

2016 Reintegration **Yearbook**

ACR

at the Forefront of Post-Conflict

ACR

at the forefront of Post-Conflict



2016 Reintegration Yearbook: ACR at the Forefront of Post-Conflict

The Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR)

Joshua Shuajo Mitrotti
General Director

Lucas Uribe Lopera
Reintegration Program Director

Johanna Fernanda Villarreal Guzman
Monitoring Deputy Director

Edition, methodology and content design

Adriana Villamarín Garcia
Reintegration Policy Analysis Group Coordinator
Sub-Directorate of Monitoring

Juliana Rodríguez López
Reintegration Policy Analysis Group Professional
Sub-Directorate of Monitoring

Communications Group ACR

Translation
Shehla Burney Arango

Design and Printing
Procesos Digitales SAS

© Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (ACR)
Carrera 9 #11-66
PBX: 5932211
Bogotá D.C. , Colombia
www.reintegracion.gov.co

Second Edition 2016

Bogota, D.C., Colombia

Printed in Colombia

This publication is possible due to the support of the International Organization for Migrations (IOM). The contents are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinion of ACR and IOM.

The total or partial reproduction of this publication is authorized for educational or other purposes.

Index

Part 1. Presentation of the 2016 Reintegration Yearbook

ACR at the forefront of Post-Conflict.....	5
Joshua Shuajo Mitrotti General Director	
A Message to ACR's Collaborators	7
Lucas Uribe Lopera Reintegration Program Director	
Reintegration Yearbook: a Reference of Knowledge.....	8
Johanna Fernanda Villarreal Guzmán Monitoring Deputy Director	

Part 2. Articles

The “Lines in Between” of ACR’s Program before an eventual Signing of a Peace Agreement: the Challenges.....	10
P. Edwin Murillo Amaris, S.J. PhD Dean of the Political Science and International Relations Faculty at the Pontifical Xaverian University	
Evolution of the Reintegration Process	17
Mónica Marcela Mayorga Bonilla Reintegration Process Analysis Group /Monitoring Sub-Directorate	
Subsequent Accompaniment Strategy: Reporting on the Public Value of the National Policy of Social and Economic Reintegration of Illegally Armed People and Groups (SERP)	26
Adriana Villamarín García Reintegration Process Analysis Group /Monitoring Sub-Directorate	
The Psychosocial Approach in the Frame of the Social and Economic Reintegration Process of Armed People and Groups.....	35
Luisa Fernanda Mejía Gómez Design Group/ Territorial Sub-Directorate	
Differential Approach and Reintegration Policy.....	50
Angela María Andrade Perdomo Angela María Correa Villegas Design Group/ Territorial Sub-Directorate	

The Stabilization Phase.....	59
Reintegration Program Directorate	
Shared Responsibility: the Role of the Private Sector in the Reintegration Process	64
Dario Cabrera	
Laura Niño M.	
Shared Responsibility Group	
The role of South-South Cooperation in the strengthening of the Reintegration Process in Colombia and its International Standing	71
Yessica Natalia Vargas Talero	
Shared Responsibility Group	
Good Practices for Reintegration: An Innovatory Exercise.....	82
Katherin Díaz Albarracin	
Territorial Sub-Directorate	
Build, Reintegrate: A Vision of the Reintegration's Contribution of to Peace-Building from Galtung's and Heidegger's Perspective.....	86
Dylan Herrera	
Reintegration Program Directorate Advisor	
Lucas Uribe Lopera	
Reintegration Program Director	
The Participation of Demobilized Women in Peace-Building in Colombia	93
Juliana Rodríguez López	
Reintegration Policy Analysis Group / Monitoring Sub-Directorate	
An Unfinished Reintegration?	99
Jorge Mendoza	
Reintegration Program Directorate	
A Contribution to the Understanding of Child Recruitment at the Border: Dynamics and Affections of the Armed Conflict.....	102
Hugo Eduardo Ramirez Arcos	
Julián David Penagos Godoy	
Consultants for the "Mambro does not go to War" Strategy	
Illegal Recruitment in Colombia: a Characterization of Disengaged and Demobilized Population Recruited during Childhood.....	114
Natalia Mahecha	
Reintegration Process Analysis Group / Monitoring Sub-Directorate	
Considerations regarding Memory and Truth in the Frame of Law 1424, 2010	127
Mauricio Restrepo	
Reintegration Policy Analysis Group / Monitoring Sub-Directorate	

Year 2015 was highly relevant for ACR since it became a milestone as a result of its constant innovation and preparation for new challenges and contexts.

Deepening into its philosophy, the Agency consolidated a purely humanist orientation seeking that people who leave the weapons can obtain, develop or reinforce the abilities and skills, both individual and collective, that are necessary for an effective transition into civil life and that, above all, decidedly contribute to the building of a sustainable peace.

To achieve this, we understood that this approach had to be accompanied of certain governing principles that would set the tone for our work. Therefore, guided by a constant analysis of social realities, we prioritize aspects such as reconciliation, the strengthening of skills in the receptor communities, the generation of installed capacities in the territories, shared responsibility, innovation and, of course, guarantees of non-repetition of violence.

