instinct: this was the beginning of any action, it was not political consciousness, not the defence of political principles or related confrontations — Lo primero era la vida. Inventar la forma de salvarla, recurriendo a cualquier método, por primitivo que éste*

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[66] Alape, p. 72.
[67] Ibid. p. 73.
[68] Ibid. p. 74. For Guzmán's study of La Violencia see: Germán Guzmán Campos, Orlando Fals Borda, and Eduardo Umaña Luna, *La Violencia En Colombia. Tomo I*, (Bogotá: Aguilar, Altea, Taurus, Alfaguara, 2010); Germán Guzmán Campos, Orlando Fals Borda, and Eduardo Umaña Luna, *La Violencia En Colombia. Tomo Ii*, (Bogotá: Aguilar, Altea, Taurus, Alfaguara, 2010).

*resultara. Aprender a sobrevivir en una situation apremiante, lo*

*fundamental. Fue la acción inicial en que se movilizaba el instinto y no la*

*conciencia, no la defensa de principios políticos ni el enfrentamiento*

*banderizo* [original italics].[69]

These guerrillas were for many families of Liberal and Communist affiliation the

symbol of a democratic alternative and the only means of influencing the political

destiny of the country.[70] These first guerrilla settlements originated in mostly

unpopulated territories, where waves of land colonisation were possible and where

there was an overall homogeneity regarding political affiliation. According to Jacobo

Arenas, former ideological leader of the FARC, the Liberal guerrillas were

predominantly present in the Andean and Llanos regions of the country. The initial

self-defence nature of these armed organisations shifted later on to a more

ideological and political project, thus becoming revolutionary guerrillas, some of

Communist and Marxist influence, such as the FARC.[71]

Writing about the origins and eventual demobilisation of the Llanos Guerrillas

in 1953, the historian Reinaldo Barbosa Estepa argues that these were particularly

significant due to their vast popular support and their incisive questioning of the

Liberal and Conservative parties' regime.[72] While there were other rebel groups in

the country, Barbosa Estepa suggests that the Llanos was the strongest and most

structured one at that time. In his book *Llano en armas: vida, acción y muerte de*

*Guadalupe Salcedo,* historian Orlando Villanueva Martínez indicates that the Llanos

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[69] Arturo Alape, 'Surgimiento De La Guerrilla', in *La Paz, La Violencia: Testigos De Excepción,*
(Bogotá: Planeta, 1985), pp. 69-71 (p. 69).
[70] Sánchez G and Meertens, p. 38.
[71] Alape, p. 77.
[72] 'La Paz De Los Esteros: ¿Asimilación O Aniquilamiento?', in *Tiempos De Paz. Acuerdos En
Colombia, 1902-1994,* ed. by Medófilo Medina and Efraín Sánchez (Colombia: Panamericana
Formas e Impresos S.A., 2003), pp. 107-18 (p. 109).

Guerrillas were created as a result of a long process of Conservative violent persecution of people living in areas of important Liberal influence. The first activities started after a failed coup d'état on 25 November, 1949. After much planning and discussions on how to execute the coup, internal fragmentation in the Liberal party resulted in its cancellation. However, the order not to go ahead with it was not received in multiple areas of the region where members of the Liberal party joined forces against the Conservative government: it was a reactive, collective mobilisation led by land owners and fought by peasant farmers. In this sense, the Llanos insurgency did not really question or challenge the established order; it rather worked within existing structures.[73] Villanueva Martínez suggests that the widely accepted belief in the rise of guerrillas as a result of the lack of presence of the state is not entirely accurate, and indicates that instead of an absent state to control the political, social and economic dynamics, what exist are local orders authorised by and that respond to a central state control. The Llanos Orientales economy, the geographical zone where the Llanos Guerrillas developed, was precariously connected to the central state (Bogotá) and, according to Villanueva Martínez, it is partly due to this marginal situation, in addition to social and geographical fragmentation within the region, which gave rise to the Llanos Guerrillas, but also led to their failure.[74] He writes:

> In the Colombian Llanos Orientales the state's inability to monopolise the use of weapons and to maintain a permanent regular army in conflict zones was evident. The main characteristic of the state was its technical inefficiency in the infrastructure for the distribution of information,

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[73] Orlando Villanueva Martínez, *El Llano En Armas: Vida, Acción Y Muerte De Guadalupe Salcedo*, (Bogota, D.C: Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2013), pp. 15-22.
[74] Ibid. p. 32.

communications and transport. This weakness of the state was the potential of the guerrillas.[75]

In discussing the internal structure of command and military action in the Llanos Guerrillas, Villanueva Martínez demonstrates that there was no central command unit, that each faction was autonomous and leaders assigned themselves their roles and military ranks arbitrarily. In 1951 there was an internal reorganisation, a reduction of the number of commanders and an attempt to better coordinate their actions.[76]


## 2.3 THE DEMOBILISATION OF THE LLANOS GUERRILLAS

In his memoirs of the origins of the guerrilla movements in Colombia, Manuel Marulanda Vélez—founder and now deceased commander of the FARC—writes that the demobilisation of the Llanos Guerrillas unfolded partly due to the 1953 amnesty offering and pacification campaign of military president Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (1953-1957). The amnesty offering became public knowledge mostly through the unusual means of circulating liberal newspapers by parachuting them from airplanes. These papers invited the rebels to demobilise in return for amnesty and reintegration assistance. While some factions regarded surrender as treason, others were immediately interested in this opportunity to return to civilian living, especially those guerrillas whose reason for joining and remaining in the insurgent movement was not ideological affinity, but solely the need to defend themselves from

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[75] En los Llanos Orientales colombianos se evidenció la incapacidad del Estado para monopolizar el manejo de las armas y mantener un ejército regular permanente en las zonas de conflicto; su característica fue su ineficiencia técnica en la infraestructura de información, vías de comunicación y transporte. En esta debilidad del Estado radicó el potencial de la guerrilla. Ibid. p. 45.
[76] Ibid. pp. 64, 71.

Conservative persecution.[77] This call for surrender came while the Llanos Guerrillas were perhaps at their strongest, consolidating and expanding their political project.[78] It is estimated that by the end of 1952 the Llanos Guerrillas had at least twenty thousand members.[79] The demobilisations in 1953 were the first stage of Rojas Pinilla's pacification campaign, of which the Llanos Guerrillas were the main target. Once appointed president, Rojas Pinilla and members of the Military offered unconditional amnesty to all insurgents. 'Amnesty for those who will join the government in an honest, loyal and patriotic manner; material aid to those who need it' — 'Amnistía para todos aquellos que se acojan al gobierno en forma honrada, leal y patriótica; la ayuda material a quienes la necesitan'.[80] A few days following the invitation to demobilise in exchange for unconditional amnesty and reintegration assistance, small guerrilla factions surrendered: they received food, a few tools and the promise of protection, loans and assistance to start working and rebuild their lives as civilians.[81] Simultaneously, a document addressed to members of the Military and signed by General Duarte Blum started to circulate:

> *All men and women who have, in one way or the other, been involved in*
>
> *insurgency or related activities against the law, and who come forward to*
>
> *the relevant authorities to surrender and disarm, must be respected,*
>
> *protected, allowed to remain free, and must be helped so they can work —*
>
> *Todos los individuos que de una u otra forma se hayan comprometido en*

[77] Manuel Marulanda Vélez, *Cuadernos De Campaña*, Third Edition edn (2000), pp. 69-70.
[78] Reinaldo Barbosa Estepa, *Guadalupe Y Sus Centauros. Memorias De La Insurrección Llanera*, (Bogotá: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales de la Universidad Nacional: Cerec, 1992), pp. 162-63.
[79] Sánchez G and Meertens, p. 39.
[80] Rojas Pinilla cited in Ayala Diago, p. 146.
[81] Darío Villamizar, *Un Adiós a La Guerra*, 1 edn (Santa Fe de Bogotá: Planeta, 1997), p. 35; Ayala Diago, pp. 159-60; Alape, p. 131.

*hechos subversivos contra el orden público y que se presenten*

*voluntariamente ante las autoridades haciendo entrega de sus armas, los*

*dejen en completa libertad, les protejan la vida, les ayuden a reiniciar sus*

*actividades de trabajo* [italics in original].[82]

However, the Liberal elites also influenced the process: they allied with the Conservatives when they perceived the guerrillas were getting stronger, out of their control. In addition, Rojas Pinilla offered the Liberal elite political favours in return for the surrender of Liberal guerrillas. An order to demobilise was issued by the Liberal party shortly thereafter. Former member of the Communist party Gilberto Vieira indicates:

> The fact, the historical fact is that the Liberal leadership, the Liberal
> bourgeoisie achieved the unconditional surrender of those guerrillas under
> its influence, which were the majority at that first stage. That indicates the
> liberal orientation of guerrilla movement at the time — El hecho real, el
> hecho histórico es que la Dirección Liberal, la burguesía liberal logra la
> entrega incondicional de las guerrillas bajo su influencia, que eran la
> mayoría en ese momento, en la primera etapa. Eso da la idea del nivel
> ideológico liberal del movimiento guerrillero en esa etapa.[83]

It is worth noting the discrepancies between Marulanda Velez's and Vieira's thoughts regarding the guerrillas' ideological influences. The former suggests that the guerrilla movement was not completely unified under liberal doctrine, and the latter suggests there was a strong, binding ideological identification between the guerrilla movement and the Liberal party. As regards attitudes towards

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[82] Alape, p. 131.
[83] Alape, p. 86.

demobilisation, the most important aspect was not whether there was ideological identification and cohesion or not. The key issue was rather the lack of internal unity around ideas of what demobilising and disarming is, what it entails; conflicting views among commanders and, most importantly, the vast distance between these and the file-and-rank members, in addition to the deep feelings of distrust stirred by both comrades and the state.

In an interview with the historian Arturo Alape, former Llanos Guerrillas commander Eduardo Franco Izasa explained that his guerrillas were indeed interested in the amnesty offered by Rojas Pinilla, but they were not willing to unconditionally disarm in exchange for amnesty. They made a public statement clarifying this and expressed their demands, which included recognition as an independent political party, free access to the press and radio, and the release of political prisoners.[84] Overall, the guerrillas wanted to accept the amnesty offering, but were not willing to disarm because they considered that giving away their weapons could be dangerous as there was no guarantee that the government would keep its word, deliver what had been promised, and not murder them. Regarding the possibility of disarmament, former Llanos Guerrillas member Plinio Murillo (Capitán Veneno) said:

> If surrendering was important, it was even more so to keep our weapons, because these were the only means that we had to enforce the agreements with the government. But if we were unarmed, who would enforce the agreements? — Que si era necesaria la entrega, más necesario era reservar

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[84] Alape, p. 136.

las armas, que serían las que iban a hacer cumplir los acuerdos con el gobierno. Pero sin armas ¿quién haría cumplir los acuerdos?[85]

However Guadalupe Salcedo, general commander of the Llanos Guerrillas, had already agreed to disarm unconditionally and surrender his guerrillas. He made this decision during a meeting with the Military and without talking with his comrades. In the words of Carlos Neira Rodríguez, the vice-president of the Llanos Guerrillas Revolutionary Congress, Guadalupe and members of the Military:

walked into the battalion and were very well served by the army. They had plenty to drink: brandy and whiskey. Without consulting anybody, Guadalupe promises to disarm without further considerations. This news is heard by guerrilla troops who decide to break up their formations, leaving the weapons with a caretaker on a ranch at Angelereña. Our top leader was allowing himself to be seen frequently in military posts and with the military, those who had enriched themselves by moving cattle, dispensing alcohol everywhere — Entran al batallón y son muy bien atendidos por el Ejército. Hay derroche de trago, brandy y whisky. Sin consultarle a nadie, Guadalupe se compromete a entregar las armas sin más. Llega la noticia a sus tropas guerrilleras que se dispersan dejando las armas con un cuidandero, en un rancho en la Angelereña. Nuestro jefe máximo seguía derrochando presencia en los puestos militares y los militares que se habían enriquecido moviendo ganados, derrochaban licores por todas partes.[86]

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[85] Ibid. p. 134.
[86] Ibid. p. 132.

In the meantime, Llanos Guerrillas commander Eduardo Franco Isaza, who was living in exile in Venezuela, wrote to Guadalupe Salcedo expressing his thoughts regarding how dialogues with the Military should advance:

> This radio [message sent to the president Rojas Pinilla] seeks to strengthen our unwavering peace policy, but, at the same time, we must understand that our weapons will not be given away, nor are we repentant. **[** ... **]** The fate of the [Liberal] party and the future of Colombian civil life depends on our behaviour. [ ... ] Frankly, you [Guadalupe] are the only one that we trust. **(** ...) Because regarding Gonzalez, Neira , etc., we are convinced that they will surrender at the first chance they have — Este radio [mensaje enviado al president Rojas Pinilla] busca afianzar nuestra política inquebrantable de paz, pero al mismo tiempo debemos entender que las armas no se entregarán ni nosotros somos unos arrepentidos. […] De nuestra actitud depende la suerte del partido y la futura vida civil colombiana. […] Francamente, únicamente en usted [Guadalupe] tenemos confianza. (…) Porque en cuanto se refiere a González, a Neira, etc., estamos convencidos de que se entragrán a media vuelta [round brackets in original].[87]

This letter, and the thoughts of Murillo and Neira Rodríguez, demonstrate the lack of internal cohesion regarding the implications of disarming and demobilising, the opposite opinions held by commanders and the lack of trust among all parties involved. As suggested by Villanueva Martínez, the internal fragmentation of the region and marginalisation not only gave rise to the Llanos guerrillas, but also contributed to its decline, as illustrated in the lack of internal cohesion and

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[87] Ibid. pp. 141-2.

centralised command structure. This fragmentation and the desire to lead and not be subordinated to the orders of others were, according to Villanueva Martínez, another reason for the decline of the Llanos Guerrilla.[88] Neira Rodríguez recalls that during a meeting with other commanders and guerrillas, facilitated by the Military, they started a discussion on the conditions for a peace agreement. He suggested that a small group of representatives could go to Bogotá to finalise the negotiations. But instead all commanders wanted to go, not assign delegates. They wanted to be seen, he suggests. So there were no further conversations: all 12 commanders, under the lead of Guadalupe Salcedo, started the journey to the capital under custody of the Military. According to Neira Rodriguez:

> They fooled themselves to believe that Military officers were so stupid that having all the guerrilla commanders together, in their hands, they would escort them all around the Llanos, on their planes, as they had promised. 'Don't be such imbeciles!' I cried. 'We are walking into the wolf's lair — Todos convencidos de que los oficiales del Ejército eran tan imbéciles que los iban a repartir por todos los puestos del Llano, en avión y como lo habían prometido, teniéndolos a todos los jefes juntitos y en sus manos. No seamos tan pendejos, exclamé yo, nos van a meter en la boca del lobo.[89]

As Neira Rodriguez predicted, while traveling to the capital they were held prisoner and, a few days later, it was announced on the radio that the commanders would be executed. Under that threat, they were forced to disarm and publicly announce their unconditional acceptance of the amnesty.[90] General Duarte Blum, representing the

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[88] Villanueva Martínez, p. 68.
[89] Alape, p. 144.
[90] Ibid. pp. 143-47.

government, delivered the message once more: if the guerrillas genuinely disarmed, they would be free. Neira Rodriguez recalls the speech:

> And so General Duarte Blum spoke: good morning, guerrillas! (He did not call us scum, or bandits, or anything like that). Then he got off the podium and began to shake hands with us, one by one. Then he spoke again; he repeated the promises of General Rojas Pinilla, calmly, pledging his honourable word, saying that if we laid down our weapons, there would be no persecution, that we would be able to enjoy complete freedom. [ ... ] Our commanders were murdered, one by one. That's what really happened — Tomó la palabra Duarte Blum: ¡buenos días, guerrilleros! (No nos dijo ni chusmeros, ni bandoleros, ni nada parecido). Luego se bajó de la tribuna y empezó a estrechar la mano de cada uno. Volvió luego a hablar: con calma repitió las promesas del general Rojas Pinilla, empeñando su palabra de honor de que si se deponían las armas cesaría toda persecución, se disfrutaría de toda libertad. […] Nuestros jefes fueron cayendo asesinados uno a uno. Eso fue así.[91]

On 15 September 1953 the Llanos guerrillas officially disarmed, and between six thousand or seven thousand guerrillas demobilised during that year.[92] Catholic priest Germán Guzmán Campo, also co-author of the first and most influential study of La Violencia, argues that the Llanos Guerrillas were forced to accept a peace agreement under conditions that did not allow them to establish limits and argue for their demands.[93] In his view this initial surrender encouraged the demobilisation of other

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[91] Ibid. pp. 148, 58.
[92] Ibid. pp. 143-49; Barbosa Estepa, pp. 108-11; Villamizar, p. 37.
[93] Guzmán Campos, Fals Borda, and Umaña Luna; Guzmán Campos, Fals Borda, and Umaña Luna.

guerrilla fronts in Sumapaz, Tolima, Magdalena, and Santander.[94] The disarmament of the Llanos Guerrillas was presented by the government of Rojas Pinilla as the culmination of La Violencia, and thus marked the beginning of a pacification period for the country. But in reality, following the initial excitement in 1953, continued military repression and violence became evident, especially in the areas of the country where the guerrillas had decided to demobilise, but not disarm. In an interview by Arturo Alape, General Álvaro Valencia Tovar, commander of successful counter insurgent operations in the early development of the guerrillas, stated that the offering of amnesty was a generous one, without restrictions, of which the only condition was disarmament.[95] However, amnesties are never unconditional and, in this particular case, there were strict conditions, in addition to disarmament, for this amnesty to be granted. As with the 1902 demobilisations, guerrillas were granted amnesty only if they publicly stated their willingness to adhere to the existing regime, and to live under the existing laws. As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, insurgents were granted amnesties only if they admitted that rebelling against the existing order had been a mistake, and, therefore, that their social, political and economic demands were also mistaken. They were required to promise not to do anything that would challenge the establishment, under the threat of losing privileges, such as judicial benefits.

The amnesty of Rojas Pinilla was characterised by the distribution of small reintegration aid and was followed by a lack of any well thought-out programme that would, in the long term, facilitate the reintegration of former guerrillas to civilian life. Former members of the Llanos Guerrillas were left alone in the process of

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[94] Alape, p. 165.
[95] Ibid. p. 162.

rebuilding their lives in civilian contexts. Guadalupe Salcedo gave up his own men and did not take the time nor did he make an effort to negotiate the wellbeing of those who had fought side by side with him, of those who had trusted him. For many, the continuous persecutions, along with the years previously spent in armed organisations, impeded their ability to adjust to the routine of life and labour in the countryside. Many therefore returned to the guerrillas or joined groups of bandits.[96] Some of these bandits were given a new amnesty in 1957; others organised and gave rise to the second wave of guerrillas of communist and Marxist influence, a few years later. When asked what he felt and thought during the moment of surrendering his his weapons, Plinio Murillo (Capitán Veneno) said:

> I felt pain in having to do that. But it was hopeless. I was the first to give my *efeá* rifle. I stood there for a while, in silence. I thought a few things, easy things, as how easy it would be to shove another cartridge and pull the trigger... All the compañeros would have joined me. But out of respect and love for our commander [Guadalupe Salcedo] I gave in my machine gun… But what a surprise followed. Two minutes after surrendering my weapon, the cruellest humiliation. I was given a paper bag with a pound of beans, a shirt, and trousers. I did not know what to do or say. It could be a good story to tell in other places where they have not made the same mistake as we did… A straw hat was placed in my hands, still rolled, a pair of shoes, a matchbox, a box of cigarettes, a pound of sugar maybe intended to lighten my heart, some toothpicks. A complete mockery… — Yo sentía dolor tener que hacer eso. Pero ya no tenía remedio. Fui el primero en entregar mi fusil efeá. Duré un rato en silencio. Pensé cosas, cosas fáciles, como era meterle

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[96] Sánchez G and Meertens, p. 47; Villamizar, p. 39.

otro proveedor y hacer un ráfaga… Todos los compañeros se hubieran

alzado. Pero por respeto a nuestro jefe [Guadalupe Salcedo] entregué mi

fusil ametralladora… Pero más sorpresa tuve, la humillación más cruel. Me

hicieron entrega de un taleguito de papel, una libra de frijol, una camisa, un

pantalón. No sabía qué decir, qué hacer. Tal vez sirviera para contarlo en

otras partes donde no se haya cometido el mismo error de nosotros… Un

sombrero de paja enrollado recibieron mis manos, unas quimbas, una caja

de fósforos, un paquete de cigarillos, una libra de azúcar tal vez para

refrescar el corazón, unos palillos, una burla completa...[97]

The experiences and feelings narrated by García Márquez in the voice of the

Colonel, the words of Castelblanco rescued by Martínez Carreño and Plinio

Murillo's thoughts resonate with the words of ex-combatants throughout the

twentieth and twenty-first centuries in Colombia for whom the ending of war has

also meant the beginning of stigmatisation and precarious living. Plinio Murillo

clearly states that he agreed to disarm out of respect for his commander Guadalupe

Salcedo, who was murdered in Bogotá a few years later, in 1957. After his

assassination, Guadalupe Salcedo became a symbol of resistance, martyrdom,

sacrifice and oppression for leftist social, cultural and political movements,

especially during the 1970s. Cultural productions such as Teatro La Candelaria's

play *Guadalupe Años sin Cuenta* (1976)*,* explore Guadalupe's death as a way to

memorialise the struggles for social and political change, bringing to the front stage

the violent repression of the state.[98] In the play, which illustrates the assassination of

Salcedo in 1957 and the Llanos Guerrillas struggles to overcome their internal

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[97] Alape, pp. 158-59.
[98] Teatro La Candelaria, *Guadalupe Años Sin Cuenta. Creación Colectiva Del Grupo De Teatro La Candelaria*, (República de Cuba: Ediciones Casa de las Américas, 1976).

fragmentations and Conservative oppression, Guadalupe is portrayed as a victim of the Liberal and Conservative oligarchies, as a generous man who acted in good will and was murdered in cold blood. However, Villanueva Martínez' examination of testimonial works, press and oral history of those who knew Salcedo demonstrates that he was considered 'a party animal, a heavy drinker and a puppet of Eduardo Franco [Isaza], Alviar Restrepo[99] and Rojas Pinilla after the demobilisation'.[100] The Guadalupe Salcedo who agreed to demobilise his guerrillas against the wishes of those who fought with him, the Guadalupe Salcedo who betrayed his own people on the back stage, has been conveniently forgotten in order to construct a false myth of heroism, sacrifice and martyrdom that does not take into account how commanders are responsible for the failure of their political project. Consequently, they are also responsible for the suffering and marginalisation of their own people after their disarmament and demobilisation, and the emotional impact of the process. In the following chapter I will discuss how guerrilla commanders negotiated the future of their own people during the 1980s and 1990s.

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[99] Lawyer and ideological advisor of the Llanos Guerrillas.
[100] Fue visto como un parrandero, tomatrago y un títere de Eduardo Franco, de Alviar Restrepo y de Rojas Pinilla después de la entrega. Villanueva Martínez, p. 69.

# Chapter 3. Scripts for Peace: Two Decades of Rehearsals in Demobilisation Programmes

This chapter provides a chronological account of recent developments of peace dialogues and agreements that have led to current public policy on reintegration in Colombia. To assist in discussing these developments, I draw on Richard Schechner's notion of rehearsal as a metaphor to present these peace agreements and subsequent reintegration processes as a decades-long succession of negotiations and peace-building efforts. Peace treaties and agreements are therefore scripts unique to each rehearsal. However, these rehearsals have not always incorporated, or 'kept' those things that benefit the transition of former combatants to civilian contexts, nor have they systematically rejected those elements which prove to be detrimental. In the first section of this chapter I provide an overview of peace dialogues, legal and institutional advances regarding peace building during the eighties. In the second section I look at specific peace processes and agreements which characterised the last decade of the twentieth century.

In his influential essay 'Performers and Spectators Transported and Transformed' Schechner writes about the relationship between performance process and rehearsal. He argues that a performance is the result of a continuous process of rejecting and replacing elements that do not contribute to the overall performance, as seen through rehearsals. According to Schechner:

> Long running-shows—and certainly rituals are these—are not dead
> repetitions but continuous erasing and superimposing. The overall shape of
> the show stays the same, but pieces of business are always coming and

going. This process of collecting and discarding, of selecting, organizing, and showing, is what rehearsals are all about. And its not such rational, logical-linear process as writing about it makes it seem. […] From all the doing, some things are done again; they are perceived in retrospect as "working," and they are "kept".[101]

Schechner writes that a finished 'performance "takes place" little by little bit, building from the fragments of "kept business". […] That is why the text of a play will tell you so little about how a production might look. The production doesn't 'come out' of the text, but is generated in rehearsal in an effort to "meet" the text'.[102] The reintegration of ex-combatants is therefore a production generated in rehearsals where the peace agreements are the texts that the performance aims to 'meet'. This chapter looks at how the multiple peace agreements produced in the 1990s built 'little by little' on previous ones and describes how the reintegration assistance provided during that decade, along with the lessons learnt in the process, were not 'kept' at the turn of the twenty first century.


## 3.1 THE EIGHTIES

In 1982, when Conservative Belisario Betancur was elected president, he immediately called on guerrilla organisations to engage in peace dialogues. He argued that in order to reach agreements with the existing guerrillas 'objective and subjective' causes of violence needed to be addressed: both the political and structural factors and the individual circumstances, respectively. Sociologist Francisco Leal notes that in discussing the 'subjective and objective causes for

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[101] Richard Schechner, 'Performers and Spectators Transported and Transformed', *The Kenyon Review,* 3 (1981).@85-86}
[102] Ibid. pp. 85-86.

revolution', Betancur was paraphrasing Lenin in order to reduce the gap between his government and the guerrillas, and thus facilitate a negotiation. As Leal writes, 'Betancur talked about subjective and objective causes for revolution. Betancur, a Conservative politician characterised by his populist style, declared that a peace process should necessarily tackle the individual needs of rebels (the subjective conditions), as well as the political and structural causes (objective conditions)'.[103] With this move towards the establishment of peace and the shift in political discourse, Betancur's conviction that political negotiations were the best path for national reconciliation, and his recognition of the political character of guerrillas, surprised all members of society; it came with an understanding of political negotiations as the most feasible path for national reconciliation.[104]

Betancur's view of the country was one of fragmentation, of a deeply divided society in need of solidarity among the citizenry. His claim for solidarity evolved around a utopian understanding of society as groups of individuals with strong awareness of how their lives are deeply implicated in the lives of others. Accordingly, Betancur expressed the need for acknowledging social, economic and political exclusions. He emphasised the need to accept ideological difference while also recognising the political nature of armed organisations. He believed that only in the full exercise of citizenship, within principles of equality aimed at social progress,

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[103] *Parafraseando a Lenin, Betancur habló de condiciones objetivas y subjetivas de la revolución. Betancur, un político de estilo populista del Partido Conservador, declaró que un paz necesitaría dirigirse tanto a las necesidades de los revolucionarios individuales (las condiciones subjetivas), como a las causas políticas y estructurales (las condiciones objetivas)* [italics in original]. Sociologist Francisco Leal, cited in  Álvaro Villarraga Sarmiento, 'Introducción: Vicisitudes Del Proceso De Paz', in *Gobierno Del Presidente Belisario Betancur, 1982-1986: Tregua Y Cese Al Fuego Bilateral: Farc, Epl, M-19 Y Ado.*, ed. by Álvaro  Villarraga Sarmiento (Bogotá: Fundación Cultura Democrática, 2008), pp. 57-102 (p. 58).
[104] Gabriel Turriago Piñeros and José María Bustamante Mora, *Estudio De Los Procesos De Reinserción En Colombia 1991-1998*,  (Bogotá D.C: Alfaomega; Fundación Ideas para la Paz, 2003), pp. 1, 47.

could peace be achieved. In his view these were necessary steps to start reducing discrimination and exclusion, and they formed the basis of Betancur's quest for peace.

Reflecting this view of society, citizenry and respectful co-existence, he invited existing guerrillas to join him and work together with him towards achieving peaceful living.[105] Betancur's call for peace was both welcomed and rejected by the existing guerrillas. The M-19, EPL, and FARC, each one at its own pace, started dialogues with the government. The remaining guerrillas (ELN, ADO, MAQL, PRT, FRF, MIR-PL) rejected any type of dialogue and emphasised that the only possibility to achieve peace was to continue with armed struggle until they could overthrow the existing governmental structures by military means.[106]

Betancur initiated a series of dialogues, negotiations and partial successes relating to peace building efforts. With his initiatives, the quest for peace became public policy and a fundamental part of the national agenda for the first time in recent history, thus starting a series of dialogues, negotiations and partial successes regarding peace building efforts. His peace plan was comprised of three different, yet interdependent, areas: amnesty and assistance for ex-combatants, political reform involving the creation of public forums and negotiations with guerrillas to advocate for a change in the existing political exclusive regime, and the creation of the Plan Nacional de Rehabilitación (National Rehabilitation Plan, hereafter PNR), an umbrella programme designed for coordinating a series of complementary reintegration and rehabilitation initiatives to provide assistance in areas affected by

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[105] Belisario Betancur, 'Progreso Con Equidad', ed. by Presidencia de la República (Bogotá, 1982).
[106] Villarraga Sarmiento, pp. 66-67.

war, and where the state was not actively present.[107] The PNR invested in health, housing, the construction of roads, the development of public infrastructure and incentives for agricultural production. Accordingly, Betancur's peace efforts intended to address the needs of both demobilised combatants and also the needs of vulnerable and marginalised communities. The PNR was divided into three phases which extended beyond Betancur's presidential term (1982-1986). These were called Creating the Context for Peace (1983-85), Achieving Peace (1986-88) and Consolidating Peace (1988-1990).[108] The programmes did not bear fruit until some time later. The first collectively negotiated demobilisation took place in 1990, after nearly a decade of efforts, when the M-19 demobilised under the Liberal presidency of Virgilio Barco (1986-1990).

In order to create a favourable context for peace dialogues, Betancur announced an amnesty offering through the formulation of 1982 amnesty law (hereafter Law 35) aimed at, initially, inciting insurgents' individual demobilisations and, subsequently, group demobilisations. The scope of this law included political crimes such as rebellion, but excluded homicides conducted when the victim was unarmed and/or not engaged in combat (out of action). In this sense, the generosity of this amnesty echoed previous peace processes which utilised ample political and judicial pardons in order to avoid potential obstacles and secure the finalisation of the armed struggle.[109] Part of the Congress, the Liberal and Conservative parties, and the Military, along with economic elites, strongly opposed the amnesty law and dialogues with the guerrillas during Betancur's presidential term. They viewed peace dialogues as a sign of weakness from the government, which they feared would

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[107] Turriago Piñeros and Bustamante Mora, p. 2; Villarraga Sarmiento, pp. 58, 64-65.
[108] Villarraga Sarmiento, p. 65.
[109] Turriago Piñeros and Bustamante Mora, p. 2.

eventually place the stability and credibility of existing order at risk. Consequently, while these peace dialogues generated partial solutions, the lack of support from multiple sectors and the slow increase of violence related to drug traffic and new paramilitary organisations, the increase of guerrilla activities and the presence of the Military thwarted the continuation of peace dialogues.[110]

The offering of amnesty through Law 35 facilitated a first round of dialogues, and a temporary cease-fire and truce (1984) between the government of President Belisario Betancur and the FARC, M-19 and EPL guerrillas. Due to Law 35 approximately 1,500 guerrillas demobilised and started their reintegration process (reports indicate different numbers between one thousand three hundred and one thousand five hundred) but not all disarmed.[111] Beneficiaries of the amnesty included factions of the above mentioned groups, but also dissidents from the ELN. Among those who reintegrated were former inmates and members of rural and urban guerrilla fronts. The implementation of Law 35 was followed by multiple types of reintegration assistance, including land distribution programmes, housing aid, financial assistance and credits for small enterprises, healthcare and access to education and the development and implementation of the PNR, thus actively promoting the development of infrastructure in conflict zones.[112] Multiple government agencies[113] joined efforts to assist in creating small businesses,

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[110] Álvaro Villarraga Sarmiento, 'Experiencias Históricas Recientes De Reintegración De Excombatientes En Colombia', in *Colombia Internacional,* ed. by Laura Wills Otero and Enzo Nussio (Bogotá: Facultad de Ciencias Sociales Universidad de Los Andes, 2013), pp. 107-40 (p. 113).
[111] Villarraga Sarmiento.
[112] Villarraga Sarmiento, pp. 111-13.
[113] Initially the Colombian Institute for Family Welfare (ICBF) developed and implemented a Rehabilitation and reintegration programme. The ICBF intervention was later replaced by the Ministry of Government, with the National Programme in Support of Rehabilitation. The National Rotary Fund for Amnesty was also created to expedite and facilitate financial assistance delivery for demobilised people and those working on peace dialogues. In order to administer the distribution and adjudication of land parcels, the Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reformation was created. The later

providing loans, healthcare, awarding scholarships for those who wanted to study, and credits in cases where the amnestied intended to work the land.[114] These were the first structured attempts to systematically provide state-sponsored incentives for demobilisation, guarantees for a sustainable livelihood and support for ex-combatants' transition and reintegration to civilian contexts.

However, there was no support system to maintain the success—even if partial—of the resources invested in this process: financial credits and loans awarded were mostly utilised for ex-combatant's personal expenses and most of the businesses started under these programmes failed to succeed, partly, through the recipients' lack of experience and also the absence of training and follow-up support and institutional assistance for beneficiaries.[115] In cases of both urban and/or rural reintegration, ex-combatants failed to keep up with the repayment of loans. According to impact analyses made at the time, urban reintegration proved to be more difficult, as participants were not competitive enough in the job market. In contrast to the government reports that claimed there was prompt and consistent aid delivery, the Asociación Nacional de Amnistiados (National Amnestied Association) reported delays in the delivery of loans and also in the incorporation of beneficiaries in job placements and schools. They also reported being subject to continuous surveillance, persecutions, enforced disappearances and the murder of other members.[116]

Despite its multiple failures, the peace process started during Betancur's presidential period has been a strong influence in further peace dialogues. A

collaborated with the Caja Agraria (Agrarian Funds), granting credits for the purchase and legalisation of land ibid. p. 114.

[114] Villarraga Sarmiento, pp. 62-4.

[115] Villarraga Sarmiento, p. 114.