As a result, today we are proud to say that, being excellence and honesty our starting points, we count on a policy and an Agency that serves people undergoing a Reintegration Process that goes beyond their individuality, understanding that a peace-building process as the one we are leading demands a holistic understanding of the environment, where all social actors should be considered, brought together and get involved in order to lay the foundations for a peaceful coexistence.

Under this target of action, today we implement community work and social service models to generate citizen tissue and capabilities that enable the restoration of trust among our participants, community members and the State, thereby promoting consensus and citizenship as a path towards a more united and collaborative society.

Likewise, by assessing and verifying the success of all the public policies that we apply to our target population, we are consolidating as the main social innovation lab of the country. Thus, for example, we are a benchmark in the fields of health, education, responsible citizenship and training for work. Today, the initiatives implemented by us in these areas (thanks to the coordinated work with other public and private institutions) are periodically assessed and, once they succeed they will be applied to other vulnerable populations with the guarantee that they have been successfully tested.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that these cases of success emerge from and for the territory and that our 33 offices have become a bridge of permanent articulation with the regions, their citizens and authorities. The experience, work and knowledge of our officers are an invaluable support in complying with the regional development plans and contributing to the consolidation of local capacity, i.e., we are favoring the building of a new Colombia potentiated from the territories.

For over 13 years, our Agency has maintained a technical nature that has allowed us to reinvent ourselves and respond to new challenges. Year 2015 was especially positive in promoting innovative schemes of intensive training with a rural approach and in systematizing early reintegration success cases and the progress made in shared responsibility and recruitment prevention strategies that we have been developing.

With the consolidation of a direct participation in the process of over 650 companies and the training of our participants, our achievement has been that more than half of them are lawfully occupied. In turn, the prevention programs that we have been carrying out in highly conflictive regions accumulated over 18,000 local beneficiaries. Therefore, we are pleased to say that we are at the forefront regarding post-conflict challenges.

Our international cooperation deserves special recognition. Not only we are in line with the global experience in reintegration but also our model is being used as a reference in Central American countries and Korea, among others.

This Yearbook will provide the reader with details of these and other high-impact initiatives that are being developed with the highest demand and effectiveness to conclude that, when things are done professionally and with transparency, it is possible for the public sector to generate transcendental changes.

For this new year our main goal will be to reach excellence and continue building on what has been already built. Without any doubt we will highly respond to the new present and future challenges; we have done this with determination for over a decade and 2016 will not be the exception.

Feeling proud of the duty we have accomplished, let me now congratulate this great family: ACR and its allies, you have made all this possible.

Joshua Shuajo Mitrotti
General Director

A Message to ACR's Collaborators

I had the opportunity and privilege of assuming the role of ACR's Program Director in February, 2016. This is the 9th role I have been fortunate to occupy in this entity, for which I only feel grateful. I decided to start by sharing this with you because my story within ACR tells more about the virtues of the entity than mine as such, since they represent the transparency and technical quality that the different general directors have printed on this policy.

I started this path of adventures and learning as a psychosocial professional in Medellín's metropolitan area after a rigorous hiring process. In a short period of time I had the opportunity to lead a social team in Antioquia and Chocó and coordinate a "Service Center" in Casanare. Some time later, I was entrusted with the coordination of teams at a central level and with the management of mission processes before assuming the challenge offered to me this year.

This significant learning path has been possible only due to the fact that we work for an entity that firmly believes that its greatest resource is the people. This entity promotes professional growth under parameters of excellence, work and results; a transparent entity that prioritizes the people who work for it.

I am convinced that precisely this institutional transparency has potentiated the technical value that has been highly recognized by other public entities, the international sector and even the private sector. Today, people who lead both mission and support processes come largely from territorial groups and are fortunate to work directly with the population undergoing a Reintegration Process. We are people who have been

working for many years on this policy and know its history and have adapted to contextual changes while respecting the learning obtained at all times. As our General Director stated:

"Building on what has been already built." Keep this always in mind and take the best advantage of it: "Today, despite all our difficulties, we are working for one of the best public entities in the country which continuously endeavors to improve."

Along with my work team, within the challenge I have assumed as Program Director, I'm determined to lead a human, social and intelligent Reintegration Process. I'm referring to a human process that allows the understanding of the value and dignity of every person, a social process that involves and intervenes from and for the territory, and an intelligent process, impeccable in technical terms, that takes the best advantage of the public resources to obtain the best possible results. We have decided to work under these three principles so that every person of the entity retains and uses them as a guide for work.

I would like to conclude by expressing my most sincere commitment to work for this entity, for all of you (the people who comprise it), our population and, especially, for a country that wants to change and needs committed hands to do so. As a Colombian, I also express all my admiration and respect for those who work every day with courage and tirelessly so that our children can live in a better country. I now clear the path to this second Reintegration Yearbook, whose purpose is not other than to present the virtues of the process and our achievements as the ACR team.

Yours sincerely,

Lucas Uribe Lopera
Reintegration Program Director

The Reintegration Yearbook: a Reference of Knowledge

The first version of the Reintegration Yearbook was published in 2015. Its purpose was to present the achievements and experiences of the entity's collaborators during 2014, framed in the narratives of their experiences from an administrative, political, economic and social point of view. In addition, the challenges for the coming year were mentioned, which included key areas such as the appropriation of the Reintegration Route Model, the Community Reintegration Model, Reconciliation and Shared Responsibility.

In 2016, ACR's Monitoring Sub-Directorate launches its second initiative of the Reintegration Yearbook. The purpose is to position the policy at a national and international level and present it as the reference of a model that provides particular and individualized attention and prepares the demobilized population to acquire sufficient assets that will enable them to be developed autonomously as citizens and overcome their vulnerable situation.

In this sense, it is important to mention ACR's intention to provide feedback to the exercise of Reintegration from the perspective of the accompaniment provided during subsequent stages, a strategy applied to the Demobilized People who Completed the Process (PDC for its acronym in Spanish), so that during the first three years after they successfully complete the process, their economic, political and social situation is first-hand validated and recommendations are made to the model of intervention applied to population that is still undergoing this process.

It is important to highlight that the bases for the articles that comprise this Yearbook have been modified in this second version. This time, these are based on academic knowledge and experiences that should be shared. This is the voice of those who have participated in the design of a reintegration policy and those who know about the

topic, both collaborators and academic individuals. This yearbook demonstrates that peace-building is not only the responsibility of a few but that it should be in the minds and hearts of all the people who are part of this society as an example of shared responsibility.

Under these precepts, this edition contains the following theme axes:

- ACR's challenges during post-conflict
- The evolution of the Reintegration Process
- The accompaniment strategy during subsequent stages
- The psychosocial aspect in the Reintegration Process
- The differential approach of the Reintegration Process
- The stabilization phase of the Reintegration Process
- The role of South-South Cooperation in the strengthening of the Reintegration Process.
- The role of the private sector in the Reintegration Process.
- Good practices in Reintegration.
- Contribution of Reintegration to peace-building.
- The participation of demobilized woman in peace-building.

- Political reintegration.
- Recruitment.
- Truth and Memory.

With this and the next versions of the Yearbook, we seek to generate knowledge and also become a source of consultation that allows us to write about

Reintegration from a different approach. We expect to reach the public and private institutions, students, academic people, and all those who are interested in peace-building and reintegration topics by offering the significant experiences of a team with thirteen years of experience, an innovative spirit and the willingness to be transformed as required by the demobilized population, their families, the community and the context.

Johanna Fernanda Villarreal Guzmán
Deputy Director of Monitoring

The “Lines in Between” of ACR’s Program before an eventual signing of a Peace Agreement: the Challenges

P. Edwin Murillo Amaris, S.J. PhD¹

More than sixty five years of confrontation, total shattering of institutions, high percentages of distrust and insecurity, progressive increase of indexes of inequality, exclusion and social injustice, an accumulation of dialogue processes leading to alternative paths to resolve the conflict and violence, different peace agreements signed, disarmament and demobilization programs, amnesties, indults, programs of reinsertion into the civil life, funds of the national budget for “seed capital” projects, housing, rise of new social and political movements, among many other aspects. Before all of this the questions are: What has happened? Why are we continuing in this absurd war? Why do we continue adding deaths to this massive social fragmentation?

Especially since the government of Belisario Betancourt, Colombia has sought alternative ways to resolve the armed conflict. Each government, maintaining its particularities, has offered paths with mechanisms that diminish or disappear annihilation to try to learn to live like civilized people. At the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s, Colombia witnessed the fact that this type of processes where the government proposed conditions so that illegal groups stopped their endless aim of achieving everything through war and understood that it is possible to coexist despite the differences seeking their selection of constitutional means in a country that claims to be characterized by democratic principles.

The process with the former AUC between 2002 and 2005, which had as an ending point the so-called Justice and Peace Law of 2005 (L. 975/2005), with the Reinsertion into Life Program - coordinated by the Interior Ministry - and that was the predecessor of ACR’s program as the main axis with the former combatants, is a milestone in the history of alternative resolutions of the conflict in Colombia. As a decision towards alternatives in the country, the first government of Alvaro Uribe Velez (2002 – 2006) sought the recovery of “internal sovereignty” regarding security and defense with the program of “democratic security” after the failed alternative intent of Andrés Pastrana Arango (1998 – 2002) with the demilitarized zone.

The country experienced the sensation of “breathing again” during 8 years (2002-2010). The sensation of tranquility increased and the guerrilla groups could be confronted. The foreign capital increased, investment consolidated, and the experience of being able “to go out to the street again” reinforced the proposal of a country in a transition. At the same time, institutions as ACR and the National Commission of Reparation and Reconciliation (CNRR for its acronym in Spanish) led to work of creating structures for peace. CNRR focused more on the experience of the victims and ACR assumed as its own the world of former combatants, their families and the communities receiving them.