[116] Villarraga Sarmiento, pp. 63-64.

significant rupture with past understandings of guerrilla organisations, and central aspect in further negotiations, was the recognition of guerrillas as political actors and not just 'rebels' or 'bandits'. Betancur started a national dialogue around multiple ways of understanding the armed conflict, alternatives to ending it and related peace-building dynamics. This generated acute polarisations regarding opinions and views on peace dialogues among the government, state agents, and civil society.[117]

Following the end of Betancur's mandate, Liberal President Virgilio Barco continued the peace dialogues, whilst assuming a much more pragmatic approach comprised of multiple stages and specific goals to be achieved in limited time frames. Barco received ample support from his political party; he regarded peace policy as a means to overcome social exclusion and poverty (this is what Betancur had called labelled the 'objective' causes of war). Barco's strategy was to promote processes of reconciliation, rehabilitation and normalisation.[118] *Reconciliation* entailed, firstly, the strengthening of the relationship between government institutions and members of civil society. Secondly, it called for the definition and implementation of demobilisation strategies for guerrilla organisations and their subsequent reintegration. *Normalisation* was the reestablishment of order through the ending of violence and the reinforcement of civil order, and respect for existing norms, regulations and institutions. *Rehabilitation* would advance by means of the government's commitment to meet civilian's needs and engage in direct dialogue through the Consejos de Rehabilitación (Rehabilitation Councils). In consequence, to institutionalise the peace process the Consejería Presidencial para la Reconciliación, Normalización y Rehabilitación (Presidential Council for

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[117], pp. 112-13.
[118] Ibid. p. 117.

Reconciliation, Normalisation and Rehabilitation) was created. This took place simultaneous to an increase in Military pressure on guerrilla organisations aimed at dissolving guerrilla groups and forcing their reintegration to civilian life.

Barco's main challenge was to provide real support and opportunities to address the needs of the peasantry and workers, so as to diminish the guerrillas' social support, as their existence was justified on the promise of fulfilling those needs and forcing the state to deliver solutions. Barco also had to demonstrate territorial control through the presence of the Military across the country. In so doing he also intended to acknowledge previous marginalisation of entire communities while actively working in order to achieve their social and financial integration.[119] Barco's peace policy sought to settle and transform conflicts through dialogue, and worked towards diminishing the existing distance between the state and civil society, including demobilised persons. It also emphasised that the main objective of demobilising the guerrillas was not for them to abandon their ideals, but that it was necessary for the existing organisations to relinquish armed struggle as a means to achieve political goals.[120]

One challenge to these policies was the exponential growth during Barco's mandate of paramilitary or counter insurgent organisations. These groups organised attacks on guerrillas, ex-combatants, human rights activists and leftist politicians. The second half of the 1980s saw the murder by paramilitaries of around three thousand members of the Unión Patriótica (UP), the political party wing of the FARC founded during Betancur's term, which aimed to prepare the FARC for

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[119] Álvaro Villarraga Sarmiento, 'Se Inician Los Acuerdos Parciales Con Las Guerrillas', in *Gobierno Del Presidente Virgilio Barco 1986-1990: Se Inician Acuerdos Parciales, Pacto Político Con El M-19,* ed. by Álvaro Villarraga Sarmiento (Bogotá D.C.: Fundación Cultura Democrática, 2009), pp. 71-134 pp. 72-75).
[120] Turriago Piñeros and Bustamante Mora, pp. 10-11.

political participation in case of a successful negotiation and demobilisations. In response to these attacks the FARC terminated its truce and joined efforts with other guerrilla groups in to the Coordinadora Nacional Guerrillera Simón Bolivar (CNGSB). This was an umbrella organisation aimed at unifying efforts of multiple guerrilla groups between 1987 and 1990. Members were the FARC, the M-19, the ELN, the MIR-PL, the FRF the PRT and the MAQL. Despite constant work, levels of violence consistently escalated, which led to various political and social sectors demanding a reformulation of peace policy and of the approach to peace dialogues with the guerrillas.[121]

In 1988, under pressure from multiple social and political sectors, Barco created the Iniciativa para la Paz (Peace Initiative). The main contribution of the Peace Initiative was that it defined the general conditions for ex-combatants' successful reincorporation to civil society. It established the need for a unilateral ceasefire, and suggested that dialogue was necessary to come to an agreement with the guerrillas regarding the conditions and procedures for their reintegration. While it drew attention to relevant issues, putting them on the front stage, these were not necessarily addressed. Another significant aspect of the Peace Initiative was that the government was also willing to receive suggestions from guerrillas for institutional changes and adjustments and proposed to start regional dialogues directly with members of civil society. In exchange for its willingness to negotiate and grant assistance, the government expected that combatants who demobilised would permanently withdraw from military activities after they were granted pardon and amnesty. The Peace Initiative guaranteed access to political participation, temporary financial assistance and adequate security and protection for the lives of those who

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[121] Villarraga Sarmiento, p. 71.

demobilised and joined reintegration programmes; it also demanded the creation of a Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) to guarantee the verification of ceasefire and the controlled transition to civilian life, thus facilitating the advancement of the process and avoiding the interventions of members of the opposition and spoilers.[122] The structure of Barco's Peace Initiative resembles the typical stages of DDR as it is currently understood.

The efforts of Barco's administration resulted in peace accords with the M-19 in 1989, and that group's subsequent demobilisation in 1990 as mentioned earlier. A total of eight hundred M-19 guerrillas participated in the peace process and disarmament ceremony.[123] This peace negotiation with the M-19 constituted the first collective demobilisation process in recent history, since the demobilisations of the Llanos Guerrillas in 1953. In 1990, due to the disarmament and demobilisation of the M-19, the government created the Consejo Nacional de Normalización (CNN— National Council for Normalisation). This government institution was responsible for the coordination and administration of all financial and social endeavours related to ex-combatants' demobilisation and reincorporation to civilian life. This existed already as Betancur's National Rehabilitation Plan (PNR). However, the continuity and improvement of institutions and initiatives does not characterise the development of public policy of reintegration. Each new rehearsal does not 'keep' what worked in the previous one. With the creation of the CNN, the Regional Councils for Normalisation (Consejos Regionales de Normalización) were also created, thus encouraging the decentralisation of reincorporation programming and

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[122] Villarraga Sarmiento, pp. 117-18; Turriago Piñeros and Bustamante Mora, pp. 13-16.
[123] Villarraga Sarmiento, pp. 117-18.

implementation, subsequently allowing for more local governance and autonomy in each region.[124]

## 3.2 THE NINETIES

After nearly a decade of attempts to arrive at peace agreements, the nineties were years of multiple and successive peace processes which culminated in the demobilisation of thousands of guerrillas. In this sense, the eighties set the ground for peace dialogues, demobilisations and reintegration programmes which continue, with multiple variations, in to the present times. The number of people demobilised in the 1990s is disputed. In 1999 it was estimated that over 6,500 guerrillas demobilised and joined existing reintegration programmes.[125] But in 2012 the Ministry of Justice released a list of the number of people suggesting that 10,530 ex-combatants had received amnesties and reintegration benefits during the nineties (see Table 1).[126] This figure is unlikely to include ex-combatants or former militants who went off the radar by just leaving the armed group and moving on with their lives instead of engaging with government programmes, or those who decided to join another armed group instead of demobilising; consequently, hard data on a total of how many people were enlisted or affiliated to the guerrillas is unreliable.[127] For example, during fieldwork in 2014 I conducted several interviews with an ELN ex-combatant who demobilised simultaneously to the Corriente de Renovación Socialista (Socialist Renovation Movement, hereafter CRS), but who never joined a reintegration programme. Participation in the ELN is a private matter to this person

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[124] Ibid. pp. 116-22; Turriago Piñeros and Bustamante Mora, pp. 10-11.
[125] Villarraga Sarmiento, p. 117.
[126] Revista Semana, 'Desmovilizados De Los Años 90, a Pedir Perdón', (Ediciones Semana, 2012).
[127] I refer here to information available to the public. The Military intelligence data could be more accurate, but it is not available to the public.

and has chosen not to disclose it ever since. I also conducted an interview with another ELN ex-combatant who was initially a MAQL guerrilla, but who decided to join the ELN instead of demobilising with the latter. These are just two of probably thousands of examples.

*Table 1. Numbers of persons that demobilised in the 1990s provided by the Ministry of Justice.[128]*

| Armed group | Amnesty and Reintegration aid Recipients | Deceased |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Movimiento 19 de Abril, M-19 | 1,211 | 108 |
| Ejército Popular de Liberación, EPL | 3,790 | 316 |
| Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, FARC | 2,154 | 54 |
| Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame, MAQL | 221[129] | 13 |
| Corriente de Renovación Socialista, CRS | 1,041 | 75 |
| Frente Francisco Guarnica, FFG | 187[130] | 8 |
| Milicias Populares de Medellín, MPM | 843 | 187 |
| Movimiento Independiente Revolucionario-Comandos Armados, MIR-COAR | 185 | 12 |
| Ejército Revolucionario Popular, ERP | 5[131] | N/A |
| Ejército Revolucionario Guevarista ERG | 4 | N/A |
| **Total** | 9,641 | 773 |

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[128] The list does not include the demobilisations of the Ernesto Rojas Commando. The total sum of ex-combatants provided in the chart does not correspond to the total announced in magazines and newspapers—10,530. Available in Semana.

[129] One of which was under 18 years old. See chapter 4 for a discussion on child soldiers.

[130] One of which was under 18 years old.

[131] One of which was under 18 years old.

Regardless of the precise figure, it is clear that during the nineties multiple guerrilla organisations demobilised, both collectively and as dissident factions (see Table 2).[132]

*Table 2. Guerrilla organisations that demobilised and joined reintegration programmes in the nineties.*

| Name in Spanish and Abbreviation | Name in English | Year of Demobilisation |
|---|---|---|
| Movimiento 19 de Abril, M-19 | 19th April Movement | 1990 |
| Ejército Popular de Liberación, EPL | Popular Liberation Army | 1991 |
| Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores, PRT | Workers' Revolutionary Party | 1991 |
| Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame, MAQL | Quentin Lame Armed Movement | 1991 |
| Comando Ernesto Rojas, CER | Ernesto Rojas Commando | 1992 |
| Corriente de Renovación Socialista, CRS | Socialist Renovation Movement | 1994 |
| Frente Francisco Guarnica, FFG | Francisco Guarnica Front | 1994 |
| Milicias Populares de Medellín, MPM | Medellín Popular Militias | 1994 |
| Movimiento Independiente Revolucionario-Comandos Armados, MIR-COAR | Independent Revolutionary Movement-Armed Commandos | 1998 |

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[132] Antonio Sanguino Páez, 'La Paz De Los Noventa: El Regreso De Los Rebeldes', in *El Regreso De Los Rebeldes. De La Furia De Las Armas a Los Pactos, La Crítica, La Esperanza,* ed. by Luis Eduardo Celis and Hernán Darío Correa (Bogotá: Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris; Cerec), pp. 69-98 pp. 72-73).

Each of the collective demobilisations concluded with the creation of a peace agreement document that established, among other things, the conditions under which the demobilisation and reintegration of each group would take place. In this analysis I use these documents as if they were scripts for reintegration rehearsals. What do these scripts tell us about the performance of reintegration? How does the script prepare or guide actors to perform their roles? The developments and changes in these peace agreements are therefore adaptations of the guidelines for the performance of reintegration aimed at an overall improvement. A close reading of the nine peace agreements celebrated in the 1990's provides an insight to how much importance was assigned to reintegration and how this stage was methodically modified with each negotiation. In other words, they give us an insight to how much care commanders and negotiators invested in thinking about the transition of combatants to civilian identities. Were these lives considered worthy of care and attention? The closing section of this chapter looks at these multiple scripts and the performances of reintegration celebrated in the first half of the nineties during the Liberal presidency of Cesar Gaviria Trujillo (1990-1994).

### *3.2.1 The M-19 Peace Agreement*

> Today we can cherish true hope regarding the wisdom and generosity that
>
> will prevail in place of intransigence and radicalism. We can be sure that in
>
> the near future political ideals will no longer be a cause of death among
>
> Colombians.[133]

Carlos Pizarro, *Discurso Electoral Pt. 1.*

The first peace agreement of the nineties was the 9 March 1990 accord with the M-19 (19th April Movement). This negotiation for demobilisation started a series of collective demobilisations of other guerrilla groups and dissident factions.

Following disarmament, all former combatants were granted amnesty in a public ceremony.[134] The agreement indicates the creation of two government institutions: the Fondo Nacional para la Paz (National Fund for Peace) and the Consejo Nacional de Normalización (National Council for Normalisation). The National Fund for Peace was created to collect and manage funds for the development of projects for social development in areas that had been affected due to past guerrilla activities. The National Council for Normalisation was an umbrella government institution created to supervise and coordinate all matters related to demobilisation and reintegration. In the document the authors mention three types of reforms to be implemented: electoral, political and judicial reforms. It also mentions the creation of an academic research group to study the national and international impact of

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[133] Hoy podemos abrigar ilusiones ciertas respecto a que la sensatez y la generosidad se impondrán a la intransigencia y al radicalismo y de que en un futuro cercano las ideas políticas no serán causa de muerte entre colombianos.

[134] For images of this ceremony and commander Carlos Pizarro's speech see Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 'Carlos Pizarro - Dejación De Armas M-19 Pt. 1', (YouTube: Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 2008); Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 'Carlos Pizarro - Dejación De Armas M-19 Pt.2 (Final)', (Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 2008).

illegal narcotics production, traffic and consumption (i.e. cocaine and marihuana), but it does not indicate for which purpose.

Regarding the reintegration of former M-19 guerrillas, the brief peace agreement document solely stipulates that former combatants will be granted pardon and that the government will start the agreed social and productive reintegration programmes. There is however no other specification of what these programmes comprised and how ex-combatants would benefit. There is also a section regarding the need for security scheme for the commanders of the M-19, but there are no other details about it.

A highly relevant achievement of this negotiation was the 1991 constitutional reform executed by the Unión Patriótica, the Liberal and Conservative parties, representatives of indigenous groups and the Catholic church, and the M-19 newly founded political party: Alianza Democrática M-19 (M-19 Democratic Alliance, hereafter AD-M19). Accordingly, the M-19's political agenda was translated to a constitutional level and included changes in the electoral practices, the political representation of ethnic minorities in the country, and guaranteed places for the participation of AD-M19 members in the congress.

The AD-M19 announced that former commander Carlos Pizarro would run for the presidential elections; his presidential candidacy speech was broadcasted on national television on 20 April 1990.[135] In this speech Pizarro addressed the public as a member of a collectivity, in the name of the AD-M19. He claimed to be part of a political group that had been able to learn about the needs and hopes of Colombians.

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[135] Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 'Carlos Pizarro - Discurso Electoral Pt.2 (1990-1994)', (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RSDahaeMcV8: Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 2008); Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 'Carlos Pizarro - Discurso Electoral Pt.1 (1990-1994)', (Fundación Carlos Pizarro L., 2008).

Pizarro talked about the need to overcome prejudices and the need to be able to perceive each other differently, with more solidarity, particularly class-based solidarity. He distanced himself and the AD-M19 from other active guerrilla organisations and communist regimes in the world arguing for the need to depose weapons, and to guarantee access to private property as a means to deliver a certain degree of sovereignty and liberty to citizens. He mentioned the importance of the constitutional reform and described it as an inclusive peace treaty among Colombians. Pizarro dedicated a significant section of his speech to discuss the importance of demobilising, inviting other insurgent groups to do so, and join efforts to work for a better country. On 26 April 1990, just over a month after signing the peace agreement, Pizarro was murdered by a paramilitary hitman inside an airplane in Bogotá, right before takeoff.

### 3.2.2 The PRT Peace Agreement

The second peace agreement was with the PRT accord (Worker's Revolutionary Party). Signed less than a year later, in 25 January 1991, and after six months of negotiations with the Colombian government, this text is much more detailed than the M-19 final agreement.[136]

The final agreement with the PRT provides a detailed plan of transition to legality and the steps required from the government to ensure their political participation and the government's commitment to provide the necessary financial and technical support to communicate their political project. It also states that former combatants were entitled to pardons and that those in prison were also subject to

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[136] Jesús Antonio Bejarano and others, 'Acuerdo Final Entre El Gobierno Nacional Y El Partido Revolucionario De Los Trabajadores', in *Acuerdos De Paz,* ed. by Amparo Díaz Uribe and Darío Villamizar Herrera (Santafé de Bogotá D.C.: Red de Solidaridad Social, Programa para la Reinserción, Centro de Documentación para la Paz, 1995), pp. 18-33.

receive legal benefits. The text describes a detailed security scheme for the protection of the PRT leaders, subject to revision and renovation, or termination, after a year. The PRT peace agreement establishes that the party could designate a member to represent them in the National Council for Normalisation, the government institution responsible for the coordination and administration of all financial and social assistance for demobilisation and reintegration that was created due to the M-19 demobilisation. This representative was responsible for ensuring that the security scheme was in place.

The agreement describes the date and details concerning the disarmament ceremony, which took place on 26 January 1991. In this ceremony, following the confirmation of the inventory, all the weapons were thrown into the sea, somewhere in the Colombian Caribbean. It seems, one could argue, that the symbolic gesture was more important than the possible environmental consequences of this action. In the text it is also stipulated that the PRT, in collaboration with the Colombian government, would create an office for the promotion and defence of Human Rights in the north of the country, the Atlantic Region. The agreement indicates that the government must provide the general public with detailed reports on the progress made in relation to the political reforms negotiated with the M-19, and also regarding the government's actions to control and reduce the influence of paramilitary organisations, which represented a risk for former guerrillas' safety. This text also indicated that the PRT created a foundation to support and provide assistance to the families of the victims in areas where the PRT was present. However, it does not provide details of the nature and purpose of this assistance, nor

does it indicate whether the target communities to be assisted were victims of the PRT or of other armed organisations also present in their areas of influence.

The PRT peace agreement is the first document of this nature that provides a relatively detailed reintegration plan titled 'Plan de Reconciliación en la Paz' (Plan for Reconciliation in Peace).[137]

### 3.2.2.1 THE PRT REINTEGRATION SCRIPT

The PRT considered that the process of transition to civilian life was a process of re-encounter, not reintegration. A significant section of the agreement titled 'Plan de Reconciliación en la Paz' (Plan of Reconciliation for Peace—PRP) is dedicated to reintegration:

> The Plan of Reconciliation for Peace aims to guarantee the re-encounter of members of the PRT with civil society in a context of political tolerance and respect for life. The Plan seeks the reincorporation of the demobilised force to society, in dignifying financial and social conditions, consistent with the legalisation of the PRT as a political party, and its rightful access to political participation, with full guarantees for members' safety while also supporting plans for regional development.[138]

State and PRT assumed joint responsibility in the success of the process; while the former was expected to grant financial, human and technical resources, the latter

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[137] Ibid. pp. 26-28.

[138] El Plan de Reconciliación en la Paz se propone garantizar el reencuentro de los miembros del PRT con la sociedad civil en un marco de tolerancia política y respeto a la vida. El Plan busca la reincorporación de la fuerza desmovilizada a la sociedad, en condiciones económicas y sociales dignas, de manera concordante con la legalización del PRT como partido político con su consecuente libre ejercicio de la política, con las garantías de seguridad de sus miembros y con el apoyo al proceso de desarrollo regional.Jesús Antonio Bejarano and others, 'Acuerdo Final Entre El Gobierno Nacional Y El Partido Revolucionario De Los Trabajadores', in *Acuerdos De Paz,* ed. by Amparo Díaz Uribe and Darío Villamizar Herrera (Santafé de Bogotá D.C.: Red de Solidaridad Social, programa para la Reinserción, Centro de Documentación para la Paz, 1995), pp. 18-33 (p. 26).

promised to fulfil all the requirements stipulated in programmes and activities which were yet to be defined. The PRP was comprised of three phases: *Initiation, Transition and Consolidation*. The *Initiation* phase took place during the first month after demobilisation and consisted of granting humanitarian assistance. The *Transition* was planned to last up to six months: financial assistance was provided to cover the costs for health, basic primary and secondary education, vocational training, a living stipend, and other complimentary programmes, such as cultural and recreational activities. This phase also included, for the first time, a counselling programme. After the six months of the *Transition* stage, participants were expected to enter the *Consolidation* phase: they would then be ready to decide between receiving a loan to start a business, enrol in a higher education course, or they could also wait for a job placement in the private or public sectors.[139]

### 3.2.3 The EPL and CER Peace Agreements

Just a month after the PRT peace agreement was signed, the EPL (Popular Liberation Army) signed another peace agreement, thus culminating eight months of negotiations with the Colombian government, on 15 February 1991.[140] Once disarmed and demobilised, former EPL members were eligible for receiving judicial benefits, such as pardons. The EPL agreement has a detailed description of how the Colombian government was responsible for facilitating and guaranteeing the process of legalisation and promotion of their political party; it also indicates that the government was responsible for providing generous financial and logistic support for all public activities related to promoting the EPL political project, and for the

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[139] Ibid. pp. 27-28.
[140] Humberto De la Calle Lombana and others, 'Acuerdo Final Gobierno Nacional - Ejército Popular De Liberación', in *Acuerdos De Paz,* ed. by Amparo Díaz Uribe and Darío Villamizar Herrera (Santafé de Bogotá D.C.: Red de Solidaridad Social, Programa para la Reinserción, Centro de Documentación para la Paz, 1995), pp. 34-51.

publication and circulation of relevant information in news papers. In addition, the agreement indicates that the government was responsible for financing and producing a series of television programmes that advertised and promoted the negotiations and reintegrations activities.[141] The EPL's interest in informing the public about the mechanisms and procedures of the negotiation may be linked to one of the purposes of reintegration, as defined in the agreement:

> [t]he government and the EPL agree that this process should stimulate an informed opinion in the nation, characterised by the establishment of political tolerance as the best way to achieve the expansion and preservation of democracy'.[142]

The document specifies that the success of reintegration was contingent on joint efforts by the government, civil society and the guerrilla organisation, the latter relying on the individual conviction and commitment of former members.

A new aspect is introduced in this agreement: the creation of a list of recipients of reintegration aid that listed their individual skills and capabilities, as part of planning the reintegration programme and to calculate the overall costs of it. The process of reintegration was similar to the one created by the PRT, with a few changes. The stages were called *Transition and Re-encounter*. During the *Transition* phase, ex-combatants were granted National ID cards and safe-conduct documents, they were given access to education, vocational training, cultural and recreational activities, healthcare and counselling services. The financial resources destined for the development of this phase were granted by the Colombian government and, as

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[141] Ibid. pp. 36-37.
[142] El Gobierno y el EPL, concuerdan en que este proceso debe estimular una corriente de opinión fuerte en la nación que se caracterice por la instauración de la tolerancia política como la mejor manera para conseguir la ampliación y preservación de la democracia ibid. p. 41.

the document indicates, they would be managed by the Fundación Progresar, composed of former EPL members. This phase was expected to last approximately six months.

The *Re-encounter* phase was the equivalent of the PRT *Consolidation* phase. The peace agreement document indicates that during the *Re-encounter* phase beneficiaries of the reintegration assistance could choose one of three options to work towards the re-encounter with civilian society. These options were: start a business with technical and financial support from the government; attend college or receive some type of vocational training with financial assistance provided by the government; start working on the private or public sectors, which provided the government's assistance to locate work placements. These stages were subject to constant evaluation and follow up by former EPL members who were expected to join the Consejo Nacional de Normalización and to participate in the design and implementation of programmes. The document also specifies special security measures for up to 6 months subject to *evaluation* and modification on a monthly basis. The EPL could include former members as guards in this security team, to provide protection to commanders and other leaders. In March 1992 the CER (Ernesto Rojas Commando) also demobilised and subscribed to the conditions of the EPL agreement.[143]

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[143] Gonzalo De Francisco and others, 'Acuerdo Entre Los Comandos Ernesto Rojas Y El Gobierno Nacional - Protocolo', in *Acuerdos De Paz,* ed. by Amparo Díaz Uribe and Darío Villamizar Herrera (Santafé de Bogotá D.C.: Red de Solidaridad Social, Programa para la Reinserción, Centro de Documentación para la Paz, 1995), pp. 68-71.-71

*3.2.4 The MAQL Peace Agreement*

The 27 May 1991 peace agreement between the MAQL and the state builds on previous ones, with a few additions and a detailed reintegration programme.[144] After eleven months of negotiations, the MAQL final accord indicates that demobilised members received legal benefits such as pardons; after demobilisation they also received safe conduct documents, national ID cards and other identification documents, such as birth certificates. The MAQL created an organisation to administer the financial resources destined for the subsistence and reintegration process of members. The funds were granted initially for six months, but the duration of this financial support could be extended if necessary. The foundation was called Fundación Sol y Tierra (Sun and Earth Foundation). Former MAQL members received healthcare and counselling services, whenever it was considered necessary. The peace agreement document indicates that the government provided funds for the circulation of information related to the peace negotiations and reintegration in national and regional newspapers, and also on television programmes. A new element of this agreement is that it stipulates that, once demobilised, former MAQL members received clothes: two pairs of trousers, a pair of shirts/blouses, a pair of boots, socks and underwear for men or women, according to the sizes provided by the organisation. This was probably decided because during the PRT demobilisation military uniforms were burnt in a ceremony, and that was the only clothes that combatants had. The government had said that they would provide new civilian clothes, but these were not delivered on time and when they did receive the promised

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[144] Jesús Antonio Bejarano and others, 'Acuerdo Final Entre El Gobierno Nacional Y El Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame', in *Acuerdos De Paz,* ed. by Amparo Díaz Uribe and Darío Villamizar Herrera (Santa Fé de Bogotá D.C.: Red de Solidaridad Social, Programa para la Reinserción, Centro de Documentación para la Paz, 1995), pp. 52-67.

clothes, the shoes were missing.[145] So it seems that the MAQL did not want that to happen to their people.

After demobilisation, former MAQL combatants also benefited from a security plan. The document does not describe any type of humanitarian assistance provided following disarmament.

In the document the MAQL and the government indicate that:

> The success of reintegration depends on both the joint efforts of government, society in general and the guerrilla organisation that demobilises, but also on the conviction with which each ex-combatant assumes his or her commitment to reintegration, and the degree of their participation in the tasks imposed by related institutions until achieving the ultimate goal.[146]

Following the EPL, the MAQL also created a list of members' individual skills and capabilities aimed at preparing and planning the delivery of reintegration assistance. The agreement also followed the same phases of the EPL document, *Transition* and *Re-encounter.* However, the content of each stage was different.

The MAQL *Transition* phase lasted up to six months; during this phase ex-combatants had access to education and vocational training programmes. The education programme proposed by the MAQL is the most interesting feature of this agreement. The document indicated that at the time of the demobilisation a total of ninety combatants were already enrolled in the programme, which comprised primary and secondary education, with an emphasis on Indigenous legislation,

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[145] Arturo Jaimes, 'El Prt Quemó Sus Últimos Cartuchos'*,* (eltiempo.com: El Tiempo, 1991).
[146] El éxito de la reinserción depende tanto del esfuerzo conjunto del Gobierno, la sociedad en general y de la organización guerrillera que se desmoviliza, como, ante todo, de la convicción con que cada excombatiente asuma el compromiso de su reinserción y el grado de su participación en las tareas que éste le imponga, hasta el logro de su objetivo final. Bejarano and others p. 61.

natural sciences, maths, linguistics, ethnohistory and oral tradition. Accordingly, the funds that the Colombian government invested in the demobilisation of the MAQL were partly destined to continue with an education programme that this guerrilla had in place.[147] After finishing this basic primary and secondary education programme, former combatants could attend a vocational training course. The *Re-encounter* phase, which includes information on employment, higher education opportunities, stipend, security scheme and involvement in the design and implementation of programmes remain the same as previous agreements.[148]

### 3.2.5 The CRS Peace Agreement

The 9 April 1994 agreement with the CRS kept all the developments of previous peace agreements: the document stipulates a social development programme to work with communities in areas affected by the CRS activities. It also outlines a series of procedures to facilitate the incorporation of former combatants into the political bodies of the nation. It describes the judicial benefits and rights of former combatants and describes the security scheme for them. Credits to start businesses or attend vocational training and higher education courses were also included in the CRS agreement. The disarmament ceremony included welding part of the armaments to produce church bells with the material, while the rest of it was thrown into the Caribbean. New aspects of the reintegration assistance for CRS members included health insurance for up to two years. Access to primary basic and secondary education was extended to family members. While previous agreements included the possibility of counselling services, the CRS document stipulates the creation of a

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[147] Ibid. pp. 61-65.
[148] Ibid. pp. 55-56.

special programme to provide psychosocial support in the reintegration process. The agreement also outlines a detailed housing support programme.[149]

### 3.2.6 The MPM Peace Agreement

The 6 May 1994 agreement with the MPM was very different from previous ones because of the type of organisation that was demobilising. The MPM were active in the city of Medellín, and members of this armed organisation lived in the city and stayed in their homes after disarmament. The agreement indicates that former structures were legalised and members received training in social service, conflict resolution and counselling so they could become leaders in their communities. Some of these former guerrillas became members of local surveillance organisations, thus continuing their influence in the area.

### 3.2.7 The FFG Peace Agreement

The final peace agreement on the 1990s was the 30 June 1994 agreement with the FFG. This document does not include add any new elements to already existing agreements or reintegration assistance.

### 3.3 ON HOW REALITY MEETS THE TEXT

Overall, the reincorporation of ex-combatants was undermined, partly, due to the continuation of armed conflict and negotiations with other guerrilla organisations. Whenever dialogues with armed groups were possible, these became the state's priority. The Colombian government was interested in reaching agreements and securing demobilisation, but the actual reintegration of former combatants was not

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[149] Cesar Gaviria Trujillo and others, 'Acuerdo Político Final Gobierno Nacional - Corriente De Renovación Socialista', in *Acuerdos De Paz,* ed. by Amparo Díaz Uribe and Darío Villamizar Herrera (Santafé de Bogotá D.C.: Red de Solidaridad Social, Programa para la Reinseción, Centro de Documentación para la Paz, 1995), pp. 78-95.

followed up. Accordingly, it was more important to secure the demobilisation of guerrillas than to make the needed changes to consolidate their adaptation to civilian life and their transformation into political (as opposed to armed) movements, so to increase the chances of transitioning to a post-conflict scenario. Consequently, while the conditions for disarmament and demobilisation were exhaustively discussed and negotiated, the same rigour did not inform the design, structuring and follow up of reintegration programmes.[150] The safety of the demobilised was also a troublesome aspect during the nineties; during this decade thousands of former combatants were murdered.[151] The assassination of Carlos Pizarro, former M-19 commander and presidential candidate for the AD-M19, was the most notorious death of former combatants and it is also illustrative of the high vulnerability of other former guerrillas, who had not been assigned security teams. Another relevant aspect, which I consider similar to the Llanos Guerrillas' demobilisations, was the individual character of amnesties and pardons, and the subsequent process of reintegration. Demobilisations took place both collectively and individually, but individual deserters did not receive judicial benefits. Since 1994, the Decree 1385 enabled combatants who decided to desert the guerrillas on an individual basis (not as part of a collective negotiation) to benefit from reintegration aid, thus encouraging individual desertion and facilitating the reintegration of over 2000 individual demobilisations of multiple guerrilla organisations between 1994 and 2002. With this decree the Comité operativo de Dejación de Armas (CODA—Disarmament Operational Committee) was established in order to verify the circumstances for

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[150] Turriago Piñeros and Bustamante Mora, pp. 10-11.
[151] Villarraga Sarmiento, p. 123; Nussio.

desertion and provide certification for the granting of pardon and amnesty.[152] To some degree, even those demobilisations that took place as part of collective negotiations were fundamentally individual events. While demobilisations are collective, judicial benefits are assigned according to individuals' behaviour, and assimilation to civil society is an individual process. In this regard, the political scientists Gabriel Turriago Piñeros and José María Bustamante Mora characterise the Colombian demobilisations and reintegration during the nineties as the destruction of guerrillas' military and political structures. They suggest that the process of reintegration results in the disappearance of a sense of collective identity and belonging, and a shift to a more individual one.[153]

In closing this chapter I would like to write about Sara, former MAQL and ELN guerrilla member, regarding her experiences in demobilisation and reintegration processes in the 1990s and 2000s. Sarah enrolled in the MAQL guerrilla when she was 15 years old, in the early nineties. She was part of the Gambian indigenous community and decided to enlist because her father was very violent with her, her mother and siblings. When her father realised that she had joined the MAQL he went to the camp to request her back; the commanders agreed to let her go but warned him not to engage in violent behaviour. Sara's father beat her up on their way back home. She managed to run away and she went back to the MAQL camp. Sara said that before joining the guerrillas she thought that they had a good life in the ranks. She said that she liked seeing the female guerrillas carrying their weapons, that they were always eating canned food and that she thought they all had the basic necessities covered. Sara told me that at the beginning she had everything she needed, and that

[152] Villarraga Sarmiento, p. 124.
[153] Turriago Piñeros and Bustamante Mora, pp. 10-11.

she was happy because in the guerrillas she used shampoo and body soap for the first time in her life.

When the MAQL demobilised in 1991 she decided to stay and join the ELN instead. She said that a large dissident faction joined the ELN because they were scared: the assassination of M-19 guerrilla members who had demobilised in 1990 made them feel that it could happen to them too. But, according to her, the demobilisation and reintegration of the MAQL went really well: former combatants received lands, they owned their homes and they had also received material and logistic support from the government to work the land and make a living.

In the ELN she met her romantic partner who is ten years older than she is. They were still together when I interviewed her. When she was in the ELN she had two daughters with her partner, she told me that when a woman got pregnant, they would take her to a farm to have her baby, and that the children would stay there and they lived well. When her eldest daughter was eleven years old, she started to receive military training. Sara's partner also realised that his commander would bring the young girls into his tent to have sex with them, and he did not want his daughters to be forced to have sex with any guerrilla. One day Sara was listening to the radio and she heard an announcement about demobilisation and reintegration assistance given by the government. She decided to desert with her partner and their two girls sometime in 2002.

After deserting they were relocated to Bogotá where they lived in a government shelter home with other ex-combatants. She said that after two months of waiting she finally received an offer to study a course on marketing. The course lasted three months, and she received a degree in business. However, she told me that at that

time she barely knew how to read and that she could not do basic mathematical operations. The government gave her a loan to open a shop, but she could not pay the rent or the loan: she had to close the shop shortly after and go back to the countryside, to work the land. When I met Sara in 2014 she was working as a cleaner and cook at the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR) and was a few months away from graduating from high school. How do institutions and government programmes facilitate ex-combatants' transitions to civilian contexts? How does the reintegration assistance address the needs of former combatants? I will explore these questions in the following chapters.