¹ Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and International Relations of the Pontifical Xavierian University in Bogota, D.C. Professional in International Relations (Jorge Tadeo Lozano University in Bogota, D.C.). Theologist (Pontifical Xavierian University in Bogota, D.C.), Specialist in Conflict Resolution (Pontifical Xavierian University in Bogota, D.C.), Master in Philosophy (Pontifical Xavierian University in Bogota, D.C.), Magister in Theology (Pontifical Xavierian University in Bogota, D.C.). Doctor in Government and Public Administration (Complutense University in Madrid, Spain).

Such process has led to many questions, doubts and insecurities and, why not, countless experiences centered in the pessimism of the Colombian society. Nevertheless, circumstances enabled everything for “a process that went beyond an exit that is different than war and death.” Most of Colombians have as a referral the demobilization of year 2005 but few remember that since 2002 a slow and progressive process began and named in 2005 as the great Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Process - DDR, under the perspective of Law 975/2005 or the Law of “Justice and Peace”.

The first groups that joined the program are able to access the project “Reintegration, the path to Peace”. These are not numbers, people like numbers, proposals or loose programs. This is the bet of a country that feels that peace is possible, even amidst the differences, being necessary to start to build bases among the bullets. Thousands of Colombians who committed crime feel that it is possible to come back to the territories where they were born and raised. The same communities that witnessed their birth and growth now see them come back, even if the fateful experience of attacking and destroying is also remembered. Fear always accompanies this path. The receptor communities fear not knowing if they have changed. Regarding the program participants, insecurity regarding the reaction and prevention of the same communities and even the fear of losing their lives due to the considerable amount of former combatants killed by the different actors.

At this time, there are arising challenges related to the fact of receiving thousands of former combatants of guerrilla groups that are currently in dialogue processes that seek alternative exits to the conflict and violence. In any case, it is urgent for us to think in the elements that configure this scenario, especially regarding what we have called “challenges” or the “between the lines” among other spaces. The history of the 80s and beginning of the 90s cannot be ignored. This is not the time of processes centered in the offer of the government for advantages while they respond with the delivery of the weapons and demobilization. This goes along with the feeling of “the debt being

paid,” while the indexes of violence continue reaching considerable levels thereby causing concern.

From 2002 and until today (14 years approximately), the proposal of the national government regarding DDR that has a central axis the former combatants, their families and contexts, has been to offer and facilitate processes in which the people who were outside the law can reintegrate to the dynamics of the return to the civil life, reaching a satisfactory ending. The above leads to an analysis and constructive feedback in all the dimensions. Nevertheless, the dynamics that are created in these processes are not easy.

Will we be able to rebuild a country that has lived for more than sixty years in conflict without working in the structural reforms that the same process requires? Do we believe that both guerrillas think and act the same way? Are the points of commitment the same for both groups? May two parallel agendas exist? The issue is that a country is re-built within the dynamics of inter-subjectivity and this implies taking the other person into account, even the last person who is “within my perspective”. From there, we state the option of thinking about “How to achieve consensus within disagreement?”

The agenda with FARC and starting a process with ELN.

Since President Juan Manuel Santos proposed a “bet for peace” based on the so-called “Prosperity for Peace” campaign, the opportunities and possibilities are open. With no doubt, the country’s polarization dampens this optimistic view. At this time, the popularity of President Santos is in the lowest levels since different social groups feel that the country is losing and that the “bandits” are winning. But what we cannot doubt is that the government has the political willingness and trust of illegal groups to move forward in the search of an alternative resolution of the armed conflict. We are not stating that it is the most optimal, but it does have the conditions to achieve agreements. It is important to consider that the willingness and trust of the parties are a key element in this search. But these are not easy paths.

In this sense, ACR's work during these years should be recognized. As of December 2015, the figures of the Agency informed the demobilization of 57,765 men and women who made the decision of returning to society through peaceful ways. This figure includes 8,951 people that did not access ACR's program, while 48,814 obtains benefits of the activities proposed for reinsertion. Figures are indicative, but what is essential is what every person has achieved in his/her life and, of course, the work of many communities supported by ACR to be progressively receptor of the different groups that seek a new space.

This is not a sweet experience. There have been many successes and failures, but there is a dynamic that can support the challenges derived from a peace agreement with the FARC and ELN. This is, without ignoring the particularities of these groups, the situation of the country and the central lines agreed on. Here, the difficulty of trying to reach a consensus is explicit.

FARC and ELN are not the same. The stories may seem different, but they are not the same. They respond to different moments in history, completely disparate purposes, even if the fight for the vindication of the rights of the people is a "worn speech" that unites them. The willingness to continue fighting is a manifestation that there are still sectors in Colombia that consider that seeking for social justice should continue and, even if it is not logical, they still try it with absurd weapons. This is not the path, but the fact that it persists is a challenge. How to achieve a minimum consensus to prevent the repetition of attacks and armed violence? The issue is in how Colombians assume the commitment of rebuilding what we have destroyed, not only with weapons and attacks, but also with the silent complicity or tacit support of the indexes of inequality, segregation and social injustice.

Aspects of land owning, structural reforms, human dimensions regarding the fact of receiving the other person are only topics of something that goes beyond the signing of agreements. The "day after" shall be the social and national test". President Juan Manuel Santos shall be recognized in history as the great promoter of

the signing of agreements, but who guarantees that the agreements will be effective? Who can state that the agreements represent what most of us want?

Since 2012 we have been touched and impregnated by everything the media tell us after few months of process. They all believe they know what is going on in such process and it is normal to reach conclusions where only the Colombian "Speaker's Corner" or "opinadero" blooms. Today Colombia claims more than opinion. The country wants more specific answers. We already know that victims and former combatants claim answers, some do it more than others, but the reality is that one single country demands results.

Five theme points² were defined with FARC for discussion in the table of talks, after a long process of approaches amidst the discretion required by this dynamic. But ELN is not the same as the other group. It is here where we should define the challenges. A group that is solely military in its reaction does not negotiate within the same perspective as compared to a group that has in its essence the dynamics of social movements. A resolution upon dialogue does not imply homogeneity in the decisions and, even less, egalitarian views. The alternative resolutions require a diversity of perspectives.

A "hierarchical military structure" is not the same thing as a "command structure", which is more federal. The general command of FARC is not the central command of ELN. This may seem "nothing important" to many since, in the end, these are "guerrilla fighters, terrible Colombians that disorganize the regime and that should not live more." So, how do we harmonize what is not harmonious? The guerrilla has been trying to position itself for more than 65 years. Have the Colombians thought that it is important to change some structures? This is not a matter of right or left. This is a human matter. Going out to criticize these lines from one position or another is easy. Does this fix the problem from its root?

² In addition, an implementation, verification and endorsement point was defined.

There is a big gap between FARC's agenda to ELN's proposal. Even if they fight for similar aspects, it is not the same as resolving problems. Many structural issues continue happening, something that implies to work on the problems in depth in Colombia. ACR has made a commitment, obviously full of lights and shadows but, before an eventual signing of agreements, implementation will require a more real commitment to us, who feel and think. The implementation of DDR in Colombia is not subject to a government plan that offers an opportunity to former combatants. DDR is an option of the country and government for rebuilding in general. This does involve challenges, of course.

FARC has a more hierarchical structure while ELN is more social movement. Weapons where from a first moment in the structure of FARC. ELN always thought about a fight based on a social claim. Nevertheless, within the ignorance of Colombia's reality, the country continues in an absurd war that will only make sense when we know what it means share the same space with other people, who are different.

Being born to former priests and nuns amidst the Cold War and with a deep sense of the social aspect, is justifiable without weapons, from the point of view of what some groups believed in the past. But the mission of teaching to live as different human beings only makes sense when others understand that the human dimension is a priority.

This is not a matter of compliance of human requirements of long waits. The point is to achieve that the human treatment with dignity prevails above any aspect without ignoring that the armed conflict in Colombia has taken place in the great rural extension and not in the cities. Even if the population concentrates more in capital cities and in populations of middle-sized capacity, the "central veins" of the problem have occurred in the countryside only. Yes, war has happened in the capital centers at times, but it doesn't "smell" like war on a daily basis like in the majority of the conflict zones of the country.

Therefore, ACR's work should continue being firm and staying ahead before the upcoming juncture,

but recognizing the lessons learned and therefore, being open to the novelty that a new movement of demobilized people implies, under different perspectives and circumstances. The phase undergone by ACR until now was focused on men and women who demobilized from AUC or that came from guerrilla groups and that sought an exit to a life of war. The "day after the signing of the agreements" shall trace a wide path full of expectations, uncertainties, fears, among many other feelings.

"Between the lines" for not losing the horizon

The signing of agreements will bring along a series of circumstances that are worth taking into account, especially regarding the application of DDR and the program of reinsertion and reintegration. We will have quantitative and qualitative issues in the immediate future as well as in the short, medium and long term.

- a. The number of demobilized people will be high, since each group not only has members with weapons but also support networks that are not easily identifiable. However, not all of them will assume a role of demobilized people. Let's not ignore that the human fragility leads us to be flexible regarding what is illegal and "step out on a tangent". A proof of this is the amount of former combatants that were part of the groups that demobilized at the end of the 80's and 90's, but that gave up their weapons some time later for not finding the most suitable conditions for reinsertion, or simply because coexistence requires personal attitudes that in many cases are not appropriated.
- b. As a response to the above, we also point out that it is not easy to find a total consensus within the ranks of the groups that sign the agreements. If having differences causes tension in our communities (neighbors, friends, study and work colleagues, etc.), how not to see that this possibility also exists in this type of groups? Even more, the confrontations we see today are a sample of it.