# Chapter 4. Knock Them Into Shape: Child Soldiers and Arts-based Reintegration

On 15 August 2012 the report *Como Corderos entre Lobos*—As Lambs Among Wolves—written by the political scientist Natalia Springer was released in Bogotá, the Colombian capital. This independently-published report on the situation of child soldiers in Colombia aims at raising awareness of the increasing involvement of children in the internal armed conflict, and it was written thirteen years after the first cases of children deserting guerrilla groups and the Colombian armed forces became public knowledge.[154] Springer portrays children who have been involved in warfare as victims in a world of adults who constantly take advantage of their innocence and vulnerability. The author assumes that children lack the intellectual capacity to decide to go to war and therefore considers that recruitment can never be voluntary.[155] Building on this argument, Springer notes that there are several structural factors such as poverty, malnutrition, displacement and the existence of war that increase the vulnerability of civilians, particularly children. In denouncing these circumstances Springer focuses on reassuring readers that children are indisputable passive victims and overlooks the possibility of these same factors triggering their active yet constrained decision of joining an armed group. The author concludes that as a result of their participation in war these children are a lost generation.

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[154] del Pueblo Defensoría and OIM, *Ruta Ético-Jurídica Para La Atención De Los Niños, Niñas Y Adolescentes Desvinculados De Los Grupos Armados Al Margen De La Ley.*, (Bogotá: Defensoría del Pueblo and OIM, 2008), p. 6. Human Rights Watch HRW, *"You'll Learn Not to Cry". Child Combatants in Colombia.*, (United States of America: Human Rights Watch, 2003).

[155] Natalia Springer, *Como Corderos Entre Lobos. Del Uso Y Reclutamiento De Niñas, Niños Y Adolescentes En El Marco Del Conflicto Armado Y La Criminalidad En Colombia*, (Bogotá: Springer Consulting Services, 2012), p. 31.

This depiction of children in warfare obliterates the agency of youths who decide to enlist in the armed groups as a way of escaping structural violence and economic hardship. If persons under the age of 18 are victims of structural factors such as malnutrition, poverty, unemployment and limited access to education in a place characterised by protracted armed conflict, in some cases they do decide to join the armed actors to protect themselves and, in some cases, survive. As the report itself makes clear, many of the young people interviewed insisted that they had joined voluntarily: of the 491 interviewees included in Springer's report, 81% asserted that their enrolment in the armed group was voluntary, while only 18% affirmed that they were recruited by force.[156] Whether we agree or not with these youths who emphasise the voluntary nature of their recruitment, it is seen as irrelevant at the moment they decide to join the armed groups. This report also shed light on the situation of indigenous children and adolescents, in particular, for whom joining the armed actors is a survival strategy when trapped due to military confrontations, and also a way of escaping from their own vulnerability to violence, sexual abuse, arranged marriages, discrimination and malnutrition.[157]

It is not my intention here to suggest that there is no forced recruitment in Colombia, or that combatants are not victimised during their affiliation with armed actors—both armed groups and state armed forces—but to acknowledge that forced recruitment is just one of the many routes for children, adolescents and young adults to become involved in armed conflict. Recent research on the involvement of youth in warfare examines the personal volition of children when exposed to violence and armed conflict. Authors like Michael Wessells, Victoria Sanford and Wenche Hauge

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[156] Ibid. pp. 30-31.
[157] Ibid. p. 23.

remind us that in a context of war, joining the perpetrators of violence is in many cases a strategy to avoid victimisation, and is regarded by some civilians as the only available option to survive or make a living.[158] Wessells, for instance, warns us of failing to attend to the complexity of recruitment by privileging a one-sided depiction of child soldiering, and emphasises that only after investigating the 'subjective world of child soldiers' can one prevent recruitment and assist ex-combatants in their transition to civilian life.[159]

By reproducing the testimonies of war-affected youth in Guatemala and Colombia, Sanford illustrates how these youth have enlisted in guerrilla and paramilitary groups to navigate their socio-political context and survive. In her study of the long term consequences of youth joining guerrilla groups in Guatemala, Haugue relies on personal interviews with female ex-combatants to question the relevance of child protection initiatives in places where enlisting in an armed group is a requisite for survival. Accordingly, the testimonies of ex-combatants under the age of 18 and the narratives they create to make sense of their experiences during combat and in their transition towards civilian identities are absolutely relevant in designing reintegration programmes and public policy.

In addition, if 'by rendering children as victims', as the political scientist Sunkaya Podder suggests, 'we are disempowering youth and remarginalizing them', how does this victimhood lens help in the transition from combatant to civilian identity that is expected to take place in the reintegration process?[160] How does the subject of reintegration perform this victimhood role and for which purpose? What

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[158] Wessells. Sanford. Hauge.
[159] Wessells, pp. 3-4.
[160] Sunkanya Podder, 'Neither Child nor Soldiers: Contested Terrains in Identity', in *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration,* ed. by Alpaslan Ozerdem and Sukanya Podder (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 141-56 (p. 151).

kind of subject is expected to come out of the liminal time-space experienced during the transition from combatant to civilian identity and which tools are being given to these transitional subjects?

In this chapter I develop the idea of reintegration as a backstage performance to look specifically at how children undertake this performance. I start by providing an overview of the development of the category 'child soldier' in relation to notions of victimhood, and agency in relation to youth participation in warfare. I employ this category to defamiliarise representations and binaries of victims and perpetrators while introducing a critique of applied theatre practice, its possibilities and limitation in reintegration programmes.

## 4.1 CHILDREN IN WAR: CHALLENGING NOTIONS OF INNOCENCE AND VULNERABILITY IN REINTEGRATION PROGRAMMES

Springer's view of the role of children in war is informed by ideas of victimhood, innocence and vulnerability that are assigned without question to child soldiers. In an effort to privilege western notions of childhood that are not necessarily applicable in situations of war, the ways in which young people view their role and participation in armed conflict is, more often than not, dismissed. Whether a person of this age group sees their enrolment to the armed group as voluntary or not is considered irrelevant.[161] For instance in his research on the use of child soldiers in warfare, P.W. Singer argues that children are not capable of making mature decisions. He concludes that to go to war 'is one of the most serious decisions a person can make. This is why the previous four thousand years of leaders left this

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[161] Hauge.

choice to mature adults'.[162] According to the conflict analysts Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry, and Podder, this denial of agency is rooted on a biomedical framework that omits contextual and cultural factors in the ways in which people and children react to violence and conflict.[163]

Since the 1989 publication of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), it is widely accepted that 'a child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier'.[164] Discussing the contested label of 'child soldier' Podder argues that this eighteen-year norm is based on Jean Piaget's assumption 'that the transition from childhood to adulthood takes place in universal, naturally determined and fixed steps', disregarding the fact that the conceptualisation of childhood, adulthood and maturity depends on the cultural context.[165] In this sense, all children are vulnerable, innocent, irrational and incapable of making decisions, and are thus in need of guidance and protection. These ideas influence humanitarian discourse on children and children in armed conflict, who are depicted solely as victims of ruthless commanders. Accordingly, children who enlist in the armed groups presumably never do so voluntarily. The political scientist and economist Scott Gates indicates that since the signing of the UNCRC in 1990 there has been a proliferation of 'international protocols, treaties and conventions intended to shield children from the worst excesses of armed conflict'.[166] Regarding children's participation in warfare,

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[162] P.W. Singer, *Children at War*, (New York: Pantheon, 2005), p. 62.
[163] Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry, 'Introduction', in *Children and Youth on the Front Line. Ethnography, Armed Conflict and Displacement,* ed. by Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004); Podder.
[164] Podder, p. 143. United Nations, 'The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child'*,* ed. by United Nations (London: United Nations, 1989).
[165] Podder, p. 143.
[166] Scott Gates and Simon Reich, 'Introduction', in *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States,* ed. by Scott Gates and Simon Reich (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2010),  (p. 3).

the UNCRC proposed the age of 15 as the minimum legal age for people to participate in hostilities and to join legal or illegal armed forces. In 1997, Unicef published the Cape Town Principles and Best Practices, suggesting 18 years as the minimum age to participate in warfare. Unicef defined a child soldier as:

> any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to cooks, porters, messengers and anyone accompanying such groups, other than family members. The definition includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and for forced marriage. It does not, therefore, only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried arms.[167]

In 2002 the Optional Protocol (OP) to the UNCRC was adopted and established 18 years of age as the minimum threshold for recruitment. Despite this widely-accepted international standard, child soldiering is a regular practice in 31 countries around the world. State armed forces, state-allied armed groups,[168] and non-state armed groups[169] enlist people under the age of 18.[170] Children perform different roles that range from engaging in direct combat, porters, medics, cooks, spies, recruitment and sex slaves and this association to any armed actor immediately places them at risk of becoming a legitimate military target.[171]

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[167] Unicef, *Cape Town Principles and Best Practices*, (Cape Town: Unicef, 1997), p. n.a.
[168] The countries listed are Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Côte d' Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Myanmar, Philippines, Rwanda, Somalia, South Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, United Kingdom, Yemen.
[169] The countries listed are Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel/Occupied Palestinian Territory, Lebanon, Liberia, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, Uganda.
[170] Child Soldiers International, 'Louder Than Words. And Agenda for Action to End State Use of Child Soldiers', (Oxford, 2012). Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 'Child Soldiers Global Report 2008', (London: Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2008).
[171] Wessells. HRW. Alpaslan Ozerdem and Sukanya Podder, 'Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration', (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 352 p.

Colombia ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1991, but it was only in 1999 that the Colombian law prohibited the recruitment of children for warfare.[172] This new regulation came into force in 2001, which meant that up to that date the involvement of children in warfare was not considered illegal.[173] It was also not illegal for children to participate in the activities of the Colombian armed forces. Between 1999 and 2000 the first cases of children deserting the guerrillas and the Colombian armed forces became public knowledge.[174] It was then prohibited by law for the Colombian armed forces and the armed groups to recruit children and adolescents. But at that stage, the judicial system did not have legal mechanisms to deal with persons under the age of 18 who were part of illegal armed groups. Therefore, consistent with the legislation at the time, they were treated as adults who had engaged in illegal activities.[175]

Since 1999 the ICBF and the Defensoría del Pueblo (Public Advocate), both government institutions, along with several national and international non-governmental organisations (NGO, INGO) have worked together in order to create legal mechanisms and design the programme to assist this specific group of ex-combatants.[176] In the years following the creation of this reintegration programme for former child soldiers, the increased recruitment of indigenous children motivated the establishment of a specific reintegration legal route for these communities, in 2005.[177] At the present time and consistent with international legal standards, Colombian law stresses that all children that have been involved with illegal armed

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[172] HRW. Defensoría and OIM, p. 17.
[173] Defensoría and OIM, p. 5.
[174] HRW. Defensoría and OIM, p. 6.
[175] Defensoría and OIM, p. 6.
[176] Ibid. del Pueblo Defensoría, 'Ruta Jurídica Y Fundamentos Normativos De Los Niños, Niñas Y Jóvenes Desvinculados Del Conflicto Armado.', (Not available: Defensoría del Pueblo, 2001).
[177] del Pueblo Defensoría and Pueblos Indígenas, *Ruta Jurídica Para Los Pueblos Indígenas*, (Bogotá DC: ALDHU, OIM, Defensoría del Pueblo, 2005).

groups, independently of their role, are *victims* of forced recruitment. Due to their victim status former child soldiers cannot be penalised for joining the illegal armed forces or any of the activities they were part of during their enlistment, unless it is proven that they committed crimes against humanity, such as building and placing antipersonnel mines, conducting selecting killings or participating in a massacre.[178]

The vulnerability of children in war torn societies clearly presents both a practical and a theoretical challenge. Part of this challenge is how to effectively address the needs of child soldiers in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programmes (DDR) in the absence of clear standards of what constitutes a successful reintegration process.[179] Steven A. Zyck's research on reintegration of ex-combatants in post-9/11 Afghanistan is a clear example of how challenging it is to address the needs of ex-combatants and how the discourse that views child soldiers solely as children who are victims can have a negative impact in reintegration processes. This post-war economic development specialist argues that the international attention that followed the US-led intervention of Afghanistan led to a 'renewed focus upon the plight of child soldiers' that translated in the introduction of international discourses of child soldiers in the country.[180] However, the very definition of childhood imported to the country contrasted with lived realities. As Zyck notes, 'Afghan children and adolescents from at least the age of 12 are expected to serve as breadwinners and are considered to be eligible for marriage'.[181] Despite this cultural fact UNICEF's model of reintegration privileged the Cape Town Principles and Best Practices definition of childhood and child

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[178] Defensoría and OIM, p. 27.
[179] Denov, p. 194.
[180] Zyck, p. 163.
[181] Ibid.

soldier.[182] UNICEF thus, failing to address the needs of former combatants, ignored the fact that in Afghanistan 'children' were expected to assume 'adult' roles. As a result when young ex-combatants returned to their homes they were not able to fulfil their expected roles because instead of learning a skill that would allow them to become the breadwinners that they were expected to be, they had become 'real children' that enjoyed playing and did not worry about earning money. [183] Commenting on this imposition of notions of childhood that do not correspond to the lived realities of ex-combatants in Afghanistan the author concludes that '[o]ne might be well-advised to consider that assistance programmes for former combatants as well as for refugees and other are intended to integrate their beneficiaries into the societies and economies which exist rather than those which Western agencies wished existed'.[184] Precisely because of the various contexts where assumptions of good practice have not made a significant contribution to the reintegration of ex-combatants, there have been significant changes regarding law and policy alongside recent works that acknowledge the importance of widening the concept of reintegration, while focusing on understanding the target groups in order to make reintegration efforts more effective.[185]

My experience working with persons under the age of 18 in reintegration programmes has led me to question what can be realistically offered by the latter when all participants are classed solely as victims independently of the modes of recruitment, strategies for retention, duration of affiliation, role in the armed group and route of desertion. There is no real benefit in thinking about victimhood as a

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[182] Unicef, p. n.a.
[183] Zyck, p. 168.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Nussio. Ozerdem and Podder. Nilsson. Prieto Sanabria; Thompson.

permanent and irreversible characteristic inherent to ex-combatants under the age of 18. By identifying the various temporal layers that constitute these subjects and engaging in active listening, practitioners and policy makers might be able to provide qualitative assistance in their process of de-victimisation and de-militarisation. These processes cannot be forced, they can instead be facilitated by engaging participants in body-based practice and emphasising reflection and the use of symbolic language. If children associated with armed groups, and all combatants for that matter, learn how to perform their roles and master the skills necessary to navigate the landscape of war through practising and by engaging their bodies with roles, the principles of un-learning and developing skills that are applicable to dance and performance practice could be useful in assisting ex-combatants in the transformation reintegration entails.

Accordingly I understand the institutional space for reintegration as a liminal place for rehearsing their changing identities and developing skills necessary to navigate new social and cultural contexts, and for developing sustainable livelihoods. Body based practice cannot tackle all the needs of these subjects of transformation, but it can contribute to the process of unlearning the rules of combat and learning the social skills necessary to survive and adapt to a civilian context, whilst recycling useful abilities acquired during their affiliation to the armed groups. Young ex-combatants have to overcome real social, personal and cultural difficulties in order to adapt to their new environment, but they may have a unique experience and skills—like leadership, strategic thinking and teamwork—that are extremely valuable in a civilian context and that in many cases are overlooked. It is because of the above that I believe there needs to be a creative effort in practitioners' practice to

assist young ex-combatants in finding ways to develop new skills and utilise previously acquired ones and translating them to a civilian context. We might be well advised to show some respect and not try to forcibly knock them into shape.

4.2 UN NUEVO ARCO IRIS – A NEW RAINBOW

In the last section of this chapter I draw on my experience working on an NGO arts based reintegration programme for former child soldiers called Un Nuevo Arco Iris.[186] The participants of this arts-based initiative were also enrolled in the Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar (Colombian Institute for Family Welfare, hereafter ICBF) state-sponsored reintegration programme for children. That being the case, Un Nuevo Arco Iris supported the reintegration of ex-combatants, but the activities developed by the staff of this organisation were not an essential part of the government-led programme. The good reputation and vast experience of this NGO in utilising visual arts and theatre to assist in the re-location of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) and in preventing recruitment in vulnerable zones in various parts of the country motivated me to work with them. This NGO had been working successfully with IDPs, children and women for nearly two decades, offering a space to remember and re-signify traumatic experiences while building new networks aimed at developing sustainable livelihoods. At my second job interview I was informed that, in the event of being hired, I would be working with former child soldiers. The programme directors considered that my inclusion in the project would be good for the female participants because my apparently 'powerful presence' could support one of the project's aims by assisting the ex-combatants in identifying

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[186] I have changed the name of this organisation and the names of my colleagues in order to protect the identity of minors and persons I was working with.

other non-violent ways of performing power. To my surprise, and not a little discomfort, during later stages of the project I realised my 'powerful presence' was related to being an upper middle-class woman, and to the ways in which I performed gender. Not long after that second meeting, where I emphasised my interest in finding ways for the arts to contribute in conflict transformation, the project directors assigned me the responsibility of leading workshops for approximately forty female ex-combatants. I agreed to do so considering I would share responsibilities working with a team of experienced colleagues planning and delivering the workshops.

There was a clear awareness that each session of these workshops had to be tailored to the specific needs of the participants. Our team consisted of a social worker, a philosopher, a drama-therapist, a psychologist, a publicist and circus artist, an actress, a dancer and myself. We usually worked together on planning the workshops for both male and female ex-combatants, even if we were not participating in the actual sessions. This helped us to be critical about our work. Our goal as a team was to develop art-based methodologies that would contribute to the development of the participants' social and personal skills in order to help them tackle the difficulties and challenges of the reintegration process, but we never discussed what the reintegration is, what the actual government programme offered the participants, what were the participants' duties in relation to this programme, or who we were—as an NGO—in the wider context of reintegration, what our role was in a wider network. In other words, we were not aware of the wider performance and politics that framed our practice.[187]

Regarding the social and personal skills that our work aimed at developing, these were not clearly defined and each team member had his or her own

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[187] Thompson.

interpretation of what was an important life skill for reintegration. Accordingly, each workshop resulted from a combination of assumptions of what we thought participants needed, the issues that they raised and the topics that we noticed were recurrent and therefore considered important to address. This lack of clarity was twofold: on one hand, it sometimes caused confusion among team members and made our work less effective, while, on the other hand, it forced us to observe and engage in active listening in order to identify what the participants considered important.

John Paul Lederach argues that observation and active listening are fundamental for peace-building, that it is important to take time to understand the context practitioners are immersed in.[188] However, this was not our case: as an institutional team, we did not take the time to see where we were, what our role was in the reintegration process, who we were working with and what our limits of action and impact possibilities were. Although unplanned and at times unsuccessful, this 'hit and miss' quality was an element that characterised our practice. During the work with the participants we would always start with an individual greeting to each one, followed by group activities involving art practice, ending with a discussion about what had been learnt. Therefore, art practice was a tool that aimed to develop social and personal skills that would help them in the reintegration process, not an end in itself. However, these social and personal skills were not clearly discussed in relation to the real need that participants had in their daily lives.

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[188] John Paul Lederach, 'On Space: Life in the Web', in *The Moral Imagination. The Art and Sould of Building Peace,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 75-86.

*4.2.1 The Encounter*

On my first day working with 'the girls', my task was to prepare the materials that were needed for the activity, open the door for the participants and introduce myself before guiding them to the room where my colleagues would be leading the workshop; for this session my presence was requested so the participants and I could meet, and also so that I could observe how the work was done and learn in the process. Contrary to what I was told to expect, they arrived on time. When I opened the door I was struck by their youth—the youngest participant was 13 years old, but she looked as if she was 9. To me, the majority were black and indigenous adolescents, but in the coming months I learnt that many of them did not feel any kind of affiliation to these ethnic groups. Some of them had babies, but only one brought the child to this workshop. She apologised for doing so and said there was nobody else that who could take care of him. But the workshop space was not baby-friendly: none of the staff was there to take care of the participants' child, and his presence clearly disturbed some of the facilitators.

I must uneasily admit that I was gladly surprised by the way the participants dressed and decorated themselves: they all had beautiful, healthy hair, some of them wore it loose with flowers on their heads, others had invested time in stylishly holding their hair back. Some of these young women used bright, heavy makeup and most of them wore very tight clothes, with cleavages that showed colourful bras. I was instantly embarrassed by the way I looked, completely plain, covered and undecorated. I was also ashamed of feeling surprised by the way they looked, which immediately made me aware of my own prejudices and assumptions. Added to my shame, the breath-taking beauty of these young women, along with notions of physical strength and emotional duress that, inadvertently, I associated with them

made me feel scared, absolutely intimidated, and utterly confused. Our job was to work on helping children who were victims, but these were not children or victims; at least they did not *look* or *talk* like any child or adolescent that who had been exposed to situations of violence that I had met before: homeless kids, for example, or the few occasions when I had been mugged by gangs of young men. These were witty women that looked very young and who, for various reasons that I did not know, had participated in warfare and were trying to find a way to learn how to live their lives in a different way. During my involvement with them I also met more ex-combatants, mostly young men, and due to our interaction I learnt that the standardising label of 'child soldier' as solely agency-less victim was inaccurate for these young ex-combatants, and reflected civilians' need to frame and shape them into citizens that corresponded to our own understandings of what societies are allowed to have, or not.

When the activities started on that February morning the participants spent almost an hour colouring a flower mandala while some 'New Age' music—Enya I think?—was playing on the background. When the colouring finished they were instructed to go to a place in the room where they could be alone, reflect and then write on the same paper about what was *the* meaning of being a woman. Some of them did not know how to write, so team members had to assist them. Following these activities one of the psychologists led a 30-minute meditation: the participants were given the order to sit comfortably or lay on the floor with their eyes closed. Meanwhile, 'New Age' music still on the back ground, the facilitator started talking, inviting them to engage in creative thinking and use their imagination in order to go with their minds to a safe place where they would meet an important woman in their

lives. Then, a healing process and reconciliation with their 'femininity' was supposed to happen in the encounter with this woman. While this meditation was taking place and I observed, some of the team members would go around making sure the participants were *really* doing the activity. Many of the participants could not focus; some started to move anxiously; some kept opening their eyes. The ones who did not fall asleep were just uncomfortable. The reaction of the facilitators was to control the participants with their bodies, adopting a caring attitude by hugging them, patting them, using gentle force that would stop them from moving. In other cases the facilitators also removed the participants' shoes and socks, or their jackets to help them relax with massages in various parts of their bodies. All this without asking for the participants' authorisation. Permission was not granted to any of the facilitators to access these women's bodies.

The closure for this workshop was a discussion in a circle. We all sat together with coffee and cake, while the lead facilitator started a discussion around what it meant to be a woman. This 'discussion' was interesting: the participants would all repeat the same words as if they were enunciating the result of a mathematical operation. When the lead facilitator asked *My little girls - mis niñas - what does it mean to be a woman?* they would reply: *Being a woman is to love myself. Being a woman is a beautiful thing. Being a woman is like a flower.* There was no semantic enquiry, not even an attempt to discover what the participants thought about those fixed answers in relation to their own lives. What was love for them? What about beauty? Did they mean living short lives, become objects for decoration and contribute to reproduction, like flowers? What did these words mean? There was no inquiry about how they translated these utterances to their daily lives and this

indoctrination seemed to please the facilitators. It was as if a formulaic notion of 'womanhood' had been already established and I was just witnessing the reiteration of a well known performance.[189]

I was very worried with this first encounter, what I witnessed during this workshop was so disturbing that I considered quitting my job before even starting. As a team we had been told that most of the participants had been victims of sexual abuse, in some cases before recruitment, in other cases during their enrolment in the group and in a few cases during the re-integration process. Our team had agreed that we needed to find ways to trigger in the participants a process to start re-thinking about their bodies and to start re-defining the limits of their bodies, but I thought that what I had seen that day did not contribute at all to our main goal, so I raised my concerns and questions in our group meeting afterwards. How can a person learn new ways of defining the limits of what others can or cannot do to her body if she is forced to accept being hugged and touched, no matter how uncomfortable this could be? Knowing that in the near future whenever I was in charge of facilitating workshops my job was to work on addressing issues of sexual violence and abuse through embodied practice assuming that in one way or another they had been victimised motivated me to emphasise my understanding of body-based practice. From a performer's perspective, in order to access someone else's body and work *with* it, not *on* it, one must engage in a slow process of building trust and respect. Without these two elements any action performed *on* the other is an imposition, a denial of the subject's agency on his or her body, and, consequently, an aggression, not matter how well intended the person might be. Accordingly, despite the

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[189] Donileen R. Loseke, 'Lived Realities and Formula Stories of "Battered Women"', in *Institutional Selvez: Troubled Identities in a Postmodern World,* ed. by Jafer F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 107-26.

facilitators' good intentions, they were approaching the participants' bodies without considering if this interaction was even wanted. In this sense, it was an approach that was performed *on* the participant's bodies, without their consent and by someone in a position of institutional power. In so doing the facilitators did not acknowledge the participants' agency and instead of contributing towards an increased awareness of the limits they are allowed to establish for others to access their bodies that would help them to explore different ways of performing themselves on daily basis, of reclaiming and redefining their own body-territory, of relating to their partners. The facilitator's impulse to hug and touch was reproducing violent ways of accessing their bodies in a very well intentioned and honest belief that all they needed was to feel loved. How was this (inter)action performed *on* the participants' bodies, in principle, any different from any kind of abuse performed *on* their bodies before? Why did the facilitators overlook the difference between working *on* someone and working *with* someone? Were they aware of this difference and the implications in bodily interaction, or was I the only one that saw the abyss between requesting permission—verbal or not—to massage and hug someone and taking license to do so? That day I started to realise the complexity of the project I had just signed up for.

### 4.2.2 A Formulaic Story

In the meetings that followed this first session Mariana, our team leader, shared with us the issues that the organisation considered we needed to address in the coming months. Focusing on the female participants, she stressed how important it was for them to be able to question their understandings of power, recognition and social prestige, and re-evaluate their own strategies for guaranteeing personal safety. A shared feeling among ex-combatants after demobilising and disarming is

vulnerability and invisibility since being part of an armed group delivers in many cases power, social prestige and provides security.[190] But in the case of female ex-combatants, Mariana immediately associated notions of power, prestige and safety to the role these women performed in the relationships with their partners, whether real or imagined. In other words, the institutional understanding of these women framed them as dependent to on male partners to locate themselves in a new context, and it was this organisation's duty to change that situation. Having already witnessed the first workshop, at that moment I realised, and even more so in the coming months, that it was our responsibility as a team to knock them into shape, to make them *become* the kind of women the organisation thought they should be rather than to provide them with a space and resources so we could assist them in thinking about their own understandings of what being a woman is. Who did they want to be? How could they achieve their desired selves? The question to answer was not *What kind of female citizen are they expected to be in this new urban context and how can we provide them with tools and skills that would assist in the transition?* The question we focused on answering was: *How can we shape these victims into women that we consider worthy of respect and in the process also fix the damage caused by abusive men?* An assumption of female participants being subject to abuse was the rule, but in the case of male participants it was never assumed they had raped or abused, or that they had been victims of sexual abuse. It was also always assumed that the male participants were not the sexual abusers of the female participants, even if they came from the same armed group.

In order to address the wrongs these former child soldiers had been subject to, some team members considered it important for the participants to 'express

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[190] Wessells. Hauge.

themselves' by re-telling traumatic experiences. One of the activities planned for this purpose was a session of drama therapy. The main goal was to motivate the participants to talk about the different moments in their lives when their partners had abused them. After sharing their stories the group had to choose one single story to be staged by its protagonist and the drama therapist in front of the other group members, in order to facilitate collective healing. In the planning of this daylong workshop it was assumed that the participants would not be willing to talk and the drama therapist recommended other facilitators to share a personal experience of abuse to encourage the participants to tell their stories in case they were not willing to talk. By making oneself vulnerable in front of the group, she said, they would feel better about sharing their own stories and vulnerabilities. On the day of the workshop Clemencia, our drama therapist, requested the participants to form groups of 6 people who would be accompanied by one co-facilitator. I sat with the group that was assigned to me and asked whether they had a story they wanted to share. They hesitated, thus I shared the experience of having allowed myself to be in a relationship that was overall good but had moments of physical and emotional abuse. Immediately after I finished my narrative three women shared experiences of sexual abuse when they were little girls. One of them moved on to talk about the impact these experiences had in her life, and talked about her multiple suicide attempts and the options she was considering at present time. Just as this participant was talking, Clemencia announced that the ten minutes for this part of the activity were over and instructed all the groups to choose 'the best' story quickly. The story chosen in each group was then given a tittle so the forty girls could vote to choose 'the best one'. The title chosen was therefore the 'best story' of the whole group, and with it the

drama therapy session took place. In my group participants were feeling very vulnerable and did not want to decide which story of abuse was 'better' than the other. Besides their feelings of vulnerability, I was surprised with Clemencia's instructions because I thought that instead of doing a single session with the 40 participants she would join each group separately to perform an intimate sessions that allowed for more interaction.

The story chosen among the forty participants to be used in that session had no relationship with the stories the participants in my group shared: it was the story of Angélica building the courage to leave an abusive partner, and it recalled the exact moment when this relationship ended and he, who was also an ex-combatant, left and allegedly re-joined the armed group. Keeping forty people focused on the re-enactment of this single testimony was very challenging. The brief representation was followed by Clemencia's encouraging words inviting all participants to see themselves represented in Angelica´s story so that they could all heal through her re-enactment. Clemencia ended the session asking participants to find the strength inside of their hearts so they could stop being victims of abusive partners. There was no comment or follow-up on the cases of sexual abuse and suicidal tendencies. While the therapy session was taking place, the group of women that I had been working with a few minutes before were not paying attention to what was being staged and wanted to keep talking about their own stories, but we did not. We convinced participants and ourselves that talking about things that they were not necessarily interested in recalling would be good for them, but we did not honour their trust: they shared their painful experiences and we did not offer an appropriate space for emotional containment.

This workshop raised multiple concerns among the team members about the choice of methods and the ethics of our practice: drama therapy could be very useful, but it was clear for to us that it was not helpful when addressing such delicate issues with a group of forty people. This experience also made me realise the limited impact that our work had on the reintegration assistance the participants received from the Colombian government through the ICBF: as an NGO we could not request or guarantee that each participant would receive the follow up and counselling support needed after recalling painful experiences, and we could not guarantee that if they shared experiences of on-going abuse, something would be done to change it. Nevertheless, some of the team members were already aware of these limitations and did not think of them as problematic. Considering these restrictions, if our goal was to develop art-based methodologies that would contribute to the development of the ex-combatants' social and personal skills to help them tackle the difficulties and challenges of the reintegration process, how did recalling traumatic experiences serve this purpose? Was this recalling absolutely necessary for our main goal? If so, how were we supposed to address these relevant issues—which made participants vulnerable—without re-victimising them?

For instance, in another session where I partook, a group of participants were guided through a stairway and into a classroom. There were a series of words or sentences spaced out on the stairs, all insults or demeaning expressions like scum, whore or idiot. Each of them had to read the words and collect a long piece of paper for each time someone had used one of these words to address her. Once in the classroom they were instructed to build a chain with the papers and after a while they would break it in a symbolic act that would set them free from all the pain

inflicted by the words, and they would publicly commit to stop others from treating them badly. A lovely idea, but I could see many of these young women refusing to identify themselves with those words by not picking up papers, thus resisting to the violent association suggested by the workshop. Perhaps these women just wanted to forget about their past suffering, and the therapist's restatement of it did not allow them to move on. Or maybe they could not relate at all with those words. In any case, the therapists considered that not collecting papers was an untruthful, rebellious gesture. Perhaps the problem was not on their side, but on our side for being unable to grasp the heterogeneity of the ways in which female bodies experience war. Perhaps the discussion should not end in identifying the multiple types of victimisation women of all ages are subject to during wartime, but what is crucial here is to be able to detach the categories we create to understand warfare from the bodies that are subject to everyday experiences in the battlefield.

## 4.3 AN EVALUATION AND OTHER POSSIBILITIES

Over the months that I worked at Un Nuevo Arco Iris I led a few workshop sessions, I was interested in finding ways to create short improvisational exercises that explored participants wishes for their future, and also positive imaginaries of who they were. I had learnt already that participants came to our workshops because, in the past, they had fun. By this I mean that they played, danced, painted, they enjoyed the possibility of being creative. Being in the middle of conflict as they were, struggling themselves and trying to make sense of who they were outside of the armed groups, in the city, it made sense to me that they did not want to discuss the pain, the suffering, the difficulty, the frustration that they could experience in their daily lives, even more so if we were not able to provide concrete solutions for their

problems. In the book *In place of War* James Thompson, Jenny Hugues and Michael

Balfour address the importance of focusing on issues that are not related to violence

when people are dealing with and living through conflict situations.[191] Similarly,

Sharif Abudunnur's account of his work doing theatre during the 2006 war in

Lebanon is a clear example of the importance of <u>having fun</u> when dealing with

violent conflict.[192]  I was therefore interested in providing places for creativity,

where participants were encouraged to explore different possibilities for themselves,

and to imagine the possibility of a different future. Towards the end of the third

month of my involvement in the project, I was assigned the responsibility to lead one

of the workshop sessions. That was not the first time, but it was very important

because I was able to integrate various methods that we had been learning during the

previous months. I employed a combination of dance and theatre games to guide

participants through improvised scenes exploring ideas that encouraged them to

think about themselves in a different light. I would choose a title and they had to

gather in small groups to present images that communicated or depicted situations

related to the proposed topic. I suggested the title 'A world without…' and they

started creating scenes that completed the sentence. By means of this very simple

activity these young women were no longer victims of their partners, of their

commanders, of their families, of ourselves—reintegration employees. The created

worlds without prostitution, another one without child prostitution, abduction,

infidelity, cigarette smokers, ambushes, homelessness, pimps, drug dealers, murder,

sadness. The images that they showed gave us information regarding their worries,

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[191] James Thompson, Jenny Hughes, and Michael Balfour, *Performance in Place of War*,  (London: Seagull, 2009).
[192] Sharif Hartley J. S. Abdunnur, *Laughter under the Bombs : Diaries of a Dramatherapist*, (Bloomington, Ind.: Milton Keynes, 2007).

their hopes, their ideas for the future. They could be creators of their own reality, the one that they wished to have, even if just for a few moments. We did not have to emphasise on those things that were not working well for them, we could focus instead on their creative potential and on how this potential could help them understand their place and possibilities in civilian contexts.