- c. The Colombian populations (small, medium and large) will receive a high percentage of this type of men and women that seek civil life again. Are these populations willing and suitable to receive them?
- d. New manifestations of social conflicts and violence that have not been visible due to the focus on the topic of the armed conflict.
- e. The presence of groups that oppose the agreements and processes derived from them be the guideline for interpretation that may harm the dynamics of social rebuilding and even may cause retaliation towards former combatants. Let's not forget the story of the genocide against UP and the selective murder of people who chose civil life and were not forgiven for it. Justice by our own hands will be also present.
- f. Even the high level of politicization in the process is a variable that could create adverse conditions to a real social restructuring. This process is not an issue of current government (4 or 8 years) or of the ideological position of other type of groups. This is a crucial topic of the country. The figure of a leader in favor or against of anything cannot torpedo the dream of rebuilding after so many years of armed conflict.
- g. Structural reforms will require patience and lengthy work. These will not happen overnight. For example, one of the first reforms will have to be the one in justice. But this does not only mean defining a scheme of transitional justice with some restoration components. This is an assumption of a real reform where the variable of truth goes along with no impunity and respect for the rights of the victims. This is how the topics of agriculture, participation, regionalization of public management in the country (referring to the importance of the regional and local aspects), among many other aspects, will have to be discussed as stated in the peace talks.
- h. The creation of spaces for forgiveness is a fundamental piece. But this does not mean

assuming this dynamic as an issue of "decrees of forgiveness" (since this makes the rights of the victims vulnerable), or believing that this is something imposed and that rules. This is an aspect of every person that is achieved with support, help, accompaniment and transparent processes of justice. This means creating conditions and not imposing them. All of this to prevent the repetition of history, since the pain of so many children and young people may be a breeding ground for replicating violence.

- i. Weaving threads for recovering memory is something that should be maintained. All the population sectors that have gone through this absurd war have an essential event that has marked their lives. Gathering these stories, sharing them, expressing them with symbols, will help to work on social rebuilding.

To summarize, the job must not be done only by ACR, the Victims and Land Restoration Unit, the Historic Memory Center, DPS, the commissions in Havana or the countries chosen by ELN and the government. This is an issue that concerns the possibilities and opportunities that every Colombian sees at this time, further than the ideologies or leaderships that defocus the future.

ACR's proposal regarding former combatants of FARC and ELN

If the process undergone by Colombia was compared to other dynamics for the alternative resolution of the conflict and violence across the world, the implications of this reality could be analyzed in more depth. Every context in its point of time and circumstances conditions the task. Giving an opinion in general terms of what we believe is happening and seeking to be right in our proposals is not easy. ACR's experience leaves us lessons, but also opens the door to challenges. Even if there has already been experience in receiving former guerrilla members within the program, receiving full blocks after signing agreements is something different.

- a. The number of members in the program will increase but they will be more entrenched to the

farmlands and will have low levels of education, since they changed their lives by passing “from the hoe to the rifle”.

- b. It should be considered that the above will go along with a high component of regionalization and local return, as discussed by the groups in the corresponding tables of dialogue. ACR’s regional projects will have to gain momentum.
- c. The difference in perspective regarding what former guerrilla fighters seek sets a guideline in relation to what was assumed with the AUC. The new collective demobilization that will be produced with the signature of the agreements will have new elements, since both groups will transition into a movement, political party or social movement. The so-called AUC disappeared as a cohesive group by the paramilitary scheme³. For example, ELN does not agree with the terms of “Demobilization, Reinsertion and Reintegration”⁴, the central pillars of ACR’s mission statement. They justify themselves by stating that they were born and have maintained themselves with the strength of a social movement and therefore insist that they won’t “leave the battle” (they will continue mobilizing in a social manner). At the same time, they feel that they haven’t abandoned their cause.

³ It should be clarified that even if we affirm that the arise of Criminal Bands (BACRIM) is the legacy of the so-called AUC or “paramilitary” groups, these are not the same. The fact of people who belonged to these structures now conforming the BACRIM cannot be interpreted as a “mutation”. In addition, BACRIM are illegal armed groups that have taken advantage of “empty spots of territorial power and crime” that are left from the processes of demobilizations of AUC and cease of hostilities by commanders of the guerrilla groups. These have objectives regarding the domain of the territory for drug-trafficking, extortion, threats, etc. Among them are people who committed crime in other scenarios and former combatants of diverse groups (they may be paramilitary or guerrilla groups).

⁴ As pillars of the process and program, their meaning should be maintained, even if their name should be changed to create certain resistance between those who have fought and want to return to their communities or regions

Therefore, they don’t need to reintegrate into anything, since there are social sectors they have not exited. Apparently this is a vain discussion, but an element they will discuss and are willing to work on seriously and in depth. The FARC are willing to participate politically through a movement or party by making a social proposal available to the opinion of the Colombians.

- d. Beyond the offer of formal and well-structured processes of accompaniment, as achieved by ACR as of the date, the members of the guerrilla groups that demobilize will require a more patient job based on principles of targeting and differentiation that permeate a work that is more centered on the recovery of the people involved and inter-subjectivity, which are key to social rebuilding.
- e. The proposal of “Community Reintegration” (Caramés)⁵ may reinforce this particular work under the perspective of bringing former guerrilla members close to the communities, and therefore, to institutions. As we observe the causes of the armed conflict in Colombia, there are not only certain groups who should get involved and who will be the first receptors of this commitment, but the communities in general at the national level and under a territorial perspective require a necessary and progressive work to “return to peaceful coexistence”.