In order to evaluate the impact that had in assisting ex-combatants in their reintegration process, we invited former participants of the programme to discuss the key issues that helped them to be successfully reintegrated. For the purpose of this inquiry, being successfully reintegrated meant that they were not part of an armed group at the time of our meeting. Most ex-combatants, both men and women, agreed that during the early periods of their reintegration it had been crucial for them to feel that *someone* cared about them, that they were important, and some staff in Un Nuevo Arco Iris and the ICBF fulfilled those needs. Something crucial for ex-combatants was to be able to think about something else while in these early stages: the majority felt imprisoned and lost in the city and Un Nuevo Arco Iris offered a place where they could forget about what they were going through and learn how to develop respectful relationships. Regarding the methods, which included photography, video, theatre, dance, painting and craft making, they all agreed that they were fun, and that being able to create something new out of nothing had been crucial for them. For instance, a young woman told me that studying photography had been fundamental for her to understand that she could also create and not just destroy: the first time that she pointed at an object and took a shot with a camera she realised that she could perform the same sequence of targeting and shooting for a purpose other than killing. Nevertheless, most of these ex-combatants did not have a

job and were undergoing economic difficulties. Some of them had children and they could not provide for them. In this sense Un Nuevo Arco Iris and the ICBF provided them with a sense of security and a space to experience new things, but neither of these institutions gave them the tools that were necessary for them to develop sustainable livelihoods. For instance, they had been able to study due to the support received by the Colombian government and had various diplomas, but most agreed in saying that these were not useful for them in the job market. They did not know how to put together a CV and go to a job interview, they did not know how to organise their finances or start a business. For most of them turning 18 years old had been the most humiliating part of the reintegration process: coming into age meant that they were no longer victims entitled to protection and assistance, instead they were adult ex-combatants with responsibilities, they were therefore expected to take care of themselves and others but none of them had been prepared to 'grow up'. It was striking how some of these young adults expressed their disempowerment in relation to others: the institutions that convinced them that they were victims entitled to assistance—even if they had never thought about themselves as being victims, turned them into adolescents with no other responsibilities than going to school and did not prepare them to let go of their victimhood and assume their adulthood. They had learnt how to perform their victimhood and how to benefit from it, but they had not learnt how to perform their adult roles.[193] Therefore, the institutions offered support, protection and made them feel important, but did not deliver the tools necessary to develop sustainable livelihoods, which is the main purpose of the reintegration of ex-combatants.

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[193] Utas.

There is no doubt that the definition of former child soldiers as victims has been instrumental in raising awareness of the violence children are subject to during war and has lead to the creation of treaties, shelters and special programmes that assist these ex-combatants and, in many cases, save their lives. The ICBF and the Un Nuevo Arco Iris programmes are part of this efforts to assist children who have been affected by war. However, there is much more to these minors than being victims. Among the 'girls' we worked with there were a few who had never studied nursing, but who had already saved the lives of people injured in combat with very few resources; there were former commanders, particularly one who had specialised in the fabrication of explosives and was in charge of a unit of guerrillas that controlled a vast area when she was injured in combat and captured at the age of sixteen. Some of these 'girls' were fierce fighters who survived for several years,  and we never talked about this during the activities, we never addressed the strength and creative efforts they made while in the armed group. I do not question that these girls had been victimised before, but by focusing solely on this side of their personal stories we were stressing their weaknesses and we were not allowing them to think about the things that they could actually do, like assisting someone in pain or planning a strategy and leading a group of people. These women had serious difficulties: some of them had had terrible experiences when trying to study, some others where physically recovering from war injuries that impeded their mobility and, yes, some of them did not know how to be in a healthy relationship. They were aware of it. But why couldn't we separate them from their previous victimisation and focus on their present state? Why couldn't we open up the definitions of what love and sex meant for them? What were their hopes, their desires? Why did we have to utilise art and

creativity in order to reinstate their problems and limitations instead of assisting them in rehearsing new ways of understanding and performing themselves? Why not provide them with a space of critical and radical (re)imagination? Which of the things that we were doing were actually good then? These questions animate the remaining chapters.

## Chapter 5. New Beginnings: On Ideology, Loss and

## Desire

I start this chapter with Alejandra, former combatant of the ELN. Alejandra was born and raised in a rural area with strong ELN presence. She was recruited in the 1980s, when she was 17 or 18 years old. Her father worked the land and she had nine siblings. She told me that when she was a little girl she had to walk two hours each way to go to school. She would go with her brother who was just one year older, but he got bored and decided to leave school. Alejandra wanted to continue going to school, but her mother feared for her safety, so she had to leave school too. Many years after this she decided to join the guerrillas because she was promised that once in the ELN she would receive free education and they would also provide financial assistance to her family, and there was nothing she desired more. She told me that, at that time, ELN recruitment was a long process and it was never coerced: over the span of six months she received regular visits from active guerrillas. Each month the guerrillas would come to her house and provided reading material for her to study, mostly the works of the priests Camilo Torres and Manuel 'El Cura' Perez, both ELN members and ideologists. They would discuss the texts together. This continued over the monthly visits. She liked the study sessions, so six months later and after proving ideological affinity, Alejandra joined the ELN for a three-month trial period and, if she proved to be good enough to stay, she would then become a permanent member. For her the ELN was mostly an opportunity to advance her education, and a means to provide financial assistance for her parents and siblings. She was promised that, eventually, she would be sent to Cuba to study medicine,

earn an academic degree, and she could then return to Colombia and work as a medical doctor for the ELN. So, facing the prospect of a new beginning for her and her family, Alejandra decided to stay with the guerrillas.

When I met Alejandra she was in her mid fifties, she had recently deserted the ELN after 28 years of service, and was starting the reintegration route of the ACR. Over time she had adjusted to guerrilla life, but she had not been able to study as she was promised. She deserted for a combination of reasons: her parents died and she was not granted permission to visit them when they were ill or to attend their funerals.[194] In addition, her commander, who was also her dear friend, was killed in combat. Alejandra was very sad, physically ill, and the new commander did not allow her to go to the doctor.[195] She was disappointed and felt that the ELN and particularly the new commander were not interested in the wellbeing of file-and-rank members. In addition to the lack of leadership, there was a significant increase in counterinsurgent operations and ensuing confrontations with the Military that put her life constantly at risk. She also had two adult sons who frequently pleaded with her to desert. Moreover, she said that she was getting old and felt tired. 'All these situations made me think — Entonces todo eso me hizo reflexionar' she concluded. She told me she worked as a nurse and eventually became a trauma surgeon within the guerrilla ranks, but she never received a degree, as she was promised. While she was an ELN member she attended training workshops in Colombia and Venezuela, and became a medical doctor through observation and, most importantly, through practice. In the guerrillas, important for Alejandra was to be able to do things, not to

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[194] According to Alejandra, the ELN allowed regular family visits.
[195] Alejandra told me that ELN members go for annual visits to see the doctor, in the city. Sometimes medical attention in specialised hospitals or health centres was also necessary, for example when a combatant was badly injured, or due to an ailment that could not be treated in the guerrilla camps.

study how to do them. Accordingly, she had vast experience of saving people's lives, but no academic qualifications, so now, as a civilian, she could not get a job in her field. In the guerrillas she was a doctor, as a civilian she was just another uneducated, unemployed, 'old' person. What happens, then, when someone has lived her life filled with conviction and faith in the realisation of change? What happens once the military and ideological structures that support their desires disappear, once the armed group is not there to fight in order to keep up the hopes or, to deliver the initial promise of change?

By drawing on Giorgio Agamben's understanding of desire and Peter Homans' concept of symbolic loss, in this chapter I describe ex-combatants' affective cycles triggered by promises of new beginnings, and how these cycles are also performative citizenships subject to shifting ideological interpretations of political activism, solidarity, belonging and social justice. [196] Despite the different origins and motivations of guerrilla organisations, being a combatant in either group meant letting go of oneself in the name of a continental or national change; and sacrificing one's life in the quest for a desired new world was, for many, the highest honour.[197] However, sixty-seven years of revolution and counterinsurgent war in Colombia have passed, leaving countless human and material loss. Men and women of all ages who had recurred to violent means to pursue their political, social, economic and ideological agendas have died or deserted without fulfilling their desires for change for a better life, or a different country. For decades now survivors have witnessed how guerrillas have failed to deliver their promises of social justice, equality and

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[196] Shirin Rai, 'The Dilemmas of Performative Citizenship', in *Gendered Citizenship: Manifestation and Performance,* ed. by Bishnupriya Dutt, Janelle Reinelt, and Shrinkhla Sahai (n.a: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. n.a.
[197] Alape.

peace, and also how participating in these groups has become, more often than not, *just* a way of living. Accordingly, loss here is not limited solely to the death of others or the destruction of material goods and infrastructure; it also encompasses the ideological dimensions of participation in guerrilla warfare. I will move on to discuss former combatants' interpretations of commanders' rhetorical claims in relation to the political activism of the guerrillas they belonged to, and how these ideological projects are failed attempts to enable enactments of dissident citizenships.[198] I will then move on to examine how the promise of reintegration enables performative processes of institutional subjection and subjectification through which a sense of worth and value is assigned to these new civilian citizens.

## 5.1 IDEOLOGY AND DESIRE

I met Joaquín when he was 20 years old, and had been working on and off with the FARC since he was 12. He deserted and joined the ACR programme when he was 19, after seven years of enlistment. When asked about the ideological reasons for that led him to be in the FARC he said:

> About me, I can tell you… There is an ideal there. Yes, they have an ideal, they have their politics, how shall I say this; they have an awareness of what they are fighting for. Over there they tell you: 'Look, we are going to fight because it is our duty, for [civil] rights, to change this Colombia. For a country… [silence] for instance, to change socialism for communism.[199] For this and that. For this country to be better, for everyone to live like

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[198] Holloway Sparks, 'Dissident Citizenship: Democratic Theory, Political Courage and Activist Women', *Hypatia,* 12 (1997), 75.
[199] Colombia is a democratic republic. Socialism has never been implemented in this country. Joaquín did not seem to be aware of this. In my interviews I was interested in hearing their thoughts, so I intentionally avoided engaging in discussions aimed at changing or questioning interviewees' political views.

brothers and sisters, so we can live in peace'. They fight for that, and of course they put those ideals in your head. But many times I thought that… [brief silence] Yes, one gets those ideas in mind, but I also wondered how would this [the country imagined] be. For example, if you have two cars I am going to go and tell you 'Hey, you have a spare car, let's give it to so-and-so because he doesn't have one'. Well, I don't agree with that. It's like the person that has two houses, then we are going to take one to give it to the other knowing that the one that owns it could buy it because they worked, and the one that is on the other side [he means the person that would receive the spare car/house] is usually doing nothing. You see, like reorganising people. I don't agree with that. Yes, one fights for that. One fights for the ideas of the commander, not ones' own ideas — En el sentido mío, yo te voy a decir a vos. Allá hay un ideal, sí, ellos tienen su ideal, tienen su política, tienen su [silencio], mejor dicho, tienen su consciencia por qué luchan. Allá le meten a uno: 'No miren, que vamos a luchar por el deber, los derechos, por cambiar esta Colombia, un país [silencio] por ejemplo, por cambiar el socialismo por el comunismo, que esto y lo otro, que este país sea mejor, que todo mundo podamos ser como hermanos, vivir en paz'. Ellos luchan por eso. Obvio, ellos le meten a uno ese ideal. Pero, yo en muchas cosas yo pensaba que [silencio] sí, uno a veces se mete ese ideal en la mente, pero yo también pensaba 'Pero cómo este país. Por ejemplo si vos tenés dos carros yo voy a llegar y decirte: Ve, vos tenés, te sobra un carro, ve démoselo a Fulano porque no tiene.' Con ese temita, con esa partecita es que yo no estoy de acuerdo. Como el que tiene dos casas,

entonces vamos a quitar una para dársela al otro, viendo que el que la consiguió la consiguió trabajando, y el que está allá pues a veces no está haciendo nada. ¿Cierto? Como acomodar la gente. Eso, ese temita no. Y sí, uno lucha disque por eso. Uno lucha por las ideas del comandante, uno no lucha por ideas de uno mismo.

Joaquín's response to my question suggests that he was in the FARC in order to deliver a possibility of political and social transformation in Colombia articulated in his narrative. He, however, did not agree with the guerrillas' interpretation of social justice, as seen through his thoughts on labour, social equality and wealth distribution when he described how he imagined the 'new country' they claimed to be fighting for. In discussing the relationship between collective or larger causes of civil wars and private causes and motivations of combatants, Stathis N. Kalyvas underlines the importance of awarding careful consideration to the multi-layered dimension of war causality in order to avoid oversimplifications. Combatants' motivations to engage in warfare are diverse and we, the ones who are not or have never been in the war theatre, might easily fall into the mistake of 'infer[ring] the motivations of rank-and-file members from their leadership's articulation of its ideological messages'.[200] When I enquired about the ideological drivers of guerrillas, I always received answers that made a distinction between the alleged goals of the armed movement and what happened on the ground. Ex-combatants would argue that they were fighting for the rights of 'the people'—*por el pueblo*—but like Joaquín, they would immediately follow up this claim by expressing their disagreement with the rhetorical arguments of the group they were part of. On some

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[200] Stathis N. Kalyvas, '"New" and "Old" Civil Wars a Valid Distinction?', *World Politics,* 54 (2001), 107.

occasions, interviewees also questioned the coherence between their leadership's discursive claims for 'the people's' care and protection, and every-day practices and criminal activities such as ambushes, forced recruitment, extortions, selective killings and the kidnapping of civilians as a means to finance war. They showed a clear understanding of the political and social landscape of the armed groups, their possibilities and limitations within these, and the rules that they had to follow in order to survive.

In my conversations, the examples of punishments for refusing to follow orders, including selective-execution orders, varied from having to work in the kitchen (*ranchar*) more often, collecting wood, or digging trenches, to being murdered. The memory of the brutality and fear of being punished was present in our conversations, but former guerrillas clearly explained that despite all the violence that characterises most disciplining technologies within the ranks there is a strict procedure to establish which kind of punishment corresponds to each violation. Accordingly, these were not arbitrary—although they may be perceived like that. During enrolment they could not express their opinions or discontent, but now they could say what they really thought about this system, for instance that it was not a good, fair one. That it did not contribute to their personal growth. In my conversations people wanted me to really understand that there was an order to life in the ranks with clear rules and steps that they knew about and that, for multiple reasons from avoiding extra work to diminishing the risks of being murdered, they had decided to follow. In this sense, compliance was also a way for exercising their agency, however limited by structural power. But even with all precautions, sometimes combatants were

punished or executed with no apparent reason. Joaquín continued to share his thoughts on the ideological motivations of the FARC:

The commander stands up there and says: 'Comrades, we are fighting to overthrow people in power, we will take power by political means. We will put up there a president that does credit to so many years of armed struggle. And keep in mind that someday we will be able to rest. And if we die in this war then the ones that follow will be able to rest, and they will honour our memory'. But that's where the problem is. How are they going to honour the memory of the fallen ones if people desert every day? And one says 'Yes, of course. That's the way it is' [referring to the commander's mimicked speech] but one day, suddenly, the commander asks someone to go and get a bucket of water, [and the person then thinks] 'Ah, this guy [the commander] thinks I'm a donkey', and the person goes off to fetch water and never comes back. What are people fighting for? That's precisely what I ask myself too. — Porque el comandante se para allá 'Bueno señores, compañeros y compañeras, nosotros luchamos por tomar el poder. El poder se va a tomar es por vía política, montarnos allá, montar un presidente que haga valer la pena estos tantos años de lucha, y tener en cuenta que el día de mañana nosotros vamos a descansar de esto. Si nosotros morimos en la guerra irán a descansar los que siguen, irán a honrar nuestra memoria'. Pero ahí es donde está el problema. ¿Cómo la van a honrar si todos los días se desmoviliza gente? Y uno dice 'Sí claro, así es', pero el día de mañana, ah, porque el comandante me [dice] vaya y me trae un balde de agua 'Ah, este

man me vio cara de burro', y se fue por el balde de agua y nunca volvió. Entonces, por qué está luchando la gente, eso es lo que yo me pregunto también.

Joaquín's questioning of members retention and motivation for remaining in the FARC started while he was still within the ranks and, despite the fact that at the time, he was not bored or unhappy. For him the fact that other people would be willing to desert on impulse suggested there that there is indeed a lack of articulation between the organisation's rhetorical claims and ideological discourse, and file-and-rank combatants' motivations for enlistment and retention. After all, Joaquín for instance did not join the FARC for any kind of ideological affinity, he did so because his family was forcibly displaced by the military and he wanted to 'gun them down'. He was told that by joining the guerrillas, a group that fought against the Military, his desire could be achieved. The guerrillas were for him, initially, a means for revenge, but once enrolled, the possibility of achieving his initial goal appeared unlikely and was consequently replaced by his adaptation and assimilation to the group dynamics. In other words, his personal goals and motivations for enrolment were no longer relevant, as he was now subject to the military objectives and ideological claims of the FARC. As result, being a guerrilla became a lifestyle of shared living. In his case, the lack of strict ideological affiliation to the overall motivations of the group was not a reason to desert. He might not have agreed with the ideological discourse of the FARC, but being a guerrilla was everything he had, and his goal was to die there, with them. Once in the armed group it made no sense for him to dream or imagine a different future: 'Let's get one thing straight, Joaquín, your goal is to die here — Metéte en la mente: mi meta es morirme aquí' he used to

tell himself. He deserted because a fellow commander murdered his romantic partner to avenge a personal disagreement, and he was angry about this. He was heartbroken. His frustration for not being able to avenge his lover's death forced him to leave.[201] His desire was to kill his commander but he knew that if he did that he would be murdered as well or, what he considered worse, they could go after his family. He decided that the best thing for him was to leave before making a mistake that could put his life, and also the lives of those he loved, at risk. He decided to leave in order to avoid loss. As with his initial enlistment, the desire for revenge, and the impossibility to act upon his desire to achieve it, triggered his life choices.

Joaquín's thoughts and examples suggest rhetorical claims related to political ideology do not constitute a binding force among guerrilla members, but ideologies do help them make sense of their actions, of the worlds they inhabit. Writing about children's ability to assume autonomy in contexts of organised violence and war, dance movement therapist David Alan Harris indicates that '[t]he  ability to take action and to assume control over one's life may depend on the capacity to assign meaning to a situation, whether in the form of political condition, religious ideal, or revenge fantasy'.[202]

Beyond personal considerations, guerrilla organisations rely on ideologies to lead and stimulate the units within their ranks, independently of whether there is personal affinity, or not. Simultaneously, disciplining technologies related to the internalisation of doctrines by means of iterative practices, both physical and intellectual, are implemented in order to guarantee compliance with internal rules

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[201] I have elsewhere discussed the role of affective attachments and romantic-relationships in the guerrillas. See Estrada-Fuentes, 2016.
[202] David Alan Harris, 'The Paradox of Expressing Speechless Terror: Ritual Liminality in the Creative Arts Therapies' Treatment of Posttraumatic Distress.', *The Arts in Psychotherapy,* 36 (2009), 95.

and regulations, which are generally related to the groups' rhetorical claims for justice and social equality.[203] By inciting and promoting participation in warfare these organisations shape the lives not only of active members but also of civilians. But when guerrilla groups fail to deliver their aspired political, social and economic change, when they fail to fulfil the promises made on recruitment or to secure retention, when combat lasts for decades and their motivations shift from fighting for civil and political rights to operating powerful criminal organisations, the desires expressed by rank-and-file members can be shoved away.

In writing about desire, Giorgio Agamben suggests that it is very difficult for people to put their desires into words. He argues that this difficulty forces people to hide their desires in a crypt somewhere within themselves as images 'where they remain embalmed, suspended and waiting'. [204] Consequently, the act of communicating the imagined desire is indefinitely postponed. While Alejandra enlisted due to her desire for education and improved social mobility for her and her family, and Joaquín enrolled for the possibility of extracting revenge, they both found that these initial desires could not be achieved, that recruitment motivations and corresponding promises were not honoured, and were replaced by a slow adaptation to the group dynamics which were not reflective of the ELN and FARC claims for equality, justice and fair treatment within the ranks. Both cases suggest the existence of an ideal goal, a destination, a perfect arrival, that is in fact unreachable. Joaquín's military involvement in the FARC did not allow for him to fulfil his desires for revenge, which is arguably a good thing. In Alejandra's case, her personal needs and desires did not correspond to those of the ELN; for the ELN

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[203] Michel Foucault, 'Docile Bodies', in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 135-69.
[204] Giorgio Agamben, 'Desiring', in *Profanations,* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), pp. 53-4 (p. 53).

it was important to have a doctor who could do things, not a rank-and-file member concerned about the well-being of her family or undergoing formal institutional training to receive a medical degree. Their testimonies suggest the existence of desires that are not inherently unachievable, but which are not realised because the armed group dynamics do not allow for them to be achieved, despite the initial promise. In this sense, recruitment motivations and related desires remain within Joaquín and Alejandra, waiting, '[u]ntil the moment when we [they] begin to understand that desire will remain forever unfulfilled — and that this unavowed desire is *ourselves,* forever prisoners in the crypt' [emphasis added].[205] So they realise that it is themselves, and not the initial promise, that which has been forgotten, or perhaps lost. They decide to leave, and they look for a new beginning in civilian contexts, in another attempt to *realise themselves*.

## 5.2 ON LOSS AND NEW BEGINNINGS

Alejandra said demobilising was the best choice she could make 'because I believe we can't achieve peace fighting, we can't achieve it by using weapons. Violence generates more violence — Porque yo digo que la paz no se hace peleando, la paz no se hace con las armas. La violencia genera violencia'. But she was disappointed because, once more, the promises made to her and that helped her decide to desert the ELN were not being satisfied. When she joined the ELN she was promised access to formal education and financial assistance for her family, which were never given to her. Now, after she decided to become a civilian, the promise of better living conditions for her was unfulfilled. Alejandra felt deceived. When I asked her what she expected from reintegration she said:

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[205] Ibid. pp. 53-4.

What they advertise. They [the Ministry of Defence] advertise a lot on the radio and they also throw flyers [from their helicopters]. 'Demobilise! We will give you better living conditions, we will help you and your family'. No… all sorts of things that they don't give. It is a lie, reality is different because, I say, one leaves the group, one comes here to start from scratch, and all one receives is $300.000 [per month].[206] They are giving us charity! This is charity! It is charity because when one has to pay rent, food, clothes, transportation, that's not enough. — No, lo que es las propagandas. Porque es que dan muchas propagandas por la radio y tiran propagandas también. Que no, que desmovilízate, que te damos mejores condiciones de vida, que te ayudamos, que a ti y a tu familia, no, una cantidad de cosas que nunca cumplen y mentiras que la realidad es otra porque yo digo, uno que se viene de allá, a empezar de cero, lo que le dan son $300.000. ¡Eso es una limosna! Es una limosna porque cuando uno tiene que pagar arriendo, tiene que comer, tiene que vestir, pasajes. Eso no le alcanza a uno.

The promises of a new beginning falling from helicopters echo the promises made to the Liberal and the Llanos Guerrillas in 1953, discussed in Chapter 2, which were also printed in flyers and thrown, along with food, clothes and medicines, from helicopters. Alejandra, like Plinio Murillo (Capitán Veneno), was disillusioned in confronting her new beginning. Alejandra used the word *limosna* (charity) to describe the financial assistance given to her by the ACR. In Colombia the word 'limosna' can have a negative connotation, and Alejandra was certainly using it that

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[206] Approximately 100 GBP. Minimum legal wage in Colombia, as per 2014 was 208 GBP, excluding healthcare and pension. In 2015 is 222 GBP. All are approximate calculations. The stipend is only given if the participants attend all the activities scheduled for them each month. If they fail to attend, they do not receive the money.

way. Limosna is a small amount of money that one gives to people in need, usually

beggars on the street. What Alejandra's use of this word reveals in our conversation

is the feeling of being treated in a demeaning way, that the financial stipend does not

match the promises of improved living conditions. This amount of money does not

enable her to live with dignity. Both Alejandra and Joaquín consider that recidivism

occurs as a consequence of inadequate reintegration assistance. She said she would

never encourage anyone to desert now that she knows how things are in reality. If

the promise of a better life was indeed delivered:

> there would be fewer people in the guerrillas. […] there would be more
>
> confidence, security, morale, and those of us who are outside could tell
>
> insiders: 'The promises are real'. We could support them, give them a voice
>
> of encouragement, cheer them up. [...] No, I won't do that. If someone
>
> decides to desert it must be due to their own conscience. If I tell them to do
>
> it then they will say: 'See, so-and-so told me to come here and now look at
>
> me, my brother, if only you knew how much I'm struggling'. I will not do
>
> that [to others]. — Porque si cumplieran, entonces hubiera más seguridad,
>
> hubiera más moral, y los que estamos afuera podemos decirle a los de
>
> adentro: 'eso sí es verdad'. Osea, apoyarlos, darles una voz de aliento,
>
> animarlos. […] Yo no, cada quien que se venga por su conciencia. Para que
>
> después diga: 'Vea, fulanito, fulanita me dijo que me viniera y vea, si viera,
>
> eso estoy es llevando hermano'. Yo no.

The ACR was clearly failing her: here is a woman in her mid mid-fifties, mother of

two, who had no job, no formal education, no pension, no chance to work at a clinic,

not enough money for food, clothing and transportation,[207] and yet somehow, she said, she was constantly used by the ACR to appear in the media as an example of success, as an example of how people in the guerrillas are tired of war, of how they are not just terrorists, cold blooded murderers, drug traffickers, kidnappers, but can be extremely skilled at saving lives in precarious conditions, among many other things. Examples of how these stories of success as represented by the ACR can be seen in their YouTube channel. The case of Andrés Dilan, a young man participating in the reintegration programme, is relevant here. In the video it is stated that he is a successful musician, but in reality Andrés, whom I have met, was working at a supermarket to earn a living and also pay for services and debts related to his musical career. [208] In a similar vein, writing about public representations in Bangladesh of the birangonas (rape survivors regarded as heroines of the Bangladesh War in 1971), the social anthropologist Nayanika Mookherjee demonstrates how survivors felt their experiences and testimonies were being used and exploited for the benefit of government agencies, NGOs and journalists. Mookherjee quotes Imarot, a birangona, who referred to the false assurances and promises of financial assistance made to her over the years. She said: '"They are willing to eat the egg but not see under what conditions the hen survives"', thus suggesting that agencies and journalists were willing to benefit from their testimonies, but were not interested in understanding how life continues beyond the narratives they utilise.[209]

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[207] Alejandra said that earlier that day she had to ask neighbours to lend her some money for the bus to be able to leave her house. Our meeting was early that month, and she was not due to receive any more money until the next calendar month.

[208] Andrés Dilan, 'Andrés Dilan, Un Joven En Proceso De Reintegración Que Encontró Su Motivación En La Música'*, (Reintegración ACR, 2013).

[209] Nayanika Mookherjee, *The Spectral Wound. Sexual Violence, Public Memories, and the Bangladesh War of 1971*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 65.

In conversation with me, José, a 39 years old former FARC member, also addressed ACR promises and its limitations. José started as a messenger in FARC's urban militias. He joined in the late 1990s, when he was 18 years old. He said he started working and it was good pay, but he did not know who he was working for or what kind of materials he was picking up and delivering around the city — he never looked, and he never asked. He realised that he was a guerrilla when he received death threats from local paramilitary groups and was forced to leave the city and join the FARC's rural military units in order to protect himself. He did not want to be a guerrilla and deserted in 2004, but he did not surrender to the Military nor did he request to join the ACR programme. José contacted a friend instead, asking for financial support and guidance to make his way and adapt to civilian life, but his friend gave him up to the Military. After his desertion he was imprisoned for 8 years, so when we met he had been out of jail and subject to the ACR reintegration programme for nine months. José appreciates the work and assistance provided by the state through this institution, but he wonders whether the state considers them, the recipients, to be worthy citizens. Reintegration, he told me, is much more than going to school and meeting a tutor. Reintegration, for him, is the process of becoming a civilian citizen, a process through which worth and value is assigned to individuals. If José goes to a job interview he needs to be well dressed, to use clean clothes, and but he cannot afford this. Even if he does not have a job interview, just for him, being able to look and feel good is important for his mental and emotional wellbeing. It is what he has at to hand to help himself feel worthy. It is also a social indicator of care and self-respect for oneself. José lived with family friends, and slept on a couch in the living room, because he could not afford to rent a room in a

neighbourhood that did not represent a security risk for him, and he explained that the ACR was not really helping him to get a job.[210] On the contrary, the ACR's surveillance and control resulted in his losing the job he had himself found. José, as many others, feared discrimination and he decided not to report that he was an ex-combatant when he was hired. His ACR tutor made a phone call to the company that hired José to make sure that he was actually an employee. This phone call disclosed information that José had intentionally avoided to reveal. He was fired a few days later. For him, the ACR's urge to supervise and control his life was the cause of losing his job, as he said he was very happy and he was doing well in his workplace. José told me that he understands the importance of these surveillance measures, because many former combatants engage in petty crime or rejoin the armed groups, but he thought it was unfair that he had to lose his job because of the ACR, and not because of his performance in the workplace. He had a teenage daughter whom he wished to take care of and provide for, but he could not.

During the last hour of our interview we talked about what being a father meant for him, and how he felt disappointed in himself for not being able to secure a job and to provide for his daughter. José's comments reflect gendered understandings and expectations regarding parenthood and male enactments of citizenship. He asked me for advice, he wanted to talk about how to be a better father, so I put my pen down and closed my notebook. He told me that his daughter had been asking questions about drugs and sex and that he was not sure how to give her advice. I shared my thoughts about how affective and emotional support were also part of parenting. Parenting, I suggested, did not consist only in providing financially, and

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[210] Various interviewees reported living in neighbourhoods where there were many gangs that represent a security risk for them. Some indicated that they had to move to a different part of the city to avoid gang activities and to escape urban paramilitary and guerrilla cells.

through our conversation I helped José realise that if his daughter was reaching out for guidance, then that was what she needed from him. He then mentioned briefly that he had been a heavy drug user while he was in prison, and so he could tell her why he thought not doing drugs would be best for her. At he end of our conversation, he told me that he did not know whether the interview had been useful for me, but he said that it had been very good for him, that he had felt a heavy weight on his chest and did not know what to do about it, or whom to talk to because he was too embarrassed. José concluded by saying that it helped him to talk and think through his situation. For me this was a clear demonstration of the absence of qualitative psychosocial support from the ACR.

Echoing Alejandra's thoughts on the promise of reintegration, José said: 'If there was a real dignifying offer on this side the war would end because people want to leave [the guerrillas], but if one is going to live like this, it is not worth leaving the group — Si hubiera una oferta digna de este lado la guerra se acabaría y ya no hubiera gente en la guerrilla porque la gente se quiere ir. Pero si uno va a vivir así no vale la pena venirse'.

José said that the main problem was the lack of love, the lack of compassion they experienced after demobilising. If former combatants were regarded as worthy subjects, they would be worthy of love, care and there would be more compassion. Despite his sadness and disillusionment, he said he would never go back to the FARC, as he could not do that to himself or his daughter.

These concerns over precarious living conditions shared by Alejandra and José are not unique to them, and the desire to live dignifying lives outside of the armed groups they belonged to is not unusual. When they make a transition to civilian life

ex-combatants are expected to let go of part of themselves and undergo a transformation, and in the process a part of who they are must be lost, left behind. But being part of an armed group is also a process of loss. Combatants too are expected to let go of themselves, to adjust to the group and, in most cases, to abandon their hopes of improving the quality of their lives and gaining social mobility.

Similarly to Alejandra, Diana joined the FARC in order to improve her living conditions. Diana was one of six siblings in a single parent household. Her father died when she was six years old and her mother was forced to move to a different city, leaving her children, so she could work and provide for them. She requested enrolment in the guerrillas when she was approximately fifteen years old (she could not recall her exact age, sometime between 1999 and 2000) as she was promised clothes, food, and access to education. Echoing the situation of many others when they join the group, and as discussed earlier, Diana realised that life within the ranks was not easy, and that the initial promises to cover her basic needs were not going to be fulfilled—they never were for her—and she tried to quit, but she was however not allowed to leave as enrolment in the FARC is a life-long commitment. Guerrillas who desert the armed group do so risking their lives as, often, the punishment for unsuccessful defection is death. Eventually Diana got used to being a guerrilla.

When I asked what the things were that she enjoyed the most about her life in the FARC, she said the feelings of brotherhood and mutual care: 'It feels as if they were all one person — todos son como una misma persona'. But when I asked her about the things that she did not like *there* she immediately said 'almost everything — casi todo,' and that she was never happy: 'The lack of freedom, waking up at

5am, wearing a wet military uniform and staying like that all day long, how could I possibly like that? — La falta de libertad. La vida militar, la vida guerrillera. Levantarse a las cinco de la mañana y ponerse un camuflado mojado para estar así todo el día. A mí qué me va a gustar eso.' She also said she did not agree with several guerrilla practices, such as selective killings, extortion, kidnapping and the murdering of innocent people during combat. Despite the difficulties, she found in the FARC a family, companionship, a group of people who, in her view, truly cared for each other. She also had two romantic partners during her years of enlistment, and got pregnant twice. Each time, following the rules of the FARC, she had abortions. In this context of deep feelings of inter-dependence with her comrades and partners, Diana's forced abortions mark significant ruptures for her.

Diana and I had coffee and chocolates during our interview and after some small talk I asked:

M: How long ago did you desert the guerrillas? — ¿Hace cuánto saliste de la guerrilla?

D: I left 15 months ago. They forced me to have an abortion, and that was the second time. — Hace un año y tres meses. Yo me fui porque me hicieron abortar, esa fue la segunda vez.

After 12 years of service she was forced to have an abortion three months before her baby was due. She had a stable partner and this was her second pregnancy. In both cases, and following the rules of the FARC, she notified her commander so they could proceed with the mandatory abortions. The first pregnancy was terminated without further complications. But the second time that she informed them about her condition, her warnings were ignored. When she was six months into her pregnancy

they decided to proceed with the abortion, against her will. 'When you are six months into your pregnancy, the baby is fully formed. If we had had an incubator there, my baby could have survived. I saw him. — A los seis meses el niño está formado. Si hubiera habido una incubadora allá el niño se hubiera salvado. Yo lo vi'.

In our conversation she stated that this was the main reason for her to defect from the guerrillas: after over a decade of service, she was too hurt and disappointed with the way in which the FARC, her family, handled her situation. In her view, commanders were negligent because she followed the rules, Diana informed them that she was pregnant at an early stage so they could conduct the abortion, but they seemed careless. For her, this was an extremely disappointing and painful experience and she blames her commander for not showing sufficient attention and not addressing her pregnancy warnings in time so the doctors could take care of it. In Diana's view, her commander decided not to honor her willingness to follow FARC's internal regulations regarding pregnancies; and in his failure to act on her announcement without delay, he failed to do his part in order to sustain their care-relationship: there was no effort, on his side, to guarantee her well-being. By neglecting her willingness to abort in the first place, consequently abusing her body and emotional attachments to her unborn child, the commander broke Diana's feelings of belongingness, trust and dependency to the FARC, to her family, and with this he triggered feelings of isolation in her to the point that she chose desertion. But her disappointment had an additional, closely related dimension: the degradation of the guerrilla in the area where she was an active member and the lack of interest of the commanders in the well-being of rank-and-file members as seen not only in Diana's abortion, conducted at a late stage and against her will, but also in

the lack of basic toiletries, uniforms and food. She said the commanders were solely interested in money and civilian women. The family she found in the FARC no longer cared for her, their actions did not correspond with their rhetorical claims for fraternity and solidarity in the organisation.[211] In addition, the FARC has made public statements which suggest the claims of women like Diana, who indicate they have been subject to forced abortions, are not true.[212]

In addition, and similar to Alejandra's case, Diana considered that the commanders in her area were more concerned about money and their own romantic-partners than with the file-and-rank members. The main reason why Diana joined, to enjoy have the basic necessities of life, was not addressed. They did not have enough uniforms, elements for personal hygiene or food. In addition, she was never given the promised education. 'What does one gain? She asked. 'What do I have now? Nothing. I lost my youth there — ¿Qué gana uno? Nada. ¿Qué tengo ahora? Nada. Yo perdí mi juventud allá'.

A few weeks after the abortion, Diana managed to desert with the help of her former partner, the father of her child, who had deserted before she did. Despite being diagnosed with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), Diana told me that she does not receive additional assistance; she only attends group-counselling meetings once a month as any other person who benefits from the ACR reintegration aid programme. In these meetings they do not address issues of sexual violence, or reproductive health, nor does she receive help in mourning her loss. Diana not only lost a loved one, her baby boy, but she also lost her family. The FARC was a family

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[211] FARC, "Estatuto Farc-Ep," (Colombia: Novena Conferencia FARC-EP, 2007), 14.

[212] Secretariado del estado Mayor de las FARC-EP, "Las Guerrilleras Son Mujeres Revolucionarias, Conscientes Y Libres," Mujer Fariana, http://www.mujerfariana.org/vision/declaraciones/466-las-guerrilleras-son-mujeres-revolucionarias-conscientes-y-libres.html?tmpl=component&print=1&layout.

for her, and she felt that, despite the difficulties, people cared for each other in the group. The cruelty of her loss, losing her beloved baby, her family, her youth, has been followed by disillusionment, disappointment and despair in her attempts to re-build her life as a civilian. She felt lost, she did not know how to move on, and she was not receiving enough help to do so.

In his work on mourning and melancholia Freud argues that loss is not limited to the death of a loved one, but that abstractions such as ideas or ideals are also subject to being lost and mourned. In addition, Freud considers that mourning is always an individual, private task.[213] Peter Homans draws on these ideas and concludes that Freud's 'psychology of the loss of an ideal is, in effect, a psychology of disillusionment'.[214] He then departs from Freud's understanding of loss and mourning to propose the notion of symbolic loss. Homans argues that 'symbolic loss refers to the loss of an attachment to a political ideology or religious creed', followed by the individual's work needed to come to terms with the loss, thus resembling mourning as described by Freud. However, in symbolic loss:

> The lost object is a symbol or rather a system of symbols and not a person. And the inner work of coming to terms with the loss of such symbols is by no means always followed by generative or creative repair or recovery, but as often by disillusionment, or disappointment, or despair. Some sort of combination of "resignation", along with some mourning, is the best way to

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[213] Sigmund Freud, *On Murder, Mourning and Melancholia*, (London: Penguin, 2005); Sigmund Freud, 'On Transcience [1916]', in *Freud's Requiem: Mourning, Memory and the Invisible History of a Summer Walk,* ed. by Mathew von Unwerth (New York: Riverhead Books, 2005), pp. 215-19.
[214] Peter Homans, 'Introduction. The Decline of Mourning Practices in Modern Western Societies: A Short Sketch', in *Symbolic Loss. The Ambiguity of Mourning and Memory at Century's End,* ed. by Peter Homans (Charlottesville and London: University Press Virginia, 2000), (p. 8).

describe the most common form of this kind of "coming to terms with the past".[215]

The accounts of Joaquín, Alejandra, José and Diana are all illustrative of symbolic loss. For Joaquín and Alejandra joining the FARC and the ELN, respectively, represented the possibility to fulfil personal desires for increased social mobility and to avenge personal pain and loss. However, once enlisted, they slowly realised that in the guerrillas there was no space for individual goals and aspirations, and that they were instead subject to the groups' internal dynamics and political projects. I have argued that in their militancy they encountered the impossibility of realising themselves, as it is their own subjective projects, represented in their desired goals, of which they had to abandon in order to deliver an appropriate performance of belonging. In civilian contexts, as civilian citizens, they seemed to be experiencing similar difficulties.

In her essay 'The Dilemmas of Performative Citizenship' the political scientist Shirin Rai argues the idea of belonging is attached to everyday practices in relation to 'the immediate community that purveys the rhythms, norms and performed relationships of our daily lives'.[216] Rai suggests that in the contexts of uncertainty and changing political landscapes, the experience of belonging, or the impossibility of experiencing it, can have a negative effect in our everyday lives. The feelings of loss and disillusionment explored in this chapter are illustrative of the performative dimensions of experiences of belonging in reintegration processes. Once demobilised, Joaquín, Alejandra José and Diana resented the time and effort they needed to invest in order to 'become citizens', to be subject to the institutionalisation

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[215] Ibid. p. 20.
[216] Rai.

of their civilian identities through standardised assistance and formal education. In addition, José and Diana did not find enough support in the ACR to understand and address personal difficulties. José was trying to fulfil expected performances of parenthood, while Diana was struggling to be able to overcome her suffering, to mourn her losses. Joaquín, Diana, José and Alejandra wanted to find jobs and to move on with their lives. They wanted to become productive citizens through legal labour practices and financial mobility, but they believed that the reintegration assistance and related scrutiny in their lives was hindering the process. As civilians, and echoing the words of the Colonel and Castelblanco at the turn of the twentieth century, they were still waiting for the delivery of a better life, for the realisation of themselves. They were waiting for their new beginning, without realising that they were already living it. They had to somehow let go of themselves, of their initial expectations, in order to adapt and take advantage of their lives in civilian contexts.

Reintegration, in this sense, is not just a process of adaptation and assimilation to civil society, it is also the process of coming to terms with loss in order to re-create oneself. It means to mourn the loss of family members and comrades, dreams of motherhood and ideas of youth; to lose decades of experience in healing the pain of others and/or saving people's lives. Reintegration requires careful attention to the affective and ideological worlds of those who undergo a process of transformation and, as I will discuss in the following chapter, it requires a compassionate, qualitative politics of care. Reintegration implies a constant effort to re-define and establish individual practices that enable citizens to feel worthy of love, care and compassion; it requires strength and the ability to let go of oneself in order to engage

in a creative process of repair and recovery. It is the absence of war, of painful,

lingering, silent loss: it is a decades-long unfulfilled desire for a new beginning.

# Chapter 6. Affective Labours: On Love, Care and Solidarity

6.1 IN THE BATTLEFIELD

*What can you tell me about love?*

This question was often followed by a combination of nervous laughter and bitter smiles. Thoughtful silence. As if love could not be part of life in the guerrilla ranks. As if love was not part of everyday life in times of war. Perhaps the former guerrillas I was interviewing thought I was asking about a specific type of romantic love, such as the kind of love stories one learns from popular Mexican, Colombian and Venezuelan telenovelas. Perhaps they thought my question assumed this prototypical, painful narrative of romantic love was the only possible way for people to experience love. And the answer would go something like this:

> *Love… it is not like that, not like here. It is different. Back there you just… there's no stability. You have to ask for authorisation from the commander, you cannot get involved with someone unless you are serious, then once you have been granted permission you can sleep in the same tent if you have one. Everyone respects that; no one is allowed to start messing around. But you know you can be sent off to a different unit anytime, or your partner can be killed in combat, so you don't get attached. Sometimes you hear that your partner gets involved with someone new. You have to move on, you find someone else. Or you can stay alone if you want to, that's ok too.*

I wanted to learn about love, about how people allow themselves to be touched, or not, in the battlefield. I wanted to hear about love in the words of the once tough combatants; to ask about sex and consent, to learn about rape and abortion policies within the Colombian guerrilla ranks without being too intrusive, and the love question helped me: it was vague enough to start an innocent conversation and I could *see,* in their bodily reactions, whether I could follow-up with a relevant discussion. I wanted to ask the questions that would lead to insightful answers, but I had to be careful. I wanted to enquire about different ways and possibilities of understanding and participating in love-based relationships in the context of guerrilla warfare, but I did not want to do away with the layers of protection interviewees - and myself for that matter - might have wanted to use for cover when talking to a stranger, especially regarding subjects' past involvement in on-going war.

Whether I interviewed men or women, the distinction between *here* and *there* was always present. *There* indicated not only a different place but also a different time, a *past stage* where experiences of romantic love may or may not be possible. *There* people love and protect their partners and comrades during combat; rank-and-file members must learn how to make coffee and cook for hundreds at a time without making noise or producing too much smoke; some are trained to be nurses, surgeons, and are experts at healing each others' wounds. Back *there* some people refuse to execute individuals under risk of punishment, while others are very good and enjoy following those orders. Back *there,* in the ELN file-and-rank guerrillas can request permission to have life-partners and children - which can be denied; but in the FARC they cannot request authorisation for having kids - however sometimes they hide their pregnancies and give birth. In the Colombian guerrilla ranks all females,

regardless of age, use hormonal contraception, usually injections, and if they get pregnant they must have an abortion every-single-time; but not all the Colombian guerrilla groups employ the same disciplinary practices. In the guerrilla ranks all members are supposed to have equal rights and obligations, but commanders' partners are allowed to have their babies and see their children grow. In the battlefield men and women of all ages are raped, but they also make love.

In this chapter I am concerned with how affective transactions and related practices of love, care and solidarity are experienced and thought-through by former female combatants who were mostly recruited as children. I propose the concept of 'affective labours' to understand female experiences and affective practices within guerrilla organisations. I argue that by focusing on the performativity of human emotions and transactions present in military structures, policymakers and peace-building practitioners could improve the management of human and financial resources and, subsequently, facilitate social reintegration. With this I intend to contribute narrative possibilities for subjects' existence, and thus identify path ways for different ways of understandings of the experiences of Colombian citizens who have been part of illegal armed organisations and are now subject to reintegration programmes.

The reiteration of regulatory and affective practices in the guerrillas produce combatant 'units' that conform to disciplinary codes and expectations, which draw/mark the limits on what is a viable life within the ranks. In this chapter I propose that the processes of subjectivation in the guerrillas and its iterative qualities in the guerrilla groups are similar to those which produce civilians through reintegration programmes. I argue that the promise of intelligibility inherent in both

guerrilla (illegal) and civilian (legal) performances is also a promise for continued existence. In her influential book *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection,* Judith Butler argues that the desire to be visible, to be considered worthy and to survive is an exploitative desire. Subjects, she suggests, would prefer to exist in subordination than not exist. Existence, in this case, is not limited to subjects' intelligibility in relation to others; in implicates the possibility of death. She writes: '[t]he one who holds out the promise of continued existence plays to the desire to survive' and as such, performances of subjection and subjectification through affective labours, however destructive these may be, are also a means to make one's life a life that qualifies as one worth living.[217]

## 6.2 LOVE LABOUR: PRIMARY CARE AND RETENTION PRACTICES IN THE GUERRILLA RANKS

Most times my love-question was interpreted as an enquiry about romantic love, but my interest was not solely in the latter: enquiring about the ways in which combatants experience love and engage in love-labour gives us an insight into the ways in which they conceive and experience care, attachment to others and participate in practices of solidarity before, during and after enlistment. Scott Gates emphasises the need to understand the differences between recruitment motivations, retention in the armed group, and related practices of socialisation. He suggests that by working towards a better understanding of retention processes instead of solely focusing on motivations and drivers at recruitment, we may find critical information

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[217] Butler, p. 7; Butler, pp. xiii, xxiv; Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, (London ; New York: Verso, 2004).

that can assist in the effective design of reintegration programmes.[218] In my work I consider that the affective dimensions of warfare are not only merely helpful but also rather crucial in to identifying and understanding the needs of citizens who have been part of illegal armed organisations and are now trying to re-build their lives in civilian contexts. A comprehensive approach to affect in recruitment, retention and defection/disassociation provides important information in the design and implementation of relevant reintegration assistance.

In their study of the production of affective equality and inequality within social systems and practices of care, Kathleen Lynch and Judy Walsh provide a distinction between three different types of other-centered work required to sustain primary, secondary and tertiary care relations. In order to maintain secondary and tertiary care relations, general care-work and solidarity-work are required. Primary care relations, the authors argue, are not sustainable over time without love-labour. "Without such labouring, feelings of love or care for others can simply involve rhetorical functionings, words and talk that are declaratory in nature but lack substance in practice or action."[219] Primary care or love relations:

> refer to relations of high interdependency that arise from inherited or chosen dependencies or interdependencies and are our primary care relations. Love labouring is the work required to sustain these relations […] is emotionally engaged work that has as its principal goal the survival, development and/or well-being of the other. There is an intense sense of belongingness and trust in primary care relations when they are positive,

[218] Gates, p. 30.
[219] Kathleen Lynch and Judy Walsh, 'Love, Care and Solidarity: What Is and Is Not Commodifiable', ed. by Kathleen Lynch, John Baker, and Maureen Lyons (Basingstoke ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 35-53 (p. 36).

and of distrust and isolation when they are neglectful, exploitative or abusive that does not hold for other care relations [emphasis in original].[220] The authors indicate that the most obvious type of love care-relationship is that which exists between parents and children: it is essential for survival, has the potential of being mutually beneficial and is characterised by marginal or non-existent immediate gain for the carer.[221]

Guerrilla combatants are not entirely deprived of love and care, or primary care or love relationships: they are part of networks of affect and solidarity that provide support and generate a strong sense of belonging, and sometimes deep trust, but that also make them extremely vulnerable. Whether through experiences of romantic-love, camaraderie or friendships - what I would like to call affective socialisation practices - guerrillas develop emotional attachments characterised by a high sense of interdependency and feelings of familial belonging. Writing about comrades that died during confrontations with the Colombian military, former FARC guerrilla member Zenaida Rueda writes: 'they were my brothers, my cousins, my uncles… they were my family. That is what the guerrilla becomes for us: family' — '[e]llos eran mis hermanos, mis primos, mis tíos… eran mi familia. Eso se vuelve la guerrilla para uno.'[222] Primary care or love relations can also give rise to fear, distrust and emotional isolation, and the dynamics and possibilities for love and romantic love relationships to flourish depend on other primary-care relationships. During one of my interviews, when I asked Tatiana about love, this 19 year-old former FARC member said:

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[220] Ibid. p. 42.
[221] Ibid. p. 44.
[222] Zenaida Rueda Calderón, *Confesiones De Una Guerrillera. Los Secretos De Tirofijo, Jojoy Ya Las Farc, Revelados Por Primera Vez.*, (Bogotá: Editorial Planeta, 2009), p. 104.

At the beginning, feeling attracted to someone else was beautiful. But as time goes on, they [commanders] make you turn into an aggressive, guarded person, like a cat, because sometimes you try to be with someone and commanders start sending you off somewhere else so you cannot be together, or they do things so you don't get along. And so you become aggressive, wary from others. […] At the end one wouldn't care about being with someone. If he could stick around it was ok and if not it was ok too. One would say 'It doesn't matter, there are plenty more men here'. In that way, you become like a man.[223] — Al principio, la sensación de atracción a otra persona es muy bonito. Pero a uno lo vuelven como agresivo, como un gato, porque aveces uno trata de atraerse [estar juntos] con esa persona y cuando los comandantes ven que uno está con esa persona comienzan a abrirlo para allá, abrirlo para acá, comienzan a hacerle cualquier cosa para que uno choque. Entonces ya uno se va volviendo agresivo. […] A lo último a uno le valía ya una, discúlpeme la palabra, una pendejada estar con alguien, si él llegaba bien y si no también. Uno decía 'No, para eso hay más'. Ya uno andaba como hombre.

M: Did you fall in love there? — ¿Y tu te enamoraste allá?

T: [Nervous laughter] Yes. Once. I had been in the guerrilla for about five years. I fell in love with a comrade I had been with for two years. But a

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[223] Tatiana's wording here is related to cultural understandings of masculinity, suggesting men are not interested in engaging in long-term, romantic or affective relationships.

snake bit me, and he was very anxious and worried and the commander didn't like it when a man cared like that for a woman, or the other way around, because they think that they will lose that combatant, that you are going to get bored in the guerrillas, loose morale and that you will desert. So they sent him off and away from me. I was very sick. […] He died in combat. I was very hurt. The commanders wouldn't tell me he was dead because they knew I was willing to die for him, and he felt the same. So they lied for a week. […] I was depressed for seven months, but I could not let them know how I felt. The first day it was ok to show my sadness, but then I had to hide my feelings. They could get the wrong idea, that I wanted to desert, and they could kill me because of this. — [Risa nerviosa] Sí. Una vez. Llevaba por ahí cinco añitos [en la guerrilla], de un compañero con el que llevaba dos años ya viviendo [juntos]. A mi me picó una culebra, y él se desesperó mucho y al comandante no le gusta que un hombre se preocupe así por una mujer, o una mujer [por un hombre] porque piensan que van a perder ese combatiente, el hombre se va a aburrir, se va a ir, se va a desmoralizar. A él lo sacaron de donde yo estaba, porque yo estaba enferma. [...] Murió en una acción. A mi me dio duro. Ellos [los comandantes] no me querían decir a mi porque sabían de que yo daba la vida por él, igualmente él por mi. Entonces a mí me mintieron por una semana. [...] Me dolió mucho, yo estuve siete meses así [triste] pero yo no podía demostrarlo. El primer día, claro, porque los comandantes me entendían. Pero de ahí para allá no podía, porque pensaban que yo me iba a ir [desertar], empezaban a pensar mal de mi, me podían matar.

Tatiana was one of four siblings, the only female. She was forcibly recruited when she was 12 years old by a FARC member who was eight years older and romantically interested in her. Tatiana said that on the first night that she was in the guerrilla camp they slept together and that it was very hard for her because she had never slept with anyone else. The wording she used in Spanish was 'dormimos juntos', which could mean that they slept in the same tent, but it does not imply that they had sexual intercourse. But her following words, indicating she had never 'slept with anyone before', suggest she was forced to have sex with him, that she was raped.[224] She thought about leaving the group a few times, during her first years, but she was afraid of doing so and she eventually adapted to life in the guerrillas. When I asked what happened to her recruiter, whom she referred to as her 'partner', she said he was murdered just a month after she joined the group, and that despite what he did to her she was grateful to him because he helped her to adapt quickly and understand the group dynamics. She left the FARC because she was captured by members of the Colombian Military when she was 17 years old.

Talking about love, trust and care practices, Tatiana described how everyday activities such as washing each others' clothes or cleaning their boots were opportunities to demonstrate feelings of fondness among friends and partners. While it is forbidden to help each other in these tasks, guerrillas do so when they want to or when and feel they need to in order to protect and make life easier for each other:

> We support each other, but commanders don't like that. They say: 'Ah, we are losing her, she is in love'. […] Love there is beautiful because one needs companionship, support, but it is also dangerous for you because of

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[224] The words chosen by interviewees and the speed with which they spoke, along with their posture, gestures and movements helped me understand many things which were unspoken. Tatiana did not say she was raped; this is my own interpretation.

the things you might do to be able to be with that person, or maybe when you realise your partner died, and one feels lonely — Uno se apoya, y a los comandantes no les gusta eso. Ahí dicen: 'Ya la estamos perdiendo, ya se enamoró'. [...] El amor allá, a la vez que es bonito, porque uno necesita una compañía, también lo hace correr peligro, porque uno [hace cosas] para estar con esa persona, o que uno sepa que se ha muerto y uno allá se siente solo.

The physical and emotional effort invested in the survival of oneself and others, in sustaining these primary care relations, is love-labour. 'Love labour is generally characterised by relations of strong mutuality; there is a sense of mutual dependence no matter how poor the relationship may be'.[225] How does this love-labor affect everyday life and decisions within the guerrilla ranks?

In her autobiography *Escrito para no morir: bitácora de una militancia,* anthropologist and former M-19 guerrilla member, María Eugenia Vásquez Perdomo, writes that love in the guerrillas was part of their wider, communal political project, not a personal project. Romantic love relationships were intense but transient, because they were limited by their political quest for social change, not individual desires, personal attachments and expectations: 'We loved each other with the intensity that comes with the uncertainty of tomorrow and the trust of being among equals.' [226] — 'nos quisimos con la intensidad que proporciona la incertidumbre frente al mañana y con la confianza de estar entre iguales.'[227] There was little or no investment in building long-term romantic relationships, and instead

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[225] Lynch and Walsh, p. 44.
[226] Maria Eugenia Vasquez Perdomo and Arthur Schmidt, *My Life as a Colombian Revolutionary: Reflections of a Former Guerrilla*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), p. 76.
[227] Maria Eugenia Vasquez Perdomo, *Escrito Para No Morir: Bitácora De Una Militancia*, (Colombia: Ministerio de Cultura, 2000), p. 145.

affective relationships were based on a sense of trust and camaraderie among equals. Sexual encounters among romantic partners were, in the context of the M-19 and according to Vásquez Perdomo, just a way to freely express feelings of closeness to a person with ideological affinity, who was also a member of the guerrilla organisation.[228] However, in her narrative of life as an university student, and an urban-based guerrilla member during the 1970s and 1980s, Vásquez Perdomo describes multiple romantic relationships, including two marriages, affective attachments, motherhood and gendered expectations for sexual and social behaviours, even within the guerrillas. For instance, motherhood in the 1970s, during her first marriage, to another M-19 guerrilla, turned Vásquez Perdomo into a stay-at-home mother, while her husband continued with his militant activities. 'Our partnership had been exhausted by the daily routine and was drowning in contradictions. The discourse about relationships between *compañeros* was a far cry from the reality'.[229] — 'Nuestro amor se agotaba en la cotidianidad y naufragaba en sus contradicciones. Una cosa era el discurso sobre las relaciones de pareja entre compañeros y otra bien distinta la realidad'[230] she writes, suggesting a clear distinction between discourses of gender and gender equality within militant contexts, and lived experience.[231] She continues:

> In spite of the fact that we had both been involved in militant activity since
> before we lived together, now his work came first. He could do as he would
> with his time; I had the domestic chores and the baby. At most Ramiro
> "helped" with some things, and according to a lot of compañero couples, I

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[228] Ibid. pp. 145-6.
[229] Vasquez Perdomo and Schmidt, *My Life as a Colombian Revolutionary: Reflections of a Former Guerrilla*, 62.
[230] Vasquez Perdomo, p. 121.
[231] Vasquez Perdomo and Schmidt, p. 62.

should have thanked him for his help. I myself thought his job justified his many absences.[232] — Si bien ambos teníamos una actividad militante desde antes de vivir juntos, ahora la que se priorizaba era la suya. Él disponía del tiempo a su amaño, yo tenía las obligaciones domésticas y de crianza; a lo sumo Ramiro me "ayudaba" en algunas tareas y, según muchos compañeros y compañeras, yo debía agradecer su colaboración. Yo misma pensaba que su trabajo justificaba muchas ausencias.[233]

Vásquez Perdomo indicates that romantic-love relationships were understood as relationships among equals - entre iguales, however, house management and care-labour were considered female tasks, and the participation of men in these were regarded as acts of kindness, not as routine labour distribution in a relationship *among equals*.

In another section of her autobiography Vásquez Perdomo reflects on the intensity of her experiences of romantic love, bodily reactions and feelings attached to these, and writes about the pain she experienced the last time she saw one of her romantic partners*,* Alfredo:

When I lost him from sight, I consulted for a moment the measure of his absence, and a dull pain in every fibre of my being revealed the dimension of the emptiness. I wanted to shout, cry and run until I couldn't run anymore. I wanted to somehow deaden the pain, to flee from it, but I stayed right there, outwardly calm, with a commitment that went beyond love.[234]

— Cuando lo perdí de vista consulté por un instante la medida de su ausencia y un dolor sordo en cada fibra del cuerpo delató la dimensión del

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[232] Ibid.
[233] Vasquez Perdomo, pp. 121-22.
[234] Vasquez Perdomo and Schmidt, p. 187.

vacío. Habría querido gritar, llorar y correr, hasta agotar mis fuerzas, por no sentir, pero me quedé allí aparentemente tranquila, con un compromiso que iba más allá del amor.[235]

This description of pain in the absence of the other suggests romantic-love relationships and encounters were not so transient, after all. Vásquez Perdomo envisioned a personal project; she desired a present and future life with Alfredo. A few months after the separation she received the news of his death—he was shot in his forehead during combat. She writes:

Alfredo was my emotional axis. As long as he had lived I had felt the certainty of love: it was both of us against the world. Now he had left me alone. At first the feeling of abandonment assaulted me, and I was angry at the way he'd let himself be killed.[236] — Alfredo constituía mi eje afectivo. Mientras existió, sentía la certeza del amor: estábamos ambos frente al mundo. Ahora me había dejado sola. En un principio me asaltó la sensación de abandono y de rabia con él, por dejarse matar.[237]

Love, despite Vasquez Perdomo's claims of the communal character of it, was not therefore solely defined by the political goals of the M-19. The death of her partner meant, for her, the death of the possibility for an affective personal-project, the termination of a romantic-partnership with her comrade still *within their* communal, political project.

Vásquez Perdomo left the M-19 in 1988, slightly over a year before the collective demobilisation of this guerrilla and after 18 years of service: she talked with her commanders and expressed that she did no longer wanted to be part of the

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[235] Vasquez Perdomo, p. 336.
[236] Vasquez Perdomo and Schmidt, p. 196.
[237] Vasquez Perdomo, p. 351.

organisation. She decided to leave partly because of the sudden death of her eldest son when he was 13 years old - she had two children with two different partners during her militant years. Her request for disassociation was approved without further complications. Working in the guerrillas was, for her, a means for building a better future for her son while waiting for the possibility of a re-encounter with him. But with his death, the years of sacrifice, absence and renunciation to be close to him no longer made sense for her. 'It seems impossible that so much love could have no future, but there was nothing left, only an intense emptiness.'[238] — "Parecía mentira que tanto amor se volviera huérfano de futuro.'[239] Despite the urban-based nature of most of her militant years, her re-adaptation to civilian life was an extremely difficult and painful process as will be further discussed below.

Experiences of absent motherhood or the forced termination of pregnancies often trigger feelings of disillusionment, betrayal and resentment among the guerrillas. These are illustrative of how important primary care, love relationships and related labour are in relation to retention possibilities in the armed group. And it is the same for retention in reintegration programmes. This was the case for Diana, the woman whose multiple forced abortions in the FARC was discussed in the previous chapter. However, not all female combatants experience war in the same way. Their bodies are not all subject to the same types of violence, or to the same love and care practices. For instance, Eugenia requested enrolment in the FARC in the late 1990s, when she was 11 years old, to escape from a violent household. She was rejected the first time she requested to join the FARC because she was too young. When she requested to be a member for the second time, she lied about her

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[238] Vasquez Perdomo and Schmidt, p. 230.
[239] Vasquez Perdomo, p. 410.

age and said that she was 15 years old, the minimum required age for FARC recruitment. Eugenia joined the FARC with her aunt, who died during a combat just a few months later. She liked being in the FARC, a group she also thought of as her family, and she is still grateful to her recruiter for having saved her, in her own words, from her abusive parents:

> My family was the FARC because I wanted to run away from abuse in my family. I didn't want to be touched. I didn't want to be hurt. Because I have my body, and I have my scars. My family gave me these scars. How ironic, after all those years of combat I have no scars given by the FARC. — Realmente mi familia fue las FARC porque yo quería huir de mi casa por el maltrato, yo no quería que nadie me tocara, que nadie me maltratara. Porque, por lo menos, yo tengo mi cuerpo, yo tengo marcas, tengo marcas de mi familia. Incluso, imagínate, tengo marcas de mi familia. Qué cosa, que [en] el grupo armado tenía muchos combates y nunca me lo hicieron.

She refused on several occasions to press charges against her commander for child recruitment. Eugenia was also forced to use hormonal contraception in the form of injections; she never became pregnant. She left the FARC because she was captured by the Colombian Military after five years of enlistment, when she was 16 years old and doing militia work in a city, not because she wished to leave. She was angry for being captured and forced to enroll in the reintegration programme for minors, but she had planned to go back to the FARC when she turned 18. The main reason for her not to re-joining the guerrillas was because she realised she was pregnant and decided not to go back to the FARC, so she could be a mother. She now thinks that deciding to continue with her unexpected pregnancy and to re-build her life as a

civilian were good choices. She is a single mother; she works as nurse assistant at a clinic for terminal cancer and AIDS patients, and goes to college on a full scholarship. Her main goal in life is to work assisting former combatants in their reintegration processes.

Similarly, Alejandra, a former ELN member, had two children while she was a guerrilla. The armed group supported her during her pregnancies and allowed family visits. Alejandra, just like Diana, joined the guerrillas when she was 17 or 18 years old, some time in the first half of the 1980s, mostly because she was promised financial assistance for her family and access to education—her father worked the land and she had nine siblings. Alejandra also liked weapons. About a week after joining the ELN she wanted to go back to her family, but she was not allowed to. She had to serve in the guerrillas for a minimum of three years before she could request leave. However, when the time came she no longer thought about leaving: the initial promises of financial aid and education were not honoured, but she had already adapted to her new life as a guerrilla, and she liked it. In addition, after five years of being in the armed group, Alejandra met her life partner. They requested authorisation to be together, and two years later they requested permission to have their first child. Alejandra said there is a minimum time requirement of 3 years in a relationship before being able to request authorisation to have children. But they were both veteran guerrillas, with good records so an exception was made. Her two children were raised by Alejandra's and her partner's family members, in civilian contexts. They could stay in touch and they were also allowed to see each other occasionally.

In the ELN contraception is also compulsory, and this armed group does not provide care and support for pregnancies outside of an authorised relationship. When I asked Alejandra about this, she said:

Yes, couples are allowed to have children, but only after three years of being together and if you prove to be in a committed relationship. If you can't prove this, the ELN does not provide care or support for you and your baby. […] No one is forced to have abortions, what happens is that if you are not in a committed relationship and you get pregnant, they tell you they will not take care of you during your pregnancy and that when the baby is born, they will not help you to safely relocate the child. — Sí pueden tener hijos, pero allá solo a partir de los tres años, y si es una pareja estable. Pero si no es una pareja estable, no le responden por el bebé. […] Allá no obligan a nadie a abortar sino que ya le dicen, si esa persona no es estable [si no tiene una para estable] y queda embarazada antes de tiempo le dicen que ella responde porque allá no le responden por él, no le van a decir a dónde lo ubica o que allá le van a ver [que le van a cuidar] por el bebé.

Alejandra spent 28 years in the ELN guerrillas; she was a surgeon and said life was good there, that she had all the basic needs satisfied:

My life was good there because, firstly, I did not have to worry in case I needed something, like underwear, or a dress for example. Because in the guerrillas they provide whatever one needs. If you get sick they will spend all the money that is needed for you to get better. They have no problem in spending a hundred, two hundred million [Colombian] pesos.[240] Whatever you need, they give it to you. — Yo estaba bien allá porque, a ver, en

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[240] Approximately fifty one million pounds.

primer lugar yo no me tenía que preocupar porque yo necesito, digamos, unos interiores, necesito un vestido porque eso sí, allá le dan a uno lo que necesite, si uno se enferma allá le gastan a uno hasta el último peso, allá no les duele gastarle cien, doscientos millones [de pesos colombianos], lo que necesite.

In spite of that, during our conversation, her description of her situation in the armed group did not correspond with her initial statements of general care and wellbeing. Alejandra told me she left the ELN partly due to the death of her parents, of some close friends in the guerrillas and because her children repeatedly asked her to desert. Her mother had been sick for months, and she was not allowed to visit her before she died. This situation was extremely painful for her. In addition, she recalled the multiple changes the ELN had been through in the course of the 28 years she was an active member. Among these changes, and echoing the words of Diana, Alejandra also expressed her disillusionment in relation to the commanders, and the internal dynamics of the group. Her commander, she said, was only interested in his own family and his partner, not the wellbeing of the file and rank. An additional issue of real concern for her was the lack of military experience and proper training among new recruits:

Some people there, they don't even know how to disassemble a rifle. What is one supposed to do, say, in the middle of combat, if a bullet gets stuck? You either run, or let the military kill you, or let them capture you, what else are you supposed to do? — Hay personas allá que no saben ni siquiera desarmar un fusil, entonces dígame usted uno en una pelea [combate] y que

un tiro se le trabe y ¿qué hace? Ahí corra o déjese coger o déjese matar, porque qué más.

Learning basic skills for survival and defence in war situations was not part of their lives; therefore her comrades were not capable of taking care of themselves or other group-members. There was no guarantee of reciprocal care and protection during combat, in case she really needed it. A turning point for her was to be left alone after combat with four wounded comrades for three months, barely surviving. And so she made her decision and left. 'I told myself, God has saved me. He has spared me from much harm. I'm leaving now. — Entonces yo dije no, Diosito me ha salvado, me ha favorecido de muchas cosas. Yo me voy'.

The situation of Susana, also a former ELN member, was quite different. When we met, Susana was pregnant; she was 20 years old. She requested enrolment in the guerrillas when she was 16 years old. She did so because she was bored and tired of working—she worked at the coca plantations, collecting leaves. She was a *raspachín*, like the rest of her family.[241] Susana thought that in the guerrillas people did nothing: before enlisting she said she could see members just wandering around, relaxed 'It's like, you can always see those people [guerrillas] just hanging out. And I thought 'they are relaxed' and so I want to be relaxed too. — Como uno ve a esa gente que mantiene relajado por ahí, no más así. Yo dije 'viven relajados' entonces también yo vivo relajada [yo también quiero vivir relajada].' She very soon regretted her choice: in the guerrillas she had to work much harder than she did when she worked as a *raspachín*, and she also realised she had to wait for three years before being able to request a leave. But Susana met her life partner just a month after

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[241] *Raspachín* is a colloquial term in Colombia to refer to coca-plantation workers whose main duty is to collect the leaves.

joining the ELN and changed her mind about leaving. This same man was also the father of the child she was pregnant with during our interview; they were still together. Despite having a stable, authorised partner, Susana was forced to have an abortion the first time she got pregnant. The second time she realised she was pregnant, she decided to leave the group to avoid another forced abortion. Her pregnancy coincided with her third year as an ELN member, so she could request leave, which was granted. But, shortly after, the ELN called her back to the ranks.[242] On her return, she was unaware that her commander had negotiated a collective demobilization with the Colombian Military. Her partner, who was still in the group, said he would agree to demobilise only if she was included in the demobilisation.