To summarize, the challenges confirm the opportunity and possibility we have in our hands. It is the duty of the nation to assume or reject them but, in the future, we will not be able to judge a government, leader or leaders, or a group of people who chose the war or another group that defended the agreements, but even less, state that one or another institution made a mistake and that a few were right. It will be the conscience of the nation the one that will allow us to conclude. If we compare the

⁵ Available at: <http://escolapua.uab.es/img/programas/desarme/inform/06informe022.pdf>

peace processes in the world, we will be able to identify lessons learned without losing the nodal point of who where we stand. Every conflict has its history and such history indicates the paths of where to find the best alternative for resolution.

Let Daniel Innerarty leave us a space for thought and analysis: "The total sum of the efforts spent in

*transforming the world in order to build again and start from the beginning is less than those that men dedicate to tasks of reparation. After the builders and revolutionaries, citizens are those who seem to be called to govern a new historic time. The notorious thesis of Mark could actually be formulated in these terms: revolutionaries have dedicated to transform the world. It is now a matter of conserving it."*⁶

⁶ While recognizing the conflictive but non-violent behavior of the human being, it is relevant to keep in mind that tension, the inter-subjective "shock" in all the spheres of life, is possible. But the destruction of the other person should not be sought for this reason. In this regard, we refer to the terms of coexistence because they will set the guidelines for creating new territories. Coexistence happens when we accept that the other person, the one who made a mistake, is in a common space again, but I don't get involved with that person. This means tolerance in its full expression. He/she is there but I don't want him/her to get involved with me and hopefully he/she should maintain distance. On the contrary, coexistence means accepting and receiving of the other person in all his/her dimensions. He/she comes back to normality and I get involved with that person. This is known as the principle of "wearing the other person's shoes," the standard we should aspire to consolidate real rebuilding processes.

Evolution of the Reintegration Process

Mónica Marcela Mayorga Bonilla

Introduction

The document developed below arises from the need of showing the advancement of the Reintegration Process through historic series during 13 years after the birth of the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy (SERP) and 4 years after the first achievements of the Reintegration Process.

In addition and thanks to the statistical information produced by the Reintegration Process Analysis Group, ACR counts on official data from the Information System for Reintegration (ISR) that consolidates and administers it. These official statistics are assessed and certified by the National Department of Statistics of Colombia, meaning that ACR produces statistics that comply with World Bank Standards.

From the beginning, ISR has become the main tool for the consolidation of information in topics of Reintegration for the country. This application has different types of users that feed each information module constantly in a way that the data of each demobilized person can be consulted in real time. Its main beneficiaries are the Reintegration Professionals who are the main link between ACR and the demobilized person.

After storing the information, the Reintegration Process Analysis Group is in charge of producing the main calculations for its diffusion and it is due to this process that there are trustworthy statistics about the process, the person undergoing Reintegration and his/her family.

In addition, ACR has 12 information exchange agreements with different national entities with the purpose of contrasting the gathered data and to generate more reliable reviews. Therefore, the information of the Reintegration Process allows comparing the variables produced by other actors and to generate contrasts with other types of population, i.e., occupation rate and the maximum education level, among others.

For the purposes of this work, the information was obtained from the statuses of Reintegration of the Information System for Reintegration (ISR), taking into account that the Monitoring Sub-Directorate has been making calculations based on more updated information of third parties since 2014. In addition, it should be considered that demobilized people may be more than those registered in ACR's information system. Due to this reason, the analysis is based only on the people ACR knows about.

Since this document aims at providing a national context to the statistics of the demobilized people undergoing a Reintegration Process, the analysis has been developed in four main sections. The first one refers to the statuses of the Reintegration Process with the purpose of observing the tendencies of the demobilized population. The second one has to do with the two most important socio-economic variables of economic sustainability of the demobilized population: the occupation rate and the level of basic education.

The third section describes the coverage of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR) in terms of economic disbursements and planning of attendance to the activities related to the components of the Reintegration Route. The last section contains some conclusions.

I. Analysis of the Demobilized People in relation to the Reintegration Process

In the case of the people accessing the Reintegration Process, ACR has created some statuses that describe their situation and that have to do with the advancement of benefits, the compliance of attendance and their legal status, according to the regulations in force. The Monitoring Sub-Directorate has created categories for these statuses to be able to monitor the behavior of this people in the Route according to their situation:

Population undergoing a Reintegration Process: these are the demobilized people that ACR serves on a permanent basis and that are complying with their Reintegration Route. There is currently an **active** population that is made up by people that don't have absences in the activities programmed of their Reintegration Route. There are also inactive people who have at least one absence in the activities programmed for the last month planned, but such novelty only generates an alert but not a suspension of the benefits under ACR's current regulations. Finally, there are those who **completed the components**, who are the people that already completed the benefits of the Reintegration Route (academic education, training for work, health system engagement and psychosocial accompaniment) and that are involved in a social service action as an essential requirement for the successful completion of the Reintegration Process.