Susana did not want to be in the guerrillas, but she did not want to surrender to the State, vía the Military. Her options, as well as those of other members, were limited: the commander had already submitted a list with full names of the front-members to the Military. Accordingly, their civilian identities were already compromised and criminal records were in place. She was scared, and she also thought it was un-dignified for them to surrender to their enemy. Part of what she called her ideological indoctrination had taught her that the Colombian government did not help the poor, that instead it exploited the poor, the land workers, and she had experienced this herself, as a civilian. So why should she believe now that the government would help her, a *guerrillera*? She recalled, for me, what she told her commander when they were discussing the collective demobilization:

> [Addressing her commander] When I went through [ideological] school, we
> were told that the government did not help us as poor people. And knowing

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[242] When leave requests are approved, former ELN members are part of a 'military reserve' and can be called back to duty anytime.

that the government is exploiting people, why should we go there? That's like begging, for us who are guerrillas. For me, I said, I can't agree with doing something like that [demobilise and surrender]. And other comrades said 'this is obvious' we are begging [to the government]. All that ideological indoctrination and we end up begging. — [Hablándole a su comandante] En un tiempo, que pasé escuela,[243] a nosotros no habían dicho que el gobierno a nosotros como pobres no nos ayudaba. Y sabiendo que el gobierno está explotando a la gente, por qué tenemos que nosotros ir allá, eso es como ir a pedirle cacao, nosotros como guerrilleros. Por mi, le dije, yo no estoy de acuerdo que hagamos una cosa de esas [desmovilizarse y entregarse]. Y que más de uno dijo 'eso es obvio', eso es ir a pedirle cacao [al gobierno]. Tanta ideología que le meten a uno para uno llegar así [cambió tono de voz e hizo gesto de pedir limosna].

Our interview took place just a few months after her demobilisation.

The situations described in this chapter echo the experiences of other men and women who have joined the Colombian guerrillas, and provide an insight into structural situations which prove to be strong incentives for enlistment, as potential recruits see in the guerrillas a means to change their lives, and the lives of others for good. In the 1970s, Vásquez de Perdomo considered the M-19 was a means for her to promote and achieve social justice; in the eighties 1980s Alejandra saw in the ELN an opportunity to have access to education and provide financial support to her family; in the 1990s Eugenia found in the FARC, an illegal armed organisation, protection from family violence; also in the 1990s Zenaida Rueda[244] was forcibly

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[243] Escuela refers here to ideological education and indoctrination.
[244] See beginning of this section.

recruited to the FARC in order to protect her brothers, who had been targeted for recruitment. At the turn of the twenty-first century, Diana believed the FARC would be her way out of poverty, social abandonment, and that she would be able to study. During the first decade of the 2000s Tatiana, who was forcibly recruited, did not consider the FARC was a means to improve her life but, nevertheless, found in it a way of living that she eventually appreciated and enjoyed; and just a few years ago Susana thought the ELN could offer her a way out of her life as a Coca plantation worker, a *raspachín*, with no other future in sight. For most of these women, the guerrillas were a promise, a possibility to materialise their desires for a better future: social justice, access to education and social mobility, a life where having a rest from daily labour was an option. And while their lives did change, the initial promises were not fulfilled, and thousands of people have been affected by the violent actions of the organisations they once belonged to, both inside and outside the ranks.

This multiplicity of experiences also gives us an insight into the enormous challenge of social reintegration in Colombia. How does the reintegration assistance address all these experiences and related needs? In this chapter I have highlighted the varied ways in which female bodies are subject to sexual and reproductive rights policies within guerrilla organisations, while I have also addressed how affective transactions and expectations, the love-labor associated with the implementation of these policies and other affective socialisation practices, influence everyday life and decision making in the guerrillas.

The life changes resulting from the decisions of these women in relation to their enrolment in the guerrillas, and in particular to those interviewed, are also indicative of the degree of agency they have, and the risks attached to their decisions. For

Diana, the decision to desert was the result of her commanders' lack of care for her wellbeing, manifest in the scarcity of food, uniforms and her forced abortion. While deserting was a way for her to protect herself from further physical and emotional abuse, it also meant that she could be captured in the attempt and probably executed by the FARC. For Eugenia and Susana, exploring motherhood entailed assuming responsibilities for the life of someone else and, in the process, transforming their own lives. But I think that, for most ex-combatants—especially for those who were truly not allowed to have children, motherhood also symbolizes a strong demonstration of agency over their own bodies and a clear rupture with the armed group. Just as Eugenia did, many other women have avoided re-enlistment due to pregnancies. For Alejandra, deserting the guerrillas in her mid-fifties meant leaving behind decades of experience and skills in order to learn how to be a civilian; how to be a productive and competitive, self-sufficient citizen while other working women her age were already planning to retire? Through our interviews and conversations I learned former combatants truly appreciate reintegration assistance, but I also learned that former combatants themselves consider the lack of sensitive disaggregation regarding the design and implementation of reintegration programmes ignores nuances and individual needs despite enormous, well intended and absolutely necessary institutional efforts to assist and effectively administer available resources.

## 6.3 CARE LABOUR: BECOMING CIVILIANS

In closing this chapter I would like to go back to María Eugenia Vásquez Perdomo, former M-19 member. In her autobiography, Vásquez Perdomo recalls that her transition to civilian life was a painful process: she did no longer had a group that

provided a sense of belonging, support and protection. Family and friends perceived her as a potential threat:

> Almost all my acquaintances saw me as a bringer of death, a bearer of this danger because of my status as a wanted woman […] I wanted with all my heart to try another path in life, but I was labeled a guerrillera and had the mark of death on my forehead.[245] — Casi todos los conocidos me percibían como una posibilidad de muerte, como una portadora de peligro en mi carácter de perseguida. En esos momentos, con todo el corazón quise ensayar otras opciones de vida, pero estaba etiquetada como guerrillera, con la marca de muerte sobre la frente.[246]

In addition to her experiences of stigmatisation, Bogotá, the city where she had been a militant for the M-19 and was now her civilian home, was a constant reminder of the comrades, lovers and dear friends who died due to the war: the streets, cafés, parks were all part of her personal archaeology of loss. And the city itself was invaded by architectural ruins of confrontations between the M-19 and the Colombian Military.[247] At the time of her disassociation from the armed group there was no social reintegration assistance for individual ex-combatants who decided to dessert and could do so, but she knew and sometimes met with several people who were also going through the same re-adaptation process she was:

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[245] Vasquez Perdomo and Schmidt, p. 232.
[246] Vasquez Perdomo, p. 417.
[247] On 6th and 7th November, 1985 the M-19 guerrillas besieged the Palace of Justice, house of the Colombian Supreme Court of Justice. During the operation, the guerrillas held hostage the Magistrates of the Supreme court, employees and other civilians. The counter-siege intervention of the Colombian Military and resulting confrontations with the guerrillas resulted in the complete destruction of the building. Over a hundred people died, among employees, guerrillas and other civilians. Students, guerrillas and civilians that were rescued from the building were later tortured or murdered by members of the Colombian Military, and 11 persons were disappeared. The Colombian Palace of Justice was still in ruins, awaiting reconstruction, in 1989.

We got together and the memories began to flow. In this way we helped

each other analyze the past and begin to create new identities for ourselves.

Laughing at ourselves and our own sorrows became the best therapy. Little

by little, through listening to each other talk about the difficulties with the

day-to-day, a picture of our common problem began to emerge. We knew

that we had to proceed from here on out on our own; the group didn't

shelter us anymore. But at least we had each other, and these talks helped us

feel less alone. We knew that we were no better or worse than our compas

who remained within the M-19, just different.[248] — Nos juntábamos y

comenzaba a fluir esa energía pegajosa que nos enredaba en recuerdos y

terminaba aportando algunos elementos de análisis, útiles para la

individualidad que ahora construíamos. Reírnos de nosotros mismos y

nuestras angustias se convertía en la mejor terapia. Poco a poco, mientras

alguien comentaba sus dificultades con el día a día y lo dramática que

resultaba la cotidianidad más elemental, se iba esbozando una muestra de

nuestra problemática común. También hacíamos conciencia de que

estábamos condenados a resolverla desde una perspectiva individual. Sin

embargo, esas tertulias eran claves para sentirnos menos solos, aunque

fuese por momentos. Y entender que no éramos ni mejores ni peores que

los demás, simplemente distintos.[249]

Challenges to civilian adaptation vary from learning how to walk across the street,

handling money, learning how to access systems of healthcare and education,

solving conflict through conversations to building new affective relationships,

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[248] Vasquez Perdomo and Schmidt, p. 240.
[249] Vasquez Perdomo, p. 432.

among others. For this transition and learning process Vásquez Perdomo did not receive any assistance through reintegration programmes. Going back to college to complete her undergraduate studies in **A**nthropology was for her a strategy which helped her cope with change. Writing her dissertation, which later on became her award award-winning autobiography, was a means to understand her past, how it affected her present, and helped her shape her future. In other words, writing her autobiography to complete the degree provided her with the analytical tools to make sense of her life as a guerrilla and of the changes she was going through as she tried to adapt to civilian life. This academic qualification also increased her social mobility.

Since Vásquez Perdomo's demobilization in 1989 multiple reintegration programs and initiatives have been implemented. But reintegration does not only entail securing assimilation to civil society, it is a process of transformation, of discovery and rediscovery of oneself in a *place* and *stage* where all previous identity references and practices of belonging are lost. In my research I understand reintegration as a performative process enabled by government institutions, rehearsed and performed in civilian contexts. In this sense, the process of reintegration is simultaneously a performance of transformation and transportation which involves all members of society.[250] Assistance provided for this purpose is a combination of love-labour and secondary care-labour. Lynch and Walsh argue that in secondary care-labor relations carers must identify subjects' needs for care and how these can be met. While secondary care-labor relations "involve care responsibilities and attachments, they do not carry the same depth of feeling or moral obligation (as primary care or love relations do) in terms of meeting dependency

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[250] Schechner., 91.

needs, especially long-term dependency needs […] There is a degree of choice and contingency about secondary care relations that does not apply to primary relations."[251] Through a small sample, this chapter shows the heterogeneous qualities of former female combatants: their personal resources and experiences vary, their ample age-range, the time spent in the guerrillas, the affective dimensions of the multiple stages of their involvement, from recruitment to desertion. Why is affective labour important for reintegration and how does reintegration assistance address all these variables?

When asked about which ways they think reintegration assistance has helped them in the process of transition and adaptation to civilian life, most interviewees expressed their happiness regarding the possibility of studying. Eugenia, for instance, completed a technical degree to be a nurse assistant thanks to the reintegration programme. This has enabled her to work and financially support herself and her child. Tatiana, who at the time of our interview did not have a job, completed a technical vocational degree on in cabinet making. For her the most important thing has been to be able to learn, to 'acquire knowledge' through the education and vocational training to which she has had access to via government reintegration programmes. She said reintegration is for her to be able to have the life that she deserves *here* and not *there*, to be able to share with people she has not met, with people the FARC might have victimised, and help them. She wants to be a psychologist and she wants to work with former combatants and also to provide assistance to other vulnerable communities.

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[251] Kathleen Lynch, John Baker, and Maureen Lyons, *Affective Equality: Love, Care and Injustice*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 43-46.

Susana, on the other hand, was having a hard time with her studies. She said she could not do it and that she did not like it. While her dream was to be a nurse, and she was aware that she needed to study to be able to fulfil her desires, she was not very optimistic about her study-skills.

> I like [the idea of] studying to be a nurse, but I don't like going to school. I know how to give first aid, but I don't like going to school. […] I like doing things, that's the way I learn. […] I know that if I see how other people do things I will learn, but I don't want to go to school. That's my main problem — A mí me gusta mucho [la idea de] estudiar enfermería, pero no me gusta estudiar, ir a la escuela. Yo sé los primeros auxilios, pero no me gusta ir al colegio. [...] Me gusta hacer, porque yo con mirar aprendo. [...] Yo sé que yo veo como lo hacen y yo voy a aprender, pero yo no quiero ir a la escuela. Ese es el problema mío.

This is a common situation among former combatants who have difficulties adapting to academic education: it is easier for them to learn by practice, as this is what they used to do in the armed group. In this sense, they are no different from dancers, who also learn by practice.[252] However, what Susana appreciated the most was the support she received from her personal tutor and the care and guidance provided by her to improve and sustain her romantic relationship, to be more confident about herself, to cope and work through her fears regarding motherhood. She appreciated the kindness of all the staff at the ACR. 'People are kind here. It seems as if they were all the same person. One feels good. — Todos son sencillos. Parece que fueran

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[252] Martha Graham, 'I Am a Dancer', in *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader,* ed. by Alexandra Carter and Janet O'Shea (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 95-100., 95.

todos una sola persona. Aquí uno se siente bien'. Interviewees, with very few exceptions, were overall pleased with face-to-face interactions with ACR members.

Despite the good thoughts and sincere appreciation, interviewees were also very critical about assistance. Eugenia, for instance, recalled the years she was subject to the ICBF reintegration programme. She said they lived locked up, like prisoners. 'Mantenía uno muy encerrado. Como prisioneros'. She said the programme did not take into account their own experiences and background and that excessive surveillance, presented as protective measures, was counterproductive in to her need to learn how to be independent, to become an adult.

> When you leave an institution that has sheltered you, a place where you have been provided food and you find yourself feeling hunger, struggling to get on with things on daily basis, it's very hard. They were very overprotective and with this they failed to teach us, to prepare us to be independent. — Cuando usted sale de un programa donde lo han mantenido a uno, donde le han dado de comer, a salirse a no comer, a enfrentarse [con la cotidianidad] es algo muy duro. Ellos eran muy autoprotectores [sobreprotectores], pero también no lo capacitaban a uno para que uno fuera independiente.

Regarding assistance and training for her to be able to provide for herself and her child, to be a productive, independent citizen, Eugenia mentioned she attended many workshops and courses that were not compatible with her interests and strengths. She considers these were a waste of time for her, and that the state was wasting valuable resources. According to Eugenia, if her carers at the time had been really interested in identifying her own interests and needs, they would have been more

efficient in delivering secondary-care assistance. Eleven years had gone by since her demobilisation and she thinks that if she had been provided qualitative care, more opportunities and help to discover who she was, what her strengths were, instead of being subject to quantitative policy implementation, she would have graduated from college already.

Tatiana had a similar experience also while she was subject to ICBF care: she was initially enrolled on a beautician course she did not like. She purposely avoided attending until she failed to complete this training. She then moved on to a cabinet-making course, which she finished. While, for Eugenia, being a nurse assistant has provided her with the improvement of her social mobility, I do not have enough information to say whether this has been the case for Tatiana. However, in both cases, being able to complete a technical vocational degree, which can lead to being competitive in the job market, provides former combatants with a sense of achievement which is extremely valuable. Thoughtful consideration and planning from her carers, and more dialogue with her could result in efficient management of available resources.

The importance of more personalised assistance, as highlighted by Eugenia, is evident considering the vast multiplicity of persons who are subject to reintegration. To further discuss the affective-importance of personalised assistance I will now focus on Alejandra and Diana.[253] At the time of our interview, Alejandra was in her mid-fifties, unemployed, and was not happy about the reintegration assistance.

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[253] At the time of these interviews the ACR had recently introduced a new strategy to assist former combatants (just a few months preceding my interviews). Person in the Process of Reintegration are now assigned personal tutors who supervise the reintegration process (tutor-PPR ratio is around 1:50). The new reintegration route consists of eight dimensions (health, productivity, education, psychosocial, security, housing, family, personal), which are explored and planned according to the particular needs of each beneficiary. During a Research visit on October 2015 I was told by ACR members off staff that this new system was still being adjusted.

Despite her skills and advanced age (in relation to Susana for instance, who was at a similar stage in her reintegration route), Alejandra has to fulfill the same requirements as all other persons in the process of reintegration: she has to finish her primary, secondary education before she can apply for college or to obtain a technical degree and be competitive in the job market. At the time of our interview, the ACR had no system in place to take advantage of former combatants' skills and experiences in order to grant degrees to individuals who can prove they are sufficiently trained and experienced in a particular area.[254] Alejandra has decades of experience; Susana also had knowledge and experience in providing first aid care and assistance. But the skills and experiences of these women, which are relevant and could potentially reduce costs in their respective reintegration routes, are not accepted in civilian contexts. Alejandra thinks studying is important, but she is more concerned about finding a job that helps her to be independent, to feel useful and provide for herself. She was more interested in being able to work and earn a living by legal means. Her monthly stipend, she argued, was not enough to pay her rent, transportation and food. She admitted, just as Joaquín and José did, that the only reason she attended school and the mandatory ACR workshops and tutoring meetings was because she received a stipend. But if she had a job, she wouldn't bother going back to the ACR. In this sense, the ACR was not providing enough

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[254] The government document that describes the new reintegration modality includes a section that suggests there will be alternative certification routes for former combatants who have received training or are skilled in a specific area. Certifications are subject to an evaluation process where each person will have to demonstrate their abilities. From ACR internal document. Accessed by courtesy of the institution. Adriana López Mesa and others, 'Dimensiones De La Ruta De Reintegración. Conceptualización Y Logros', ed. by Dirección Programática de Reintegración (Bogotá, Colombia: Agencia Colombiana Para la Reintegración de Personas y Grupos Alzados en Armas, 2014).

incentives and appropriate care to secure her wilful retention, other than judicial and legal benefits.[255]

Diana, who deserted the FARC, was depressed and did not receive help to overcome her pain, to mourn the loss of her child and her family. She was a file-and-rank member, who did not learn any particular skills that could make her employable. When I asked what were the things the ACR provided her with, she mentioned the stipend, education and psychosocial assistance. The latter consisted of monthly, group meetings. In these sessions they talked about what it means to be a *civilized* person—thus implying guerrillas are 'barbarians', they watched films, they shared stories aimed at increasing their confidence in the reintegration process. She did not find these were helpful for her.[256] Diana has recurrent nightmares related to the FARC, and she mentioned these decreased and she felt better in general while she attended a 3-month **Y**oga workshop provided by the ACR.[257] The course ended, and despite the evidence of their benefit among participants, these workshops were

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[255] These include pardon for illegal activities such as rebellion, unauthorized use of military uniforms, and excludes, for instance, crimes against humanity.

[256] On interview with Dario Villamizar Herrera (2014), who was close to the M-19 and worked on designing and implementing reintegration assistance in the 1990s, I learnt that regular meetings to watch films or share coffee and food aimed at providing group support to persons in the process of reintegration, were common during the 1990s and some did find them useful. In this chapter I have also included the thoughts of Vasquez Perdomo on the benefit of holding group meetings with people undergoing the same process.

[257] Around 40% of ACR beneficiaries suffer from PTSD. In 2010 a pilot study to evaluate the efficacy of utilizing Satyananda Yoga in the treatment of PTSD in ex-combatants of guerrilla and paramilitary groups was conducted in Colombia. The success of this pilot study resulted in the implementation of the 12-week protocol two more times, in 2012 and 2013. The pilot study and subsequent re-implementations of the protocol demonstrated that the use of Satyananda Yoga is safe and effective in the treatment of PTSD symptoms, more than pharmacological treatments. Access to government documents courtesy of the ACR: de Personas y Grupos Alzados en Armas Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegracion, 'Salud Mental. Ahimsa: Yoga Para La Reconciliación'*,* (Bogotá: Presidencia de la República, 2013). Dr José Daniel Toledo Arenas, Dr José Posada Villa, and María Adelaida López, *Ensayo Clínico Aleatorio Abierto Y Controlado Para Evaluar La Eficacia Y Seguridad De El Uso De Yoga Satyananda Por Doce Semanas En Sujetos Excombatientes No Militares Del Conflicto Armado Colombiano*, (Bogotá, Colombia: Dunna Alternativas Creativas Para la Paz, N.A). In a different context, the Stanford School of Medicine in association with Stanford's Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education has provided significant evidence on the benefit of implementing meditation and mindfulness practices to treat and reduce PTSD symptoms in war veterans. Seppala and others

discontinued. We talked about job possibilities, about how the ACR was preparing her for the job market and what type of jobs she thought she could be good at. She said she could work as a cleaner, that she could be a good cook and that she enjoyed taking care of others, especially children and the elderly. Anything, except office jobs, she said. 'I don't know anything about computers — Eso de sistemas uno no sabe'. But, according to her, the ACR did not help her to get a job and she did not even know how to prepare a resume (hoja de vida) or an application. When I asked Diana what she thought reintegration is and what she needs to reintegrate to society, she said reintegration is synonym of being a good person, 'ser una persona de bien', and that all she needs to be able to reintegrate is to stay away from weapons and not go back to the armed group, dejar las armas, no volver al grupo'. It all sounds very good, very sweet and gentle, but being a good person and avoiding recidivism does not make her employable. It does not help her learn socialisation skills. It does not help her cope with her loss, to learn how to breathe, get out of bed and keep going when her pain and sadness take over her days. To choose life. It does not enable her to get a job and earn a living.

Affective labours are central aspects of recruitment, retention and reintegration. Desires for more dignifying living and survival motivate people to enrol, remain or defect from armed organisations. These same desires and expectations are also important in the process of learning how to become a civilian, and as such should be taken into account in designing reintegration assistance. But such considerations must go beyond declarations or the production of reports and documents, which are not translated to concrete action. If a Colombian citizen involved in illegal activities decides to leave the armed organisation she belongs to, the promised assistance for

her to be able to build a new life in civilian contexts must correspond to the needs for care of these subjects of reintegration. The challenge requires an enormous creative effort: former combatants need relevant, useful, qualitative assistance in the process of re-discovering themselves in civilian contexts. Former combatants need to re-create themselves in order to be able to be functioning persons.

In this chapter I have focused on the affective labours of citizens' involvement in warfare in order to expand ex-combatants' narrative-possibilities for existence. This is an attempt to contribute to fulfil the promise of intelligibility and highlight the importance of qualitative reintegration assistance in the transition from combatant to civilian identities. But it is not only *them,* ex-combatants, the ones who need to undergo a transformation: civilians are also subjects of reintegration. Civilians must be willing to realise that former combatants are part of everyday life: some of them work in restaurants, hospitals, banks and supermarkets while others are trying to understand how to move on with their lives. Others fail in their attempt to adapt to their new contexts: they go back to the armed groups or they are murdered in the adjustment process. Civilians must be willing to realise that ex-combatants are also Colombian citizens. They - we - must allow themselves - ourselves - to *listen* to those who have built their lives while waging war. We must be willing to *listen* and address the needs of those who have lived, lost and loved in the battlefield.

# Chapter 7. Performative Reintegration: An Affective Approach to Applied Theatre in Secondary Care Practice

> In order to work, in order to be excited, in order to simply be, you have to be reborn to the instant. You have to permit yourself to feel, you have to permit yourself to be vulnerable.
>
> Martha Graham, *I am a Dancer,* p.100.

In this dissertation I have aimed at developing an analysis of the social, political and cultural framework within which the social reintegration process of former combatants unfolds, in order to be able to identify and discuss the tactical limits and strategic possibilities of utilising performance, both as practice and paradigm, for social reintegration. Following James Thompson when he writes that, '[w]e can lay claim to a 'practice of freedom' […] but need to articulate carefully in what context, and how, it can be instigated or shared. *Safety, protection and care* (particularly when translated to situations of conflict) are not a retreat from some imagined politics of freedom, but the heart of its radical vision'[258] [my emphasis], I have built a framework for applied theatre practice in the reintegration of former combatants in contemporary Colombia.

In this chapter I am interested in discussing the 'how' of the use of performance practice in public policy on reintegration. I focus on a performance-based capacity building workshop developed for the Colombian Agency for Reintegration. The

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[258] Thompson, pp. 118-19.

workshop was run in October 2015, it lasted 3 days and was tailored for 13 reintegration tutors and one former combatant working for this government organisation. Titled *Performative Reintegration: an introduction to performance and dance creation methods,* the overall objective of this workshop was to teach basic exercises for collaborative performance devising processes in order to facilitate an embodied understanding of the role of the body, and affective transactions in secondary care.

The regular sessions between persons in the process of reintegration (PPR) and their respective reintegration tutors are predominantly conversations that seek to establish the progress and needs of the PPR, and provide the necessary guidance and support for the beneficiary of the programme. The body, however, seems to occupy a secondary role as it is not intentionally engaged in the process of providing reintegration assistance. If combatants learn how to perform their roles in the armed group and adapt through embodied practice, could a conscious engagement of the body in reintegration assistance support them in learning their roles as civilians and their transition to civil life? The capacity building workshop discussed in this chapter explored this question with a group of reintegration tutors and former combatants. In this chapter I propose a methodological approach to applied theatre in reintegration public policy, with an emphasis on the benefit of an affective focus to performance in secondary care.

## 7.1 THEORETICAL APPROACH TO PRACTICE

In the process of devising this workshop I asked myself what would be useful for reintegration tutors to learn, in terms of performance practice, which would provide them with a set of tools and methods that could eventually be useful to assist former

combatants in a creative process of repair and recovery, as suggested in chapter 5. I drew on my experience as a dancer, performance artist and dance teacher to devise this workshop.[259] The activities consisted of a combination of exercises based on dance, dance movement therapy, choreography and improvisation, and performance art creation methods. The purpose of the capacity building workshop was twofold: to gain an embodied understanding of the role of the body in secondary care and transfer skills in the process. The training was conducted in a structured way: starting with trust building, moving on to activities aimed at increasing self-awareness in relation to the space and other people's bodies, developing an understanding of the role of the body in interpersonal communications, its relation to secondary-care, and learning collective creation strategies that would enable participants to identify skills useful for team-work. Creative practice was therefore a means for participants to have a shared aesthetic and embodied experience that facilitated discussions on ideas and experiences of individual and collective bodies, co-responsibility and co-dependence, identity and trust building, love and respect in secondary-care.

Additional topics of interest that emerged from embodied practice during our sessions were dependence and vulnerability. The discussions aimed at reflecting on how performance practice can contribute to improve the reintegration process, from the perspective of reintegration tutors and former combatants currently working at the ACR. Accordingly, discussions were based on affective responses to movement,

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[259] I was a classical ballerina for ten years (1989-1999) and during the last two years of dancing and training I started to learn how to teach classical ballet. After quitting the ballet dance company and training programme, I studied bellydance: first Lebanese and Moroccan styles. I became a bellydance teacher and I kept studying Classical Egyptian and Egyptian Cabaret styles. I was also member of a Flamenco dance company for a couple of years in Colombia. This training gave me important tools to explore performance art in college (2002-2007). After a few solo projects and exhibitions, in 2006 I started working with Guillermo Gómez-Peña who invited me to join La Pocha Nostra (LPN) as an International Troupe member. I was affiliated to LPN until September 2013.

verbal language and word games, and bodily interactions in our shared performative practice. Affect here is understood as 'emotional, often automatic, embodied responses that occur in relation to something else - be it object of observation, recall of a memory or practical activity'.[260]

In her book *Utopia in Performance. Finding Hope at the Theater,* performance theorist Jill Dolan argues that 'live performance provides a place where people come together, embodied and passionate, to share experiences of meaning making and imagination that can describe or capture fleeting intimations of a better world'.[261] Drawing on J.L Austin's idea of linguistic performatives, Dolan proposes the notion of utopian performatives:

> Utopian performatives describe small but profound moments in which performance calls the attention of the audience in a way that lifts everyone slightly above the present, into a hopeful feeling of what the world might be like if every moment of our lives were as emotionally voluminous, generous, aesthetically striking, and intersubjectively intense. […] Utopian performatives, in their doings, make palpable an affective vision of how the world might be better.[262]

Dolan indicates that in utopian performatives performance becomes a 'doing', in Austinian terms, and that instead of being just an imagined possibility, utopia becomes tangible *in* performance, as it is experienced by performers and spectators alike. I find this idea particularly useful to discuss how capacity building workshops

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[260] Thompson, p. 119.
[261] Jill Dolan, *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater,* (Ann Harbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), p. 2.
[262] Ibid. pp. 5-6.

and regular performance practice sessions for reintegration tutors can contribute to reintegration. In her work, Dolan emphasises spectatorship and the presumption of shared experience in attending a performance to propose the notion of utopian performative; in this chapter, however, I am interested in the workshop experience *as* performance, a place where participants become spectators of their own process as individuals, and also in collaborative practices. Dolan's discussion of the role of performance in conceiving utopia as a process is useful to elucidate possibilities for enabling and sustaining an embodied awareness of affect and the role of the body in secondary care.

In her work, Dolan argues that utopia is not a fixed goal or idea, that it is always a process. 'Thinking of utopia as processual […] allows performance a hopeful cast, one that can experiment with the possibilities of the future in ways that shine back usefully on a present that's always, itself, in process'.[263] Discussing the role of time in utopia and performance, Dolan draws on feminist theorist Angelika Bammer to indicate that one of the main difficulties encountered by movements aimed at social change is to sustain the notion of utopia as process. While Dolan considers that the affective and emotional experiences triggered by performance can lead us to social action as we 'realize that such feeling is possible, even desirable, elsewhere', she claims that utopian performatives belong almost exclusively to the theatre space, and assumes that they can certainly change the people who experience them.[264] She writes:

> How can we—or should we—bring the clarity of utopian performatives to
> the rest of our lives? Should utopian performatives work outside the frame

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[263] Ibid. p. 2.
[264] Dolan, p.15, 19.

of theatrical performance? […] Perhaps instead of measuring the utopian performative's "success" against some real notions of effectiveness, we need to let it live where it does its work best—at the theatre or in moments of consciously constructed performance wherever they take place. The utopian performative, but its very nature, can't translate into a program for social action, because it's most effective as a *feeling* [emphasis in original].[265]

Despite Dolan's caution, perhaps resistance to contemplate the processual dimensions of programmes for social action and change in relation to performance practice, I consider that, for the purpose of reintegration and conflict transformation, the affective and emotional qualities experienced in utopian performatives can be incorporated into public policy on reintegration in a performance-based care for the carer programme. The notion of utopian performative allows us to reflect on how to develop and sustain an embodied awareness of the importance of affect and the place of the body in reintegration, both in every-day life and in the context of secondary care delivery. As Dolan suggests, utopian performatives 'persuade us that beyond this "now" of material oppression and unequal power relations lives a future that might be different, one whose potential we can feel as we're seared by the promise of a present that gestures toward a better later'.[266] Accordingly, creating and experiencing utopian performatives could allow all involved in a reintegration process, particularly those involved in the delivery of secondary care, to engage in

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[265] Dolan, p. 19.
[266] Dolan, p. 7.

critical (re)imagination processes of how to make adjustments to the delivery of secondary care or reintegration assistance, aimed at improving the tutoring process.

However, it is important to be mindful of the limits of applied theatre and performance practice designed for social change. James Thompson's discussion regarding the difference between tactical and strategic performance practices is especially relevant here. Thompson draws on Michel De Certau's discussion on forms of political action to discuss the political limits and possibilities of applied theatre practices, especially in war-affected places, and outlines a distinction between the forms of political action that are possible in a specific context, and the actions that are in fact viable without placing people in danger.[267] In so doing, Thompson suggests that applied theatre practitioners need to consider the differences between tactic and strategy in performance practice. He writes: 'Political strategy allows a person, group or organisation with 'will or power' to manage the threats that are exterior to it' while tactics are ways of operating that allow for subjects 'to resist within the boundaries in which they exist'.[268] Consequently, applied theatre projects, according to Thompson, can provide participants with tactics to cope and resist within their own limits of viable existence, and it is important to cultivate an awareness of the tactical possibilities and strategic limits of applied theatre practice, both for facilitators and the participants when engaging them in performance workshops. Therefore, in this chapter Dolan's utopian performatives are understood not as strategic, but rather as tactical possibilities. The affective and emotional experiences triggered by embodied practice in *Performative Reintegration* 'are *tactical* performance practices that might provide immediate means of living through

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[267] Thompson, p. 18.
[268] Ibid. p. 35.

and dealing with the present, but cannot claim that they structurally alter it'.[269] The tutoring system, structure of assistance and beneficiary community of the ACR programme was not changed by this capacity building pilot study, but participants were provided with skills and training to cope with and work through some of the difficulties and challenges related to their professional practice as identified in the planning stages and during the workshop sessions. The methodological proposal of *Performative Reintegration* enabled reintegration tutors and former combatants to *experience* different utopian performatives and possibilities of interaction, and to realise that the vulnerability of their emotions and bodies holds the promise for individual and collective transformation. Performance practice also enabled participants to improve their professional practice, as will be further discussed in the following pages.

### 7.1.2 Affective and Embodied Memories: On Reiteration, Repetition and Sedimentation

In this section I discuss the importance of repetition and reiteration in the use of performance in secondary care. I outline briefly how the body as a place of learning is understood in the performative reintegration capacity building workshop. Affective responses to creative practice wane over time. As affective responses can be forgotten, unintentionally buried when confronted with daily difficulties and failure, repetition and reiteration are needed in order to identify the bodily location of affective responses to human interactions, and to learn how to recognise and use the place of emotions in our bodies. This learning can be facilitated through performance practice in a workshop setting. The appropriation of this knowledge through reiterative, embodied practices enables the creation of strong bodily

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[269] Ibid. p. 36.

memories that settle. The sedimentation of embodied memories occurs, therefore, through reiterative practice, and knowledge is incorporated to everyday life by means of systematic, conscious repetition. Therefore, a single workshop is not a realistic approach for a sustained influence on secondary care, but it can be a starting point for the development of grass-roots initiatives that respond to the needs of care providers, thus influencing their own practice.

In her essay *I am a Dancer*, Martha Graham discusses the relationship between the human body in dance and everyday life, suggesting that embodied memories transcend cultural difference. Graham argues that in both everyday life and dance we learn by practice: 'In each it is the performance of a dedicated precise set of acts, physical or intellectual, from which comes shape of achievement, a sense of one's being, a satisfaction of spirit'.[270] For Graham, practice entails repetition, despite difficulties, and with this comes the performance of 'some act of vision, of faith, of desire'.[271] It is thus through a combination and repetition of intellectual and physical processes that we learn and become subjects.

Graham suggests that the place where learning and life takes place is in the human body: 'It is the instrument by which all the primaries of life are made manifest. It holds in its memory all matters of life and death and love'.[272] In her essay, Graham writes about the process of becoming a dancer, she indicates that the first part of the process consists in working on developing and strengthening the muscular structure of the body so that it can be trusted by its owner, and thus others. Discipline and practice in *doing* delivers precise technique and clean movement. 'Movement never lies. It is a barometer telling the state of the soul's weather to all

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[270] Graham, p. 95.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.

who can read it'.[273] With technique and trust, then comes the cultivation of oneself and the continuous re-discovery of one's own desires and purpose: the possibility to improvise and create in dance. For Graham the same principles apply to the practice of everyday life: in a similar vein to Butler when she writes about the materiality of the body, interpellation and subjects' intelligibility, Graham suggests that the practice of dance and life, with its daily iterations and regulatory practices, make subjects visible.[274] The body is therefore a site where creative practice and life co-exist.

In this chapter I propose that through embodied practice we can facilitate the realisation, the becoming aware of existing relational patterns between subjects and the subsequent transformation of ways of interacting, communicating with, and perceiving each other.[275] Through this realisation, reintegration tutors could improve the delivery of secondary care for ex-combatants. In *Performative Reintegration,* individual bodies must work together and simultaneously towards a shared experience of collectivity, interdependence and vulnerability through consecutive utopian performatives that elevate the collective performance body to a new experience of inter-dependence and communication that can, subsequently, be transported, iteratively appropriated and incorporated to everyday life.[276] I turn now to elucidate how I suggest we can go about doing this by analysing my workshop in some detail, drawing out transferable skills and approaches.

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[273] Ibid. pp. 95-96.
[274] Butler.
[275] Lederach.
[276] Schechner, pp. 88-94.

7.2 WORKSHOP SESSIONS

In this section I provide brief descriptions of the activities and aims of the 3-day workshop as a way to demonstrate the importance of repetition and reiteration to develop an embodied understanding of the role of affect and the place of the body in secondary care. The exercises included in this capacity-building workshop consist of a brief repertoire of activities, repeated with variations in order to deepen participants' embodied awareness of the potential uses of creative practice in their own work. In order to facilitate this workshop I collaborated with three employees of the ACR who helped me care for and protect participants during some activities that involved the possibility of physical risk.

### 7.2.1 Day 1: From Words to Movement

During the first day of the workshop my main goal was for participants to familiarise themselves with the structure of each session. We worked on exploring ideas and experiences of individual and collective bodies, self-presentation, identity, co-dependence and trust. Our practice was focused on getting to know each-other, to introduce ourselves in multiple ways, and to try to make a shift from verbal communication to body-based communication. In her discussion of the use of dance as a resource for practitioners in the field of conflict transformation, the political scientist Emily Beausoleil draws on recent research conducted by neuroscientists which confirms the close relationship between cognitive states and embodied practice, to demonstrate that creative movement can provide insights on how humans interact when in conflict, and help practitioners to improve their responses when

engaged in conflict-mediation processes.[277] Beausoleil suggests that physical sensations serve a twofold purpose: They are a means for expression but also a source of emotion as the limbic system in our brains assigns sensory cues with affective significance. She writes:

> Just as our emotions are based on bodily sensations, so too can subtle changes in our physical state incite profound changes in our emotions. […] There are profound implications in the realisation that physical sensations and slight changes to stance, gesture or movement can affect the emotional state of people in conflict.[278]

Becoming aware of their own bodies, shifting from expressing and listening through words towards looking, feeling and hearing with their bodies could help participants identify and work with the bodily origins of their emotions through movement, stillness, or a combination of both. This realisation could also help them to improve their interaction with former combatants receiving reintegration assistance: they can be more attentive to their own bodies during tutoring sessions and how their bodies communicate, and they could also be more mindful and receptive to the information that ex-combatants give with their physical engagements during their meetings. 'If movement is the historical precedent to speech and continues to play such a significant role in present day communications, it is arguable that movement may have a role in conflict transformation in way we have yet to explore'.[279]

The first task was a word game that consisted of completing a sentence with a single word. I would say a sentence and they would complete it, in random order,

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[277] Beausoleil, p. 3.
[278] Ibid. pp. 5-6.
[279] Ibid. p. 7.

using one word. With these quick definitions we created a baseline understanding of issues and ideas to explore during each session and in the workshop. These words or topics were then explored through performance practice. At the end of each session we would go back to the same exercise to complete the sentences and discuss any changes in the definitions. I would say each sentence while snapping my fingers rhythmically in order to stimulate participants to give responses. For example:

- My body is… life, worthy, tranquility, strength, agility, a temple, sustenance, balance, vitality, peace, support, beauty, harmony, movement, safety, foundation, tool, rhythm, spontaneity, happiness, manifestation, gratefulness, dance, sensitivity, energy, love, life, peace, beauty, safety, expression, joy.My body is not… an object, aggressiveness, violence, laziness, rigid, deceit, lie, disillusion, underestimated, skilled, an instrument, sadness.

- My community is… united, support, solidarity, strength, healthy, a guide, generous, understanding, peaceful, encouraging, a fighter, dreamer, a challenge, comfort, responsible. My community is not… indifferent, resistant, intolerant, passive, defeated, frustrated, aggressive, submissive.

- Dependency is… insecurity, poison, limitation, anxiety, conformism, fear, frustration. Dependency is not… safety, strong character, tranquility, knowing one-self, autonomy.

Once we finished the word-game I asked participants to introduce themselves using a 'poetic' sentence. These different types of self-presentations aim at starting a shift in the way participants think about themselves: to move from formal introductions

(i.e My name is Juan and I am a psychologist) to imaginative ways of thinking about oneself, and to create a playful atmosphere. We try to shift the process of making oneself visible in front of the other by inviting people to move beyond their occupation, family and gender roles, and think about qualities that express feelings, emotions, sensations encountered as they speak. Usually participants focus on positive desires and feelings and with this they experience and trigger curiosity about themselves and for others. The (re)discovery of fellow participants under a different light usually generates more interest on each other and feelings of safety and comfort. A few examples include:

- Today I am a dreamer, a happy, capable woman. — Hoy soy una mujer soñadora, alegre y capaz.

- I am a woman who is full of life and love. — Soy una mujer que vibra y está llena de amor.[280]

- I am a man of peace, love and hope. — Yo soy un hombre de paz, de amor, de esperanza.

- I am creative and I love cats. — Soy creativa y amo los gatos.

- I am a man that laughs a lot and I am always there to support [others]. — Soy un hombre de mucha risa y de apoyo para [otros].

- I am a person who wakes up and its free. — Soy una persona que se despierta y se libera.

- I am the bright sun. — Soy sol resplandeciente.

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[280] Una mujer que vibra. To vibrate here is another way of saying that one is of feels 'full of life', 'full of energy'.

Following a warm-up sequence, participants started walking slowly around the room in all directions. I encouraged them to become aware of their own bodies: how they moved, how it felt for them to be moving, how their hips and legs supported their weight and allowed them to go around the space. I asked them to feel themselves in relation to other participants: to notice the distance between their bodies, their rhythms, and to become aware of whether they engaged or avoided contact as their paths crossed. I instructed them to change speed several times. High intensity physical activity aims at releasing tension and improving coordination; movement across the room helps participants become aware of the space they are working with and also of their own bodies in relation to the space and other participants. Walking in different directions also encourages individuals to do something challenging while they have fun, and they can also start to focus on the quality of their movements and learn to take care of the intensity and force that they invest in each step they take. A few minutes later, I asked them to keep walking and choose one person, they would then go after this person and try to follow their footsteps. Shortly after, they were walking in a circle, trying to follow the footsteps of the person walking in front of them.

Synchrony was partly achieved for a few seconds every other minute. Synchronicity in this exercise is an important indicator of active listening and teamwork. The quest for synchrony forces participants to focus on an ordinary task that can only be achieved if all members are truly invested in the work. This circle-coordination activity can become a recurring metaphor of the relationship between individual and collective bodies, co-responsibility and teamwork.

After a few minutes in the circle I asked them to stop and close their eyes, stand still and focus on their breathing. With this exercise participants can slow down and start to develop an awareness of *how* their bodies *feel* like. I asked them to notice the weight of their head, shoulders, neck, their spine, abdomen, hips and how the weight of their bodies was distributed between their legs and on their feet, against the floor. I followed by asking them to try and think about their bodies in relation to the circle, and the circle in relation to the room. Writing about choreographic practices of stillness, Emily Claid suggests that 'we slow down to notice more in the world, so that stillness becomes a resource for discovery'.[281] Claid draws on Gestalt psychology and theories to argue that the practice of stillness is the place and space where the beginning and the end of experiences meet, and where the possibility for movement and change emerges.[282] She writes: 'Stillness is the moment of not knowing before knowing emerges. It is a quality of movement within all movement. Slowing down allows us to meet each other differently'.[283]

With this exercise we start preparing participants so they can focus on themselves: By drawing attention towards themselves through mindful observation of their bodily sensations, this exercise encourages participants to think about how the space that they inhabit and their interactions with others *feel* in their bodies and have an effect in their personal and physical encounter.

I asked them to start moving around the space with their eyes closed and to keep *listening* with their bodies; to be present, in silence, to be caring with their movements but also to push themselves beyond what made them comfortable, and

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[281] Emilyn Claid, 'Still Curious', in *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader,* ed. by Alexandra Carter and Janet O'Shea (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 133-43 (p. 133).
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid. pp. 133-34.

notice how that risk *felt* in their bodies, and where this feeling was located. Locating the emotions and learning how to identify the physical feelings related to each emotion is the first step to develop an embodied awareness of how individuals react to external stimuli and experiences. This awareness can become an important mechanism to deal with affective experiences and manage our reactions to external stimuli.

The self-reflective quality of this exercise also aimed at encouraging participants to become aware of what was happening around them, how they responded and, most importantly, how they were inevitably implicated in the context. 'Slowing down allows us to perceive, not only the beginning of action, but how we make contact in relation to others, how we make meaning of the world'.[284]

The next exercise encouraged participants to trust themselves in their ability to move towards the unknown, and to realise that there is always someone else willing to help; and, in turn, that if we want we can also help others advance towards that which makes them feel afraid or insecure. To realise these abilities is crucial in the reintegration process: Persons in the process of reintegration transition to a way of living that is mostly unknown, with rules of behaviour, interpersonal engagements and ethical codes that need to be discovered and learned. The transitioning to the unknown is a common denominator for all former combatants, and this activity can help reintegration tutors to identify multiple emotions and processes that might resonate with the real-life experiences of their tutees. This is not to suggest that reintegration tutors will be able to entirely understand the experiences of persons in the process of reintegration. However, the need to trust oneself and others to engage in this exercise could help reintegration tutors to develop and affective vocabulary

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[284] Ibid. p. 136.

around the experience of being confronted with uncertainty. This exercise had two variations that will be described briefly.

Participants gathered on one side of the room. One by one they had to choose a place in the opposite side of the working space, preferably somewhere close to where I was standing, close their eyes and run towards the spot that they chose. My duty was to receive them on the other side and hold them so they would not run all the way and hit the wall. They were instructed not to open their eyes before I touched them, and to trust that I was there for them and that I would hold them. Those who were not running were asked to please remain silent so that the runner could fully engage in the task. As the activity advanced, people spontaneously gathered next to me to make sure that those who were running felt safe in the thought that there were many people taking care of them.

The first variation to this activity consisted in running backwards. The third and fourth variations entailed participants running in pairs, running forwards and backwards respectively. An additional instruction was to wait until they felt that it was ok to start running. With this I intended to encourage self-observation: *Ask yourselves, am I the one who commands? Do my fears pull me and others back? Am I listening to my partner, taking into account his/her own process? Can I trust my partner? Can I be trusted?* When people had partners to run with, they overall felt more confident. Some also indicated that they felt responsible for their partners, that they had to be more careful and caring. This engagement in activities that involved co-dependency allowed participants to experience the latter in a positive way and enabled the group to discuss possible changes in behavioural patterns regarding care

practices and peer support that would be further examined in the rest of the workshop.

During the second half of the first session we kept working on trust-building. The main purpose was for participants to familiarise themselves with the use of performance practice so they could feel comfortable with the mechanics of the exercises, try to be creative and focus more on their physical sensations and feelings. The first activity of the second half of the session incited participants to develop reciprocal feelings of responsibility and care. Care and protection are important elements in secondary care and in the development of interpersonal relationships in civilian contexts. I instructed participants to walk freely in the room and find a partner to work with, stand face to face and look into each other's eyes. When one of the two felt comfortable, he or she would turn around, close their eyes and let themselves 'free fall' backwards for their partner to catch them. As soon as I noticed they were doing well, I encouraged them to challenge themselves and let their partners fall a bit more.

After a few attempts participants started walking within a designated space The challenge was for one person to randomly say her name out loud, count one second in her mind and let herself fall backwards. One of the group members, just one, had to catch the person in the fall. The decision of who was responsible for preventing the person from hitting the floor had to be made quickly and without talking. The rest of the group would keep walking and keep the exercise going. Besides enabling participants to experience reciprocal feelings of responsibility and care, this activity increased the awareness of their bodies in relation to others and in relation to the

space while working on building trust, and playfully deepening their experiences of co-dependency.

We closed the day with a series of staring exercises. These staring exercises were repeated with variations during the workshop. With this activity participants begin to explore feelings and experiences of vulnerability, and expand their understanding of co-dependency. Participants chose partners and were instructed to stare at each others' eyes.  I asked them to breathe deeply and relax to listen to their own bodies, to become aware of their physical sensations and locate their feelings in their bodies as the activity advanced.

This activity can make people feel initially uncomfortable. Staring at someone like that, and allowing oneself to be observed as well, can be intimidating and stressful. After 10 minutes, and to end this exercise, I asked them to establish physical contact with their partners. At the end they hugged and had two minutes to talk with each other about the experience, before we moved on to the last exercise of the day and to our final discussion. Establishing physical contact and discussing the experience, even if briefly, seeks to provide some time and space so participants can think through their vulnerability and discuss their feelings and physical sensations with their partners. Someone mentioned feeling a heavy weight on her shoulders, as if she was carrying twenty kilos. These feelings provide insights on issues and experiences that can be further addressed if necessary. If this activity was developed with persons in the process of reintegration, this could help tutors gather information that might help them in their individual sessions with former combatants.

To conduct a variation of the staring exercise I asked participants to look into their partner's eyes and take turns moving. Participants were free to experiment with

distance and height as they started to create a collective improvised choreography. This last exercise helped release physical and emotional tensions from the first staring activity, while building on it. It also helped participants to increase their awareness of the space they were working with, and of the relation between individual and collective bodies through careful yet active movement-improvisation.

To finalise each day we had brief group discussions. These were opportunities to facilitate conscious awareness of the use of embodied practice and to discuss possible uses of each practice in their work with former combatants, and in everyday life. Participants indicated that it was good to be able to experience different possibilities for themselves through embodied practice, and to engage in collective creative experiences that enabled them to meet each other in a different way

### 7.2.2 Day 2: Bodies in Space

In the activities of day one, we had engaged in a series of affective and bodily experiences around multiple topics. We used the first day to build trust, to ease participants into the work dynamics and to help them feel curious about the activities and each other. In the second session, we built on the familiarity and trust that we established on day one to explore variations of the activities of the first session, learn new exercises and deepen reflections on the practice of care. We also aimed at increasing participants' awareness of the interrelation between individual and collective bodies in order to further explore the role of the body in interpersonal relations and communication.

The first activity of the day was a word-game aimed at informing participants about the topics that we intended to explore through embodied practice:

- To accept is… to acknowledge, to understand, validate, equality, to tolerate, to have disposition—disposición, truth/reality, responsibility, respect. To accept is not… to reject, intolerance, envy, rejection, transgression, fear, to judge.

- To care is… to protect, to love, to support, wellbeing, to guide—orientar, to respect. To care is not… to destruct, to assault, to force, to contradict, to hurt [someone]—lastimar, to destroy, to invade [someone/something]—invadir.

- Respect is… to understand, to accept, to appreciate—valorar, to take care of [someone], equality. Respect is not… to yell, to offend, to assault.

- Vulnerability is… fragility, sensitive, transparency, weakness, suffering, small, lack of opportunities, insecurity, imbalance, opportunity, pain. Vulnerability is not… equality, security, stability, selfishness, well-being, competence, quality, sustainability.

- Dependence is… attachment, extreme, insecurity, fear. Dependence is not… acceptance, happiness, selfishness, insecurity, liberty/freedom, company, need, denial, ignorance.

On the first day we worked around dependency. During the second day we addressed the issue of dependency more directly, and initial definitions were negative, just as they had been at the beginning of the session in the first day of the workshop. While

the re-definition of concepts can take place by a reiteration contained in a space of a few hours, as we were able to explore in the practice and discussions of day one, the assimilation of change takes place only through the sustained repetition over a broader temporal space, until the shift that is experienced through performance practice is built-in by the subject and can transported to everyday life. Hence the need for time and repetition in training, as suggested by Graham's conceptualisation of dance practice and everyday life, as experienced through the human body. This will be addressed in the closing section of this chapter.

The second activity of the day was a warm-up aimed at increasing participants' sense of belonging to the workshop-based temporary community, and how their bodies meet and communicate without using verbal language. We placed a large blue piece of lycra fabric on the floor (2 x 1.5 m) and we all stood surrounding it. Each participant grabbed a section of the end of the cloth in his or her hands. After this moment I did not give verbal instructions to the participants, I guided them though the sequence of movements by doing them myself. With this I aimed at emphasising body-based communication. We pulled the fabric gently towards our bodies, and we released the stretch slowly and repeated this movement several times, each one at her own pace. We started incrementing the stretch motion by balancing our bodies back and forth and also by taking steps back and forth. After a couple of minutes we started a clock-wise movement while still engaged in the pull-release sequence, we increased the rotation speed and also the pull and release motion. We kept the initial pull-release random sequence and changed to a counter clock-wise direction. We kept alternating between clock-wise and counter clock-wise movements, increasing and decreasing the speed, while also keeping the pull-release

flow for a few minutes. We developed more playful activities with the fabric that helped participants think about touch and their skin, and to think about how the latter is also the place where their bodies end, where they meet each other. This realisation of the physical limits of their bodies was further explored in later stages of the workshop. Following the first warm-up activity we repeated the synchronicity in a circle exercise from day one, and then moved on to a playful dance-improvisation exercise. Both activities built on the warm-up and engage participants in an embodied awareness of their role as members of a community.

Once we finished the warm-up activities, we started a series of two staring exercises. We repeated the first staring exercise from the previous day, but in this occasion I encouraged them to try to *observe* the person who was in front of them. This instruction aimed at guiding participants to start listening to what their partner's bodies had to say. This embodied-listening is very important in providing secondary care, as will be further discussed in the following pages.

The last exercise of the second day was an exploration of their partners using all senses, without talking. With this activity participants deepened their understanding and experiences of embodied-listening and they also engaged in a different experience of individual vulnerability and care. Participants were instructed to repeat the basic staring exercise and, whenever one of them felt comfortable, she would close their eyes. Immediately the person who remained with her eyes open became the explorer: This person could start studying the other person's body first by observing every detail: body posture, hair, skin texture, scars, colours, clothes, etc. I asked them to invest time to study the other person as if it was a completely strange body, from a different planet perhaps. Slowly. I walked around instructing them

when to incorporate another sense to their exploration in the following order: sight, smell, hear, touch, taste. I asked them to be very careful and respectful, and I also said that they had to really *observe* and *listen* to the other person's gestures, body posture and expressions in order to decide how far they could go with the exploration. The person to be observed was temporarily lending his or her body for the other person to explore, with the understanding that it would be a caring, respectful exploration, and also knowing that it was their responsibility to let the explorer know when he or she was crossing a line. With this careful observation of each others' limits, participants were encouraged to learn how to listen to physical expressions and cues given by their partners, and how these communicate the possibilities and limits for interaction. This knowledge can be useful when working with persons in the process of reintegration, in order to facilitate the individual sessions, build trust, develop confidence in ex-combatants and also reintegration tutors, and improve the assistance provided. This will be discussed in following sections. Once the exploration was over, participants had two minutes to talk briefly about the experience and then they switched sides, so the observer became the one who was explored (see Image 1).

***Image 1 Exploration Exercise. Photograph by Paula Szy. Photograph courtesy of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration.***

We finished the day with a discussion and observations about the activities. I started by asking participants how they felt during the exploration of the Other exercise. This discussion enabled us to explore how the exercise provided an opportunity to engage in an embodied re-definition of vulnerability and dependence. Participants indicated that, initially, they felt scared and challenged, but that during the activity they felt cared for, and also happy to be responsible to provide care for someone else. The practice allowed participants to focus on the affective experiences of the workshop to realise that by embracing their own vulnerability and dependence to others they were engaging in a process of individual and collective transformation. Practice enabled participants to re-define dependence and vulnerability in positive terms and conclude that being vulnerable and depending on others is part of life, for them and for their tutees too.

*7.2.3 Day 3: Re-creating our Worlds*

During the first two days of the workshop we worked towards a re-signification of care and vulnerability through embodied experiences of reciprocal care and co-dependency. We also aimed at starting collective creation strategies and team-work dynamics through dance and improvisation exercises. Our intention was to approach interactions as opportunities to recognise ourselves in the other, and with this, to re-imagine relational patterns, learn new possibilities and strategies for personal and professional interactions, and create a sense of collectivity and collective responsibility. On the third day participants were encouraged to draw on the embodied memories of the first two days to engage in collaborative creative practice. The main goal was to explore multiple possibilities for collective creation, teamwork and, in the process, explore new interpretations of everyday practices.

Following the same structure of the first couple of sessions I started a guided warm-up sequence. We were standing in a circle and I directed the initial five minutes, but I then introduced a variation: I pointed my finger at someone in the circle, and then this person had to take over and lead the group. Participants would rotate the leadership after being assigned the role by the leader in turn. With this I intended to hand over leadership in a playful way, assigning authority and responsibility to all participants in the creative process. Instead of having a word-game I introduced participants to the topic and work of the day with this activity.

The first activity following the warm-up was the exploration exercise of meeting the other through one's senses, which participants had learnt from day 2. But, in this session, I asked them to add movement and to be more creative in the ways in which

they were going to explore the other person. They could, for instance, study the weight of the other person, or play by moving their bodies, all with care and respect. Participants engaged in playful explorations for nearly 10 minutes. I approached couples and started instructing the explorers to find a final pose for their partners. Once everyone had chosen a final pose, I gathered the observers and asked them to go around and look at what other team members had created, so that they could think about which individual images worked well if put together, thus creating a series of tableaux-vivants that demonstrated a possible way of engaging in collaboratively practice and community building.

While participants were focused on their explorations I started gathering some objects in the centre of the room: chairs, the fabric that we had used before, a boot, a notebook, an umbrella, a pen and a shawl. A few minutes later I asked explorers to find a final pose for their partners and to incorporate one of the objects that were available if they wanted to (see Image 2).

*Image 2 Exploration Exercise. Exploration Exercise. Photo by Paula Szy.*
*Photograph courtesy of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration.*

Once more, I called in the explorers and asked them to go around observing what their colleagues had created, and to start arranging their partners' bodies to create another tableaux-vivant and then choose a title, which included the following: Devotion, Tranquility, Purity, Difference, Belief for Evolution — Creencia para la Evolución, A Space for Transparency — Espacio para la Transparencia. The purpose of this variation was for them to engage in a conversation that encouraged plurality of approaches to a single task that was not exclusive or judgemental. All options were valid and they did not impose a single valid interpretation in their collaborative creation process.

The last activity of the workshop consisted of a collective creation exercise aimed at further exploring participants' skills for teamwork. This activity expanded on the tableaux-vivants' creation process, and forced participants to improvise while

working towards a collective goal. I divided the area of the room that we were using for our workshop in two sub-sections: the performance space and the preparation/audience space, both separated by an imaginary line. On voluntary basis and one at a time, participants would cross into the performance space, choose a place and a movement that they would repeat over and over again. Once the first person was in the performance area repeating the movement, someone else could cross the line and join the performance, also choosing a place and a movement to repeat. A third person—the maximum number allowed—could then cross the line and join the performance space, under the same rules for participation. The movements that they chose should interact or complement each other.

I asked them not to choose movements that would suggest that they were doing something, which they were not doing in reality. For example, to pretend they were eating an ice-cream while there was no ice-cream in the scene. I asked them instead to do movements that were not representational or narrative and that were complete in their intent to avoid the creation of linear narratives. Audience members had to decide whether the triptych worked, or not. Performers could be replaced anytime if an audience member decided to walk in the scene, touch one of the three performers on his or her shoulder and with this, give them a signal to please leave the scene. The new performer in turn had to replace the one that had been dismissed with an entirely different movement, and in a different place.[285]

After working on the triptych activity for a few minutes we started incorporating objects, such as the shawl, fabric, a boot or the umbrella used before. However, objects had to be used in an unconventional way. For example, the umbrella could

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[285] This activity was used during my work with La Pocha Nostra to create performance scenes. In La Pocha Nostra this activity is known as the 'Jam Session'.

not be used as we use it in the streets, or the pen could not be used to write. Objects could be incorporated in a creative, different way, and not for the purpose for which they were made. Again, this aimed at avoiding the creation of narrative structures and to emphasise participants' focus on embodied communication and awareness rather than verbal-based, linear narratives.

To finalise we started using titles as a guide to create a non-representational scene. Building on this intent of avoiding linear, familiar narratives, I asked participants to notice the feeling that the title or word chosen evoked in them, and to go into the performance space to explore the feeling, not to represent it. So, for example, if a title made a participant feel sad, the person should not go in and pretend to be sad or crying, but to convey this feeling in a simple sequence of movements. The rules were the same, but this time we had a title. The first title that we worked with was 'A World without Bodies' (see Image 3), followed by 'A World without War' and then 'A World without Love'. A participant said that it was too hard to create a world without love, that it was too negative. I am glad that she said so, and I asked them to please propose instead topics by using just one word, so they suggested the following: evolution, love, happiness, emotion. The group chose evolution and we did the last performance session with the topic of 'evolution' before moving on to the closing discussion of the workshop.

*Image 3 Collective Creation Exercise. Title: A world without bodies. Photo by Paula Szy. Photograph courtesy of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration.*

To begin the closing discussion of the workshop we sat together in a circle, as we always did to begin and end our sessions.[286] We always started and closed our sessions working on a circle to reinforce the sense of community, equality and to repeat a familiar activity that would facilitate a verbal, collectively reached understanding of embodied practice. They suggested that we had been working on composition and collective creation, and that they created with their own bodies, and the bodies of others, and also utilising objects in unconventional ways, which encouraged them to be more creative.

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[286] I decided to include the complete Spanish transcript of this discussion as an appendix, because it is too much material to include here in full. See appendix 1.

When we summarised the work of the previous days, participants indicated that they had been working on learning how to express themselves without using words in order to learn how to observe and identify embodied information, and also to learn to identify and locate their own affective responses to external stimuli and interactions. They mentioned the trust-building exercises and how to trust someone else was, simultaneously, a way to learn how to trust one-self, develop individual capacities for care and to assume responsibilities and respectful, constructive leadership as members of a community. In this sense, the activities included in the workshop allowed the participants to reach a different emotional and affective understanding of themselves.

A participant said that the first step to deepen their sense of collective trust was to do the fabric warm-up because it was a playful activity that encouraged them to overcome shyness, while they were also creating something as a group. And she felt that the activities that followed after the warm-up aimed at strengthening that trust and confidence that was achieved. A participant mentioned the dance improvisations and how they promoted group synchrony, and that this synchrony helped in building trust as a group. This comment resonates with the argument of Beausoleil when she suggests that dance 'cultivates our physical awareness of the links between our internal and external worlds'.[287] The exercises that encouraged active listening, stillness and embodied observation also provided participants with opportunities to learn to identify and locate their physical responses to experiences and interactions with other bodies. The repetition of these activities encouraged a reiterative learning experience aimed at strengthening the participants' embodied memories. Other participants said that a way for them to build trust was by allowing themselves to be

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[287] Beausoleil, p. 4.

vulnerable in the hands of someone else and by focusing on reciprocal respect. Building on this comment on vulnerability, a participant said that exploring oneself in the interaction with the Other was also a way to build trust.

7.3 CLOSING THOUGHTS

The capacity building workshop discussed in this chapter provides an example of how a performance-based intervention can be used to develop a conscious engagement of the body in secondary care and reintegration assistance. The methodological proposal results from a careful study of the social, political and cultural processes that enable the reintegration of former combatants in contemporary Colombia. It seeks to integrate the lenses of DDR and conflict transformation, through and affective focus to applied theatre practice. The exercises and the order of progression described in the chapter demonstrate links to dance as a choreographic practice that conceptualises the body as a place for learning, and movement as a tool to better understand emotional states. The reiterative nature of dance practice and training is adopted in *Performative Reintegration* in relation to discourses on subjects' social construction and intelligibility as a way to address the importance of repetition to sustain social change processes.

Throughout the workshop, I was interested in creating an intimate place/space to facilitate an embodied understanding of the role of the body and affect in secondary care. During the three days of the workshop participants engaged in a practice of stillness that encouraged them to experience how their bodies and movements communicate and generate emotions and affective responses in themselves and others. Slowing down, as one participant noted, allowed them to observe themselves and others, their feelings and surroundings, carefully. Through the interplay between

verbal language and embodied performance practices we engaged in a collective process of re-defining notions of dependence, responsibility, trust, care and vulnerability aimed at better understanding the limits and possibilities of embodiment in secondary care and, more broadly, conflict transformation.

During our discussions it became clear that participants realised the importance of bodily transactions in their professional practice, and experienced ways in which they could, through body-based communication and awareness, improve and provide better assistance and care to former combatants. They also indicated that collective embodied practice enabled them to meet each other and acknowledge each other's presences in different ways. Something that might seem obvious to performance and theatre scholars and practitioners was expressed as a new discovery by one of the participants: 'That our bodies speak. That you are part of your own story, and that your body is part of that story'. This person indicated that this realisation was important and that it should be explored with persons in the process of reintegration. By understanding the body as a site of memory for previous experiences there was also an acknowledgement of new possibilities to approach the body as a place from which persons in the process of reintegration construct their future memories.

Participants noted that thoughtful use of touch and eye contact could ease the interaction with persons in the process of reintegration. The exercises enabled participants to notice how observation of body language was an essential aspect of care: It is a two-way engagement, participants suggested, as former combatants are also observing their tutors, reading their movements and assessing whether they can trust them or not. A participant addressed notions of power and vulnerability that

exist during their interactions with persons in the process of reintegration and how an embodied awareness of these could benefit the assistance:

> I was able to understand that a look can, the way that we look at each other, it wan deconstruct any kind of aggressiveness that you might be holding inside. […] To demonstrate to the other, using my body language, that if I am not being judgemental, that he or she can trust, and to give themselves the opportunity of being explored, and that that exploration will be respectful. That if we [reintegration tutors] have the power to create a space to ask and try to discover many things about someone, I must make sure that the person I am talking to feels confident, so that they can allow themselves to trust and that if they are vulnerable in the moment when he or she is with me, it is ok to be vulnerable because there is no risk of harm in that space.

The activities also helped participants discover aspects about themselves that they were not aware of, such as prejudices, biases and difficulties in their interactions that they could not understand as such before the workshop. A significant contribution to our discussions was the insistence on the need for care and support for reintegration tutors as well: By defining and (re)discovering their physical and affective needs, reintegration tutors were able to envision ways of creating spaces so they could continue nurturing their professional practice. In addition, participants noted their own biases sometimes when receiving a newly arrived tutee with thoughts like 'oh, sometimes this does not work' as a way to prepare themselves for a possible failure or the difficulties of the reintegration process. These biases, they suggested, resulted

in them not actively engaging with former combatants through respectful bodily interactions and, as the workshop helped them notice, this engagement was very important for building trust. Several participants said that changes in their body-language could significantly improve their work as reintegration tutors.

In this chapter I provided a few transcripts of participants' reflections on how the activities that we developed during the workshop affected their work with persons in the process of reintegration. For example, during the first day participants suggested that embodied practice allowed them to discover capabilities that were not known to them, such as the possibility of being creative and generating emotional states through movement. Ideas of creativity and resourcefulness were constantly discussed. Participants indicated that some collective creation exercises helped them realise that they could work together and be creative with very few resources. The possibility to follow a shared goal, as experienced through some of the activities, proved to be insightful on how they can actually come together and engage in teamwork, as long as they always keep in mind and prioritise what that they intend to achieve as a group, beyond personal goals. In the second day some participants reflected on how the practise of the first day had had a positive influence in their care-work with persons in the process of reintegration.

These realisations became more evident during our last collective conversation about the workshop.[288] Participants described how embodied practice had allowed them to experience feelings of trust and how these can be located within their bodies. These embodied experiences encouraged some of them to try and develop similar feelings and situations of trust in their interpersonal and professional relationships.

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[288] See appendixes 1 and 2 for the complete transcript and the translation into Spanish of the closing discussion of the workshop.

Other participants suggested that the workshop helped them realise that they were able to conduct activities and confront challenges in ways that they did not think were possible, considering their own limitations and self-perceptions. For example, some participants suggested that fear could be approached as an opportunity to learn and grow; other participants indicated that they could be more resourceful and creative with the resources that were available for them to work, and some expressed that they had realised that they could engage in more teamwork if they could agree on focusing on collective, not individual goals. This is an extremely valuable and importance insight considering that persons in the process of reintegration have to do precisely this: They need to believe that they can do things differently, in ways that they might think are not possible, or that they are incapable of doing, such as studying, learning how to express and deal with their feelings in healthy ways, or keeping a job.

Building on the above-mentioned, fear was an emotion that was identified by participants during our practice and discussions. A participant said that the activities had helped her to think about fear as a challenge to be worked through, not just a limitation: Fear could be a possibility to explore, and have fun in the process of discovery and exploration too. Fun and embodiment acting as important elements to explore personal narratives and experiences, to respectfully approach painful situations and memories. In relation to fear and related feelings of restrain, the role of risk was also considered. When confronted by fear and limitations, a participant suggested that a person could take risks and simultaneously work toward trusting herself and others. Accordingly, each new person that joins the reintegration

programme presents as an opportunity for both tutors and former combatants to rehearse trust and engage in the risk of working towards a transformation.

Another participant suggested that the workshops had provided her with ideas on how to help persons in the process of reintegration 'to come out of the darkness that they are living in, especially those who have just arrived [to civilian life]'; darkness as an interesting visual metaphor to illustrate the feelings of fear commonly experienced by people when confronted to uncertainty, to things that remain unknown. Fun and utopian vision are key elements for this: Fun and play as strategies to work with and through painful situations and a processual understanding of utopia in order to provide participants in reintegration, both tutors and former combatants', with affective and physical experiences of joy, respect, care and pleasure that create bodily memories that can be *reproduced* in everyday contexts. The importance of making an effort to try and see former combatants under a different light and to constantly remind themselves to try and have more 'faith and hope' in the reintegration process that they are all a part of was a common reflection. Ideas of trust, vulnerability, care, dependence and love were explored through embodied practice so that we could all expand our understanding of the role of embodiment and creativity as tactics that facilitate political action.

# Chapter 8. Conclusions

In this dissertation I have provided a historically informed and ethnographically grounded analysis of the social, political and cultural frameworks for the reintegration of ex-combatants in Colombia with the aim of describing how everyday practices, policy design and secondary care assistance do or do not contribute to the transformation of relational patterns between social actors involved in violent conflict. By building a framework to complement current policy implementation, the overall objective was to draw out the possibilities and limitations of performance and other cultural practices in the reintegration process. I have addressed the body as a place where simultaneous narratives co-exist and constant movements towards reintegration and reconciliation meet in institutional sites and everyday practices. Overall, I have argued for the importance of an affective turn from product? to process? in the design and implementation of public policy on reintegration and for a consideration of the 'affective utility' of applied theatre and related performance practices in secondary care.

Chapters two and three traced the historical background and analysis of the role of amnesty in early DDR processes in Colombia, and related attempts at establishing and developing a systematic approach to reintegration. The constant interplay between ideas and experiences of amnesty and demobilisation processes over several decades provided an insight to the emotional consequences of citizens' involvement in warfare that informed much of my fieldwork. In chapter two I focussed on demobilisation processes from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1960s to identify and draw attention to  recurrent aspects in the testimonial and

autobiographical literature, in conversations with former combatants and recent interviews, namely: Feelings of disillusionment and loss attached to demobilisation and a constant state of precariousness and dispossession experienced at multiple stages before, during and after enlistment. The idea of amnesty in these early developments provide important insights into the political negotiations that are imbedded in conflict transformation processes, particularly in terms of what they reveal about the nature of the relationship between the actors that participate in conflict and its subsequent de-escalation. Amnesty simultaneously suggests a promise and the possibility for social and political change that addresses the affective and emotional needs of subjects' involvement in warfare. However, in reality, it is often a one-way process whereby amnesty motivates combatants to lay down arms, without seeing any social or political change. This increases their sense of personal conflict and tension. My analysis of this interplay between amnesty and the feelings attached to armed struggle, demobilisation and reintegration set the basis for my later analysis of the role of affect in DDR processes.

In closing this chapter, I suggest that a lack of awareness or unwillingness to address the needs and expectations of the rank-and-file members of resistance groups made them  vulnerable as they attempted to build a new life in civilian contexts. The exploitative use of their needs and expectations was another recurrent element in both reintegration and recruitment and retention practices, which I analyse in other chapters. I drew attention to the role of commanders to indicate that they are partly responsible and benefit from the above-mentioned affective

exploitation. However, due to the focus of this study a more detailed investigation of this aspect was not possible at this stage.[289]

In chapter three I provided a chronological account of recent attempts to develop a public policy approach to DDR processes in order to contextualise contemporary voices of reintegration in a large web of relationships and programmes that underpin peace-building efforts. I addressed the failure of government officials and negotiators of all involved parties to attend to the needs of former combatants and provide dignifying reintegration assistance that corresponded to the profile of the beneficiary population. . In closing this chapter I chose to narrate the story of a former combatant who had been in multiple guerrilla organisations while these policy developments and peace agreements unfolded to illustrate how an individual's life can be affected and shaped by the implementation of public policy on reintegration, and the cruel consequences defective policy design can have in the lives of real citizens. Accordingly, this chapter aimed to provide insight into the individual nature of demobilisation and reintegration, and how subjects have begun to navigate civilian contexts *despite* the reintegration programmes.

In chapter four I looked into formulaic stories that are utilised to make sense of the lives and experiences of children who participate in war. The situation of children in war zones presents multiple ethical, political and moral challenges to dominant ways of conceptualising what constitutes acceptable experiences of childhood, and related institutional assistance in post-conflict scenarios. I discussed the category of child soldier as victim to demonstrate the heterogeneous qualities of

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[289] This initial approximation to the challenging of narratives of sacrifice, martyrdom and heroism can be further explored in a thorough examination of autobiographical sources and ideological manifestos along with in-depth interviews. Other possible sources to consider are works of fiction, which include films, short stories, plays and novels that address cultural imaginaries of victimhood disillusionment and suffering in relation to the development of the radical Left in Colombia and Latin America.

the category 'ex-combatant' and to illustrate the challenges and complexities of reintegration, from a practitioners' perspective. I drew on my experience working with former combatants, mostly women, in an arts based reintegration programme for children to illuminate how often the subjects' situations and experiences challenge these formulaic stories of childhood and femininity and, consequently, how we need to question the relevance and utility of reintegration assistance. What emerged was a sense that pre-determined legal and cultural categories, not the needs of participants, underpinned the possibilities and established the limits to what kind of support can be provided through reintegration programmes. This chapter works as a turning point between historical investigation and policy analysis to ethnographic writing of a work experience that resulted in the conceptualisation of the doctoral research and my quest for an affective, performance-based methodological approach to secondary care for conflict transfotmation. It lays out problems and challenges in relation to: Policy development and implementation, the ethics of labour practices in secondary care organisations, and gendered understandings of warfare and subjects' reintegration that animated the following chapters and my own conceptualisation of applied theatre research and practice.

Chapters 5 and 6 focused on the affective and ideological dimensions of citizens' involvement in guerrilla warfare in order to articulate an affective approach to primary and secondary care practices before, during and after enlistment. In chapter 5 I described affective cycles of desire and loss in recruitment, retention and reintegration in order to expand the frames through which the ideological component of subjects' involvement in warfare and disassociation is usually understood. I worked through the words, topics and categories provided by former combatants

themselves in order the articulate the overall narrative and discussion of this chapter. The fieldwork conducted for this study was emotionally and physically intense as I wanted to make sure that I allowed for multiple narratives and experiences to emerge. In order to advance in my interviews with former combatants I used semi-structured interviews to create a general framework for myself, and allowed my interviewees' own interests and feelings to guide our conversations. This provided me with relevant information on the aspects that were considered most important by individuals that were subject to reintegration programmes and processes. Accordingly, persons in the process of reintegration provided me with the information that I needed in order to identify the theoretical problems and academic discussions that I wanted to be a part of, and for which this study was relevant. In this chapter gendered notions of belonging and the performance of citizenship allowed me to initiate a performative reading of insurgency that challenges understandings of ideology and political activism in relation to Latin American guerrilla warfare. It also provides a context-specific reading on categories that emerge in reintegration processes that involve civil society, such as notions of worthiness and gendered expectations on masculine and feminine roles in social interactions. Gendered, cultural and social understandings of former combatants must inform policy development. However, in many cases the social contexts for reception can be overlooked when devising DDR programmes. In this chapter I start working towards a performative understanding of reintegration, one that necessarily involves multiple sectors of civil society. A performative approach to reintegration allows us to expand the frame of action and consider the complex inter relations of all social actors. However, this study could not engage in an analysis of the role of

civil society and its performative role in reintegration, more fieldwork and research on how popular narratives and cultural, social and political understandings of everyday practices inform all social actors must be conducted.

The repetitive cycle of desire-loss-recovery discussed in chapter 5 allowed me to propose the notion of 'affective labours' in chapter 6, where I argued for an affective turn in social systems of care. Affective relationships and emotional attachments play an important role in the reintegration of former combatants as they learn how to be and perform themselves in civilian contexts. In this chapter, similarly to chapter 5, I also aim at broadening common understandings of affective attachments before, during and after enlistment, and I argue that the affective labours that were present during combatants' retention in the guerrilla organisations constitute their emotional vocabularies in reintegration, and affect the ways in which they conduct their lives as civilians. In so doing, I identify a whole spectrum of emotional possibilities and responses that are ignored in DDR processes and, more specifically, in reintegration programmes. By locating the affective dimensions of ex-combatants' lives I aimed at illuminating what kind of areas could potentially be addressed through a better understanding of embodiment in a performance based reintegration programme.

Chapter 7 proposed a performance-based programme to build an embodied understanding of secondary care and reintegration assistance. The chapter demonstrated the 'affective utility' of applied theatre practice and provided concrete examples of how an affective turn in both applied theatre and social systems of care can be facilitated by iterative performative practice and can improve the implementation of public policy on reintegration. By working towards an expanded

understanding of the affective and ideological components of reintegration and conflict transformation I was able to produce and implement an initial approach to embodiment in secondary care that can be replicated. This methodological approach to secondary care had a twofold dimension: It addressed personal, physical and emotional needs of reintegration tutors and improved the quality of care provided by carers. ACR tutors suggested that the workshop should be replicated with other employees and be incorporated at the ACR as the 'care of the carer' programme. This illuminates future avenues and possibilities for Performative Reintegration: Firstly, the design of a methodological handbook with reflections and guidance on the methodology so it can be adapted an implemented to other contexts. Secondly, further work with policy-makers and practitioners to implement the methodology directly with former combatants and permanently incorporate it in reintegration programmes.

In recent months I have learned that ACR employees have replicated elements of my proposed methodological approach when working with persons in the reintegration process. When considering the relevance of this study and performance practice for the fields of applied theatre and conflict transformation it is worth considering how greater dissemination and implementation of performance-based methodologies in reintegration, and the design of strategies that help to measure the impact of qualitative approaches to social systems of care would significantly contribute to a discursive shift in the ways of conceptualising the relevance of the humanities to conflict transformation and social development. This is particularly relevant for other contexts dealing with post-conflict actors, such as returning veterans and their families, de-radicalisation programmes and urban violent groups:

a broader understanding of the place and role of affected subjects is fundamental when considering the ethical implementation of conflict transformation methodologies. The dissertation is an attempt to contribute to the creation of a new language in which mutual understanding and collaboration between scholars, practitioners and policymakers are central elements in tackling complex social problems involved in conflict transformation.

By bringing together the lenses of DDR, applied theatre and embodied practices in conflict transformation, the dissertation has explored various ways of utilising performance as paradigm and practice to illuminate people's social transitions in the contexts of war. Accordingly, I have proposed specific conceptual and flexible methodological approaches to reintegration public policy in Colombia. In the light of the study, I am interested in exploring further ways of using theoretically-informed and ethnographically grounded research that contributes in practical ways to increasing our understanding of conflict transformation with a focus on grass-roots impact and long-term improvement of relational patterns between social actors.

# Appendix 1

On the final day of the *Performative Reintegration* workshop, participants were asked what they thought had been useful of the workshop and how they considered it could be incorporated in their professional practices. These were their responses (see Appendix 2 for original in Spanish):

1. On a personal level, this workshop showed me that one can trust another person, even if one does not know this person. When we were doing the exploration exercise with our eyes closed, blinded to put it somehow, we did not know what was going to happen, but we allowed the other person, the explorer, to do whatever they were planning to do. It was something like to try an invest that kind of trust and confidence with everybody else, and obviously in my relationships. And professionally, to help our participants [persons in the process of reintegration] to come out that darkness that they are living in, especially those who have just arrived [to civilian life].

2. Well, I think that, basically, this workshop was an opportunity to discover oneself in many ways. It is to realise that one is capable of doing things one never imagined that were possible, or that one did not believe one was able to put on stage, for example, or to show others. I feel that it is also the possibility to demonstrate oneself many things. And in relation to my work, and also in my personal life, well one clearly has many fears, and it is also an attempt to try and express those fears, but without thinking about these as fears but as challenges instead. For example, I'm

afraid to dance but let us look beyond that fear, let us explore. And let us have fun through it, and also let us discover how interesting that fear can be.

3. I believe that, on a personal and professional level, I learnt that our bodies speak. That you are part of your own story, and that your body is part of that story. And I think that this is something very important to explore with persons in the process of reintegration. I also agree with what she is saying, to trust in other people even if you do not know them. That to approach others and to talk to them with an open attitude and an open mind will contribute for things to flow. I also think that it is very important to understand that not everything has to be explored in a boring way. That not everything has to be explored through pain. Professionally, this is very interesting. To think of other ways that are not just words, with respect, with confidence, but also a little more fun.

4. Personally, I released many tensions that I had, because when I started doing the exercises I had a terrible weight [on my shoulders] and as we advanced in the workshop and I did the activities, I felt that the weight was being removed. And I also thought about things that I could do with my son at home, because he is hyperactive. He drains me out, and I realised that I could work on keeping my energy levels up.

5. On personal and professional levels, this workshop taught me that I can go beyond my own limits. I can take risks, assuming that I can trust more in me and that I can also trust others, because sometimes one puts limits saying: I am not capable, I think

that I cannot do it, I will not be able to achieve it. So yes, let us take risks that something has to come out of it. And let us trust in that person that is on the other side, that person that sometimes comes to us [asking for help], and let us forget that we already have a history. We think 'oh, sometimes this does not work'. Because each person that arrives is a new world, each one is a different world, and establishing eye contact is extremely important. Sometimes we have a hard time keeping eye contact for long, but with the [staring] exercise I learned to be able to keep the eye contact, and I learned to interpret many things that the eyes say, and that is extremely important.

Me: In addition to that staring exercise, which other activity did you feel that helped you with what you just mentioned?

The exercises involving contact, those involving physical contact. Perhaps sometimes one feels as it if it was a taboo that a woman touches you, it feels strange. But it is nice, it is a process of learning how to feel each part of your own body, and to have someone else explore your body with that degree of respect feels great. And that is what one does. Sometimes with a simple handshake one can say so many things, and sometimes one does not give it the way they [persons in the process of reintegration] expect it or vice versa, and so I think that by starting to change that non-verbal language, one can begin to improve many things.

6. I think that in my personal an professional life, this workshop allows me to be present, in the here and now, and to be realistic about the things that I can offer, and those that I cannot, and set my expectations accordingly. To meet others with my eyes, observing, to look beyond in order to learn who is that person, and also to get to know myself. And, something that is very important, to learn how to trust. To trust people in situations that require me to do so.

7. On a personal level, to know myself through the other. In all the activities that we did, I kind of got to identify myself through the other. Both personally and professionally, I have to re-invent myself, always. There will always be difficult or dull moments: how can one reinvent, create with little resources, using objects, or simply by using the imagination. And also to respect others, in their eyes, when you look at some one else and when they look at you.

Me: The theme of reinvention, which particular exercise made you think about that?

The last one. It was very challenging. How can I reinvent myself with what I have?

8. Personally and professionally it encouraged me to take risks: take the risk to propose new things, or to get into doing different things. By 'making a fool of oneself' one can learn so much, it helps you release fears. It helps you to move forward, to evolve, and that is the only way that one has to try to find happiness. It also helped me to re-humanise [others], to try and rescue other qualities. I agree with what our colleague said, I consider that there is a very pragmatic position, firmly

established, in relation to how us, reintegration tutors, perceive participants [persons in the process of reintegration]. I think that it is a great contribution to try and see them differently, to try and have more faith and hope in the processes that we are part of. Say in the previous workshop[290] we were just three colleagues from the ACR. Today we are 16, or 18, and surely we will gradually be more. And finally, this workshop helped me to re-member feelings that I had not experienced for over a month now, since the theatre workshop. But this time it felt different. I am madly in love with these processes of wearing comfortable clothes, being barefoot, laughing, having someone touching me, someone that takes care of me, and to be able to take care of someone else, obviously. I feel very energised and hopeful in the [reintegration] process with these spaces.

Me: Any particular exercise that you want to highlight?

Well, I really like the staring exercises, and, because I am a bit spoiled, I like those activities involving touch. But I really think that the most important exercise was the last one: it was demanding , it was shocking and was a *collective* construction. To follow a common goal is not easy, especially in a culture like ours where we are all pulling to our side, pushing for what we want, that was a great challenge. It was demanding in the collective process, more than physically demanding.

9. For me it has been a process to learn how can I allow someone else to look at me without building a barrier. To be transparent. Both in my personal life and in my work life I can allow others to look at me, and I can look at others with a different

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[290] He refers to a theatre of the oppressed workshop some of the participants attended.

perspective, to see beyond of that that person is presenting. To realise how I can use all my senses and, like my colleague was saying, how a hand shake can have a meaning, how by just placing my hand on someone's shoulder can have a different meaning. For anyone: for a person in the process of reintegration, for a family member, whomever. The last exercise I relate it to what we do on a daily basis: how can I, with little or much that I have, how can I create and introduce some movement. We are not an island, my work or what I do depends on what someone else does, or does not do. So how can I be in sync with others, with how little or much that I have, and begin to imagine and create at the present moment, be in constant evolution. That awareness contributes a lot to my personal and work life.

10. When we first arrived here, I think that it happened to all of us, it was very hard for us to express ourselves. I was comparing that first day with today, and how we all wanted to do more: to participate in the activities, to get out there. I feel that personally, this workshop has helped me to get to know myself more and more, and to realise that that I can give more of myself and express myself in different ways. And also to slow down, such as with the exercise when we were observing and feeling, as to slow down and not go rushing in life. Sometimes one does not slow down and take the time to see things, appreciate them, understand them, but one is living at high speed. And so the goal is to both personally and professionally, to slow down to do things at a slower pace, carefully, so that in whatever we do, we obtain the results that we really want to achieve. I think that it helped me a lot to slow down into a calm energy and discover myself more.

11. For me these spaces represent that I can be still and silent. So for me performance practice helped me to be this other person that lives inside me, but that I do not allow others to see. I can also be silent, be in silence. I also can also be still. I also know how to observe, I also know to look , but I am free, as I was during the last exercise. I am free, and I can do what I want, but I cannot harm others. But I am free. Then, in that stillness, silence and freedom, I find myself meeting the other, using my sight, so that I can understand and comprehend. That's the task, the task is that as I speak I can also listen to the other.

12. Well, I think that all the workshop has involved allowing oneself to experience new things, to explore others and also to explore oneself through the senses, and that also encourages oneself to bring down barriers that separate us from each other. And also that from the beginning, when you were telling us to let go, to move beyond our own limits, I think that means that one should be allowed to live, because sometimes we are always doing things because we have to, and we do not allow ourselves to slow down and enjoy things. We do not allow ourselves to enjoy peace, and we are always looking for, I do not know, somewhere else, and we do not realise that, in reality, it is very simple, that we can achieve it through who and what we are. So, realising that allowed me to relax, by knowing that we can enjoy each other's presence, and that together we can do things and have a good time. I think that, sometimes, it is not just about being demanding, or doing things just because we have to comply with work requirements. No. What is important is to realise that, together, we can work in harmony and we can be creative, achieving good things and contributing more than what one thought was possible. And professionally, now I

understand, maybe now I do understand and see that the body speaks, that our bodies tell personal stories. And sometimes one sees things in participants' bodies [persons in the process of reintegration]… but one puts barriers, because of the weight that they carry within themselves, from where they come from, their circumstances and all. And so by focusing more on their body language I think that one could reach out to them in an easier way, to work on issues that are so difficult. By doing this we can start working towards a concept of reintegration, based on body language, and things would be much easier. I think that our communication would be smoother if we were not so rigid and strict in our interactions with them. In addition, the body-qualities with which they come. Some have been wounded and they have scars on their bodies, and they hide them. Their body posture… furrowed eyebrows, those things give us information of what they are carrying within themselves. And sometimes one does not see the other for what he or she is but, instead, one places one's fears in the other, especially as reintegration tutors. So thinking about these things allows us to really see the others for what they are, what they bring with them. Because they are also observing, they are also studying us to know how much we trust them, so I think this type of communication is really beautiful. And I really liked the dance of the sardines, because we were one body. And I also like the last one very much because we had to think outside of the box.

13. For me, this workshop was a space where I could learn and remember many things. For example, I remembered the importance of always trying to create a space of trust with the other, either at work or in my personal life. To realise or remember what are my fears, but also which are my skills. I think that, as long as one knows

oneself, it is also easier to reach out to the other, and to learn about their needs. I was able to work on this with the staring exercise, and today with the trust exercise, I was thinking about all these things. It is often very hard for us to feel that we are being observed and surrounded by someone else. It was for me. But I was telling my colleague that we did not know each other, but that I was willing to open myself and create that trust-space, and I think that it was the same for him, so we could engage in the activity. I was thinking and reflecting about what we were doing, and how these things could be applied in every day life. That was very enriching. It was, overall, to realise how important it is to always try to build trust with others, and that by getting to know myself it will be easier to reach out to others. Thank you.

14. Personally, this workshop allowed me to listen to myself in a deeper way, to get to know my own reactions to all the different stimuli that I was receiving, and to feel everything and be able to say 'hey, that was cool'. Definitely, to be able to think about those stimuli each time as a new challenge, and to give myself the time and space, to devote more time to myself and to take more care of myself, despite all the daily concerns and responsibilities. To commit myself to doing so. And professionally, I was able to understand that a look can, the way that we look at each other, it can deconstruct any kind of aggressiveness you might be holding inside. To be able to convey many things by using non-verbal language. To demonstrate to the other, using my body language, that if I am not being judgemental, that he or she can trust, and to give themselves the opportunity of being explored, and that the exploration will be respectful. That if I have the power to create a space to ask and try to discover many things about someone, I must make sure that the person I am

talking to feels confident, so that they can allow themselves to trust and that if they are vulnerable in the moment when he or she is with me, it is ok to be vulnerable because there is no risk of harm in that space.

**Appendix 2**

MEF: Esto que hemos hecho en estos tres días ¿de qué manera les aporta a ustedes a nivel personal y a nivel laboral?

1. Personalmente, poder demostrar que uno puede confiar en otra persona, así no la conozca. Cuando estábamos haciendo la parte de exploración del cuerpo, totalmente cegados—llamémoslo así, no sabíamos qué iba a pasar, pero dejamos que esa persona hiciera lo que hiciera. Como poder brindar esa confianza a todo el mundo, pero obviamente también desde un punto de vista de relación. Y en lo laboral, pues poder permitir que nuestros participantes logren salir de esa oscuridad en que se encuentran, sobretodo los que acaban de llegar.

2. Pues yo pienso que básicamente es tener la posibilidad de descubrirse a si mismo en muchas cosas. Poder ver que uno es capaz de hacer cosas que no se imaginaba hacer, o que uno no creía que era capaz de poder poner digamos en escena, o poder mostrar ante los demás. Yo siento que es también esa posibilidad de poder demostrarse a uno muchas cosas. Y pues claramente en lo laboral, como en todo, y en lo personal, tiene uno muchos miedos, es tratar también de poder expresarlos, pero sin sentirlos como miedo sino como un reto. Por ejemplo, me da miedo bailar

pero veámoslo más allá de ese miedo, entonces exploremos. Y divirtámonos a través de eso, y descubramos también lo interesante que puede ser ese miedo.

3. Yo creo que en lo personal y laboral, que los cuerpos hablan. Que tu eres parte de tu historia, y tu cuerpo es parte de tu historia. Y creo que eso es importante explorar con las personas en proceso de reintegración. Un poco también es lo que dice ella, confiar en el otro a pesar de que no lo conozcas. Que llegar con apertura, o con una mente abierta para hablar con los otros, eso permite que muchas cosas fluyan. Creo que también es muy importante entender que no todo tiene que ser aburrido para poder explorarlo. No todo tiene que ser a través del dolor. Eso me parece interesante en lo laboral. Pensar de otras maneras que no sean solo las palabras, con respeto, con confianza, pero también de una forma un poco más divertida.

4. En lo personal, liberé muchísimas tensiones que tenía, porque cuando empecé a hacer los ejercicios tenía un peso terrible y a la medida que los iba haciendo pues ya se me iba como quitando ese peso. Y de una vez me dieron como ideas para reforzarlas un poco, pues en mi casa, con mi hijo que es hiperactivo. Me roba tanta energía que no sé cómo canalizarla. Me di cuenta que podía trabajarla.

5. A nivel personal y laboral, es ir más allá de donde siempre creo que puedo llegar. Arriesgarme, partiendo de que puedo confiar mucho más en mi y confiar en el otro, porque a veces uno se pone límites: yo no soy capaz, yo creo que no puedo, no lo voy a poder lograr. Entonces sí, arriesguémonos que algo tiene que salir. Y confiar en ese otro que está al otro lado, en esa persona que a veces viene a nosotros y

nosotros ya tenemos un historial 'ay es que a veces no funciona, o a veces no da…' entonces cada persona que llega es un mundo nuevo, es un mundo diferente, y el contacto visual es súper importante. A veces nos cuesta mucho trabajo mantener ese contacto visual por mucho tiempo, pero con el ejercicio aprendí a poderlo mantener, y aprendí a poder interpretar muchas cosas que expresan los ojos, y que es sumamente importante.

MEF: Además de ese ejercicio de la mirada, ¿qué otro ejercicio en particular sientes que te aportó en lo que acabas de mencionar?

La parte del contacto, la parte del contacto físico. De pronto a veces uno siente como el tabú de que una mujer por ejemplo te esté tocando, se siente extraño. Pero esa parte es bonita, es aprender a sentir cada espacio de tu cuerpo y que otra persona lo explore con ese respeto se siente muy bien. Y eso es lo que uno hace. A veces de pronto la gente va y con un simple apretón de manos creo que uno puede transmitir muchas cosas, y a veces uno no lo da de la forma que ellos [PPR] lo esperan o viceversa, y entonces creo que empezando a cambiar ese lenguaje no verbal se pueden empezar a mejorar muchas cosas.


6. Yo pienso que en la vida personal y laboral me permite trabajar el aquí y el ahora, y proyectarme porque tampoco puedo exigirme más allá de lo que no doy. A establecer los limites, que lo que hace lo de con calidad. A conocer a través de la mirada más allá quién es esa persona, quién soy yo también. Y algo que es muy importante, aprender a confiar. Con personas, con situaciones que a veces lo requiere.

7. A nivel personal, conocerme a través del otro. Con todas la actividades que se hacían, como que me identifico a través del otro. A nivel profesional y personal, es reinventarme que siempre va a haber un momento difícil o un momento monótono: cómo puede uno reinventar a través de cualquier cosa, de los objetos, simplemente usando la imaginación. Y el respeto al otro, en la mirada, cuando uno mira cuando lo miran a uno.

MEF: El tema de la reinvención, ¿con qué ejercicio en particular pensaste en eso?

Con el último. Me costó un poquito más. ¿Cómo me re-invento con lo que tengo?

8. En lo personal y en lo laboral me aporta muchísimo en el riesgo: asumir el riesgo para proponer, o para meterme en cosas diferentes. El 'hacer el ridículo' es supremamente formativo porque te va a ayudando a perder el miedo. Te va ayudando a ir avanzando, evolucionando, y pues es la única manera que uno tiene para tratar de encontrar la felicidad. También la re-humanización, rescatar otras cosas. Me uno totalmente a lo que decía la compañera, considero que hay una postura y una perspectiva que es muy pragmática, muy establecida en cuanto a la percepción de nosotros como profesionales y cómo percibimos al participante. Creo que también es un gran aporte poder empezar a vislumbrarlos diferente, empezar a tener un poco más de fé y esperanza en los procesos en los que estamos metidos. Digamos en el proceso anterior pues compartimos espacio con tres compañeros más, hoy ya somos 16, 18, y seguramente se va a ir ampliando. Y por último, revivir sensaciones que ya no tenía hace como un mes en un taller de teatro. Esta oportunidad se sintió diferente, soy enamoradísimo de estos procesos de estar en ropa ligera, descalzo, riéndonos, que alguien me toque, que me consientan, me

cuiden y obviamente tener la oportunidad de hacerlo. Muy energizado y esperanzado en el proceso con estos espacios.

MEF: ¿Algún ejercicio en particular que quieras resaltar?

Pues me gusta mucho el de las miradas y por consentido el de tocarse y que lo toquen a uno, pero creo que realmente el ejercicio más importante fue el último: es exigente, es impactante y es una construcción *colectiva*. El seguir una línea, un objetivo en común realmente no es fácil, y más en una cultura como esta donde todos jalamos para un solo lado, entonces fue un reto bien importante y ahí era más la exigencia. Más que la física era ahí.

9. Para mi ha sido un proceso el mirar como puedo permitir que otro me mire sin colocar una barrera. Ser transparente. Tanto en la vida personal como laboral es como puedo dejar que el otro me mire, y como yo puedo mirarlo con otra mirada, ver más allá de lo que está proyectando. Mirar cómo puedo utilizar los sentidos, como decían los compañeros, cómo el dar una mano tiene un sentido, cómo poner una mano en el hombro para ellos puede tener otra significación, como para cualquier persona, sea un participante, sea un familiar, lo que sea. El último ejercicio lo relaciono mucho con lo que hacemos día a día: cómo puedo, con lo poco o mucho que tengo crear y meter el movimiento. No somos una isla, mi trabajo o lo que yo hago depende de lo que haga el uno o deje de hacer el otro. Entonces cómo yo puedo hacer una sincronía con lo poco o mucho que tengo, y es empezar a imaginar y crear en el momento, ser constante, evolucionar. Eso me aporta mucho en la parte personal y laboral.

10. Cuando llegamos aquí, yo creo que a todos nos pasó, nos costaba expresarnos. Yo comparaba con hoy, y todos queríamos más: participar, salir. Siento que personalmente, me ayuda a descubrirme cada vez más, y a comprender que de pronto puedo dar más de mi y expresarme de otras formas. Y también de tomarme ese tiempo, por ejemplo con el ejercicio que hicimos de sentir y observar, como tomarnos ese tiempo para no ir corriendo tanto en la vida. A veces uno no se toma el tiempo para ver las cosas, degustarlas, comprenderlas, sino que uno va como a mil por hora. Entonces en el ejercicio tanto personal como profesional hay que tomarnos cierto tiempo para hacer las cosas de una manera más pausada, más tranquila, para que realmente la cosas que hagamos tengan un resultado como realmente queremos. Creo que me ayudó mucho a pausar un poco en la energía que uno a veces anda y a descubrirme mucho más.

11. Para mi estos espacios representan que puedo estar quieto y en silencio. Entonces, para mi la representatividad de el performance hace que yo sea otra persona que hay dentro de mi pero que no he querido dejar ver. Yo también puedo estar en silencio. Yo también puedo estar quieto. Yo también sé observar, yo también sé mirar, pero soy libre, como en el último ejercicio. Soy libre, y puedo hacer lo que yo quiero, pero no puedo afectar a los demás. Pero soy libre. Entonces ahí mi encuentro con el encuentro del que tengo al frente, desde el ejercicio de la mirada, es entender y comprender. Ese es el trabajo, el trabajo es que así como yo hablo también puedo escuchar al otro.

12. Bueno, pues todo el taller ha sido como de permitirse vivir nuevas cosas, experimentar al otro y asimismo, a través de los sentidos, como que eso le permite a uno también derrumbar barreras con el otro. Y más que desde el principio cuando nos comentabas que hay que ir, traspasar los límites, o sea que uno debe permitirse vivir, porque a veces andamos muy 'en función de', pero no experimentamos, no nos permitimos tener esa paz, que de pronto estamos anhelando tenerla no sé, en cosas, cuando en realidad es muy sencillo y es a través de eso lo que somos nosotros, lo que es cada uno. Entonces eso me permitió pues como relajarme también, saber que puedo disfrutar de la presencia del otro y que en conjunto podemos hacer cosas donde la pasemos bien; no se trata a veces solo de nivel de una exigencia, porque a ves como que el trabajo como que toca, no, es mirar cómo en armonía trabajamos y se logran cosas creativas, que a veces uno da más de lo que pensaba dar. Y pues a nivel laboral, pues ahora uno entiende, uno de pronto ahora uno sí, ahora trato pues con el ejercicio, me gustó mucho unas palabras que uno, que ve que el cuerpo transmite, que transmite esa historia personal, y uno a veces pues ve algo en los participantes como… porque uno a veces también pone límites con ellos, por la carga con la que vienen, las circunstancias y todos. Entonces también a ver ese lenguaje corporal de ellos, y yo creo que uno podría entrar más fácil por ahí a hacer cosas como tan duras, como un concepto de reintegración digamos uno podría hay que hacerlo, pero a través [del lenguaje corporal] podría uno fluir. Yo creo que comunicación sería más fluida si uno no fuera tan rígido a la hora de interactuar con ellos. Además, la contextura con la que vienen. Algunos tienen heridas en su cuerpo, y la ocultan. Algunos tienen una postura… seño fruncido, eso da cuenta de con qué carga vienen. Y a veces uno no ve al otro como lo tiene que ver sino uno hace de

pronto una proyección de los miedos que uno también va como reintegrador entonces eso le permite a uno como ver al otro tal y como es, con que viene y también como… Porque ellos a su vez están mirando qué tanta proyección de confianza uno tiene hacia ellos, entonces pues pienso que es bonito esa comunicación. Y lo de las sardinas me pareció, parecíamos uno solo, parecía todo el movimiento entonces me pareció genial ese ejercicio y el último también. El ultimo porque teníamos que poner algo que no era algo literal, tenía que ser algo nuevo, y generar cosas nuevas implica ir más allá.

MEF: Un comentario chiquito. Se acuerdan que el primer día hicimos el ejercicio de la mirada y ustedes decían 'es que yo me monté una película y veía no sé qué' y al día siguiente les decía lo de las proyecciones. Es exactamente lo que tu estás describiendo, cómo ver realmente lo que está en frente y no lo que queremos ver, ni lo que queremos proyectar. Entonces quería como recordar esos dos momentos del taller en relación como lo que tu estabas diciendo. Gracias.

13. Para mi el espacio significó aprender y reforzar muchas cosas. Por ejemplo, la importancia de abrir siempre un espacio de confianza con el otro, sea en la parte laboral o personal. Conocerme o recordar cuáles son mis miedos, cuáles son también mis habilidades. Yo pienso que en la medida que uno se conoce también es más fácil llegar al otro y aprender a conocer sus necesidades. El ejercicio precisamente de cuando nos mirábamos a los ojos me permitió trabajar esa parte, y hoy el ejercicio de confianza, precisamente pensaba como en todo eso. Muchas veces nos cuesta sentirnos observados, y el ponerme allí con los ojos cerrados a que el otro me observara, me rodeara, me mirara, era difícil. Pero yo le decía a mi compañero que

no nos conocíamos, pero hubo esa apertura de mi parte, y creo que de parte también de él, y posibilitó realizar ese ejercicio pero también ir más allá. Era reflexionar acerca de lo que se estaba haciendo y mirar cómo se podía aplicar a nuestra cotidianidad. Entonces fue muy enriquecedor. Ese ejercicio y el de las miradas. Como te digo, era la importancia de establecer siempre un espacio para generar confianza con el otro, y conocer me permite llegar más fácil al otro. Básicamente eso. Gracias.

14. A mi personalmente me permitió leerme de manera interior, conocer mis propias reacciones ante los diferentes estímulos que estaba recibiendo, y como el sentir cada cosa y poder decir 'oiga, qué chévere'. Definitivamente, cada vez poder ver esos nuevos estímulos como un desafío, y tener este espacio, poder instaurar en mi vida personal como voy a dedicarme, esas cosas que a veces uno dice 'voy a hacer, y me voy a cuidar' pero que de pronto a veces se dejan de lado por las preocupaciones, pro las responsabilidades de la vida y del trabajo. Poder realmente dedicarme un espacio personal. Y en lo laboral, entender que una mirada puede desestructurar cualquier tipo de agresividad que se tenga. Poder con el lenguaje no verbal transmitir cosas, y poder también enseñar al otro a que si yo no lo estoy enjuiciando con mi lenguaje no verbal, él pueda tener como la apertura de, y tener la posibilidad de dejarse explorar, pero que esa exploración sea con respeto. Que si yo tengo la autonomía de preguntar y de venir a develar muchas cosas en ese espacio con esa persona, esa persona sienta la confianza de que puede permitírselo, que es vulnerable en ese momento, pero que no va a tener ningún riesgo dentro de ese espacio.

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