Population that is absent from the Reintegration Process: this category refers to the demobilized people that accessed the process in the past and had consecutive absences in their Reintegration Route during a period equal to or

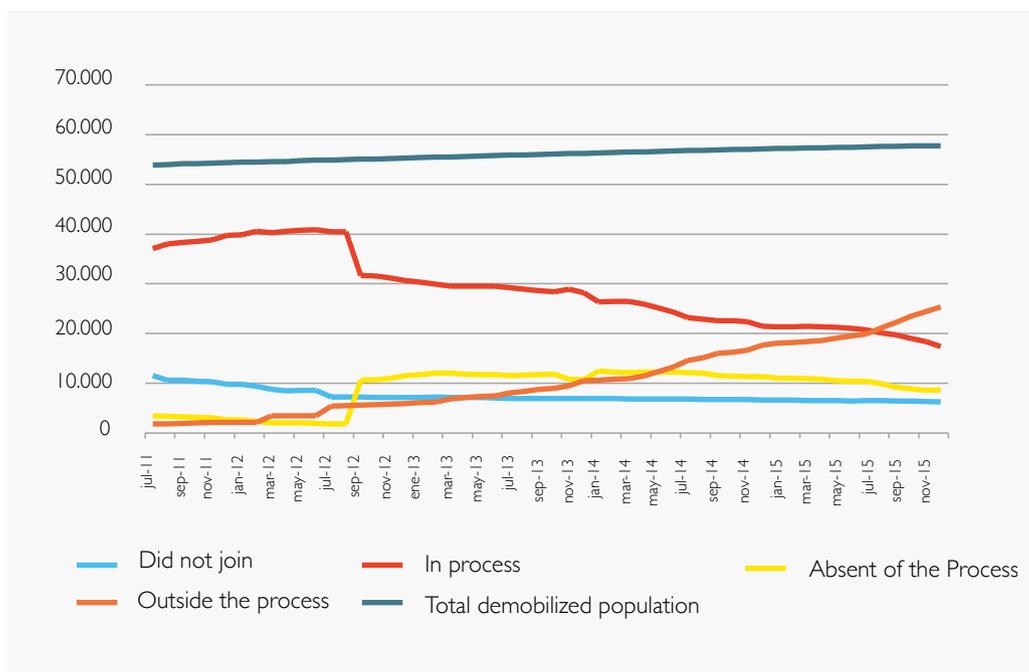
greater than 6 months. These people may be **under investigation due to disqualification cause** and are those "demobilized people who, after starting a Reintegration Process, do not comply with the commitments of their route and have records at INPEC (National Penitentiary and Prison Institute) related to their arrest, or at General Prosecutor's Office, where condemnatory sentences for subsequent events to the date of demobilization are reported" (ACR, 2015). The people that are **under investigation due to abandoning the Reintegration Process** (6 months) are those demobilized people who joined the Reintegration Process and don't have records of attending psychosocial work activities, academic education and training for work, and in addition don't have the aforementioned records at INPEC or the General Prosecutor's Office (ACR, 2015). **Suspended people** are the "demobilized people who started ACR's Reintegration Process and incurred in serious infringements and the suspension of benefits was declared through a duly executed administrative act. Even if the participants suspended by serious infringements will not be able to access the economic benefits of the process during the term of their suspension, they should continue attending the scheduled activities by ACR (ACR, Process Glossary and Reintegration Policy, 2015).

Population outside the Reintegration Process: refers to the demobilized people who left the Reintegration Process and whose benefits were removed ("loss of benefits" status) through the corresponding legal process, to those who completed the Reintegration Process and to those who perished.

People who have not accessed the Reintegration Process: This is the demobilized population certified by the Operational Committee for the Abandonment of Weapons (CODA) who have not appeared before ACR to start their Reintegration Process.

Therefore, and with the purpose of analyzing the evolution of the demobilized people regarding the Reintegration Process, these four categories were used to observe the tendencies in graphs as follows:

Graph 1. Evolution of the Demobilized Population 2011-2015



Source SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group - Monitoring Sub-Directorate
Information: SIR march 10,2016

Graph 1 contains the historic series from July, 2011 to December, 2015 of the demobilized population regarding the statuses of the demobilized people undergoing a Reintegration Process. This graph shows a first important change in the tendency of the population that is in process and that represents a decrease of 8,775 people to be served between August and September of 2012, and that is compensated with an increase in the population absent from the process during the same period of time. This change corresponds to an information update of 8,681 people that had an inactive status for more than three months and who had to pass to the “under investigation” status for loss of benefits due to cause of disqualification or abandonment of the process.

In addition, it can be observed that since 2012, the population exiting the Reintegration Process increases quickly. This increase is related with the successful completions of the Reintegration Process, since the

first one took place in July 2012 and that there were 12,910 people by December 2015. Moreover, in July 2012, 1,900 deceased people were identified, being the knowledge of them obtained only through an exchange of information with the National Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences, reason why in this period there is an important variation in the people who exit the process. At the end of 2015, the list of people who were outside of the Reintegration Process included 6,944 with loss of benefits, 5,469 deceased people and 62 voluntary renunciations.

Between July and August 2015, the population subject to ACR attention is now less than the population that has exited the Reintegration Process and if the tendency observed in the graph continues, the population undergoing a Reintegration Process would be zero by March, 2018. It is important to point out that the development of a strategy of post-completion accompaniment is ACR’s procedures. This strategy may

last up to three years after the demobilized person finishes the Reintegration Process and is voluntary. Nevertheless, these people are not being included in any part of the graph.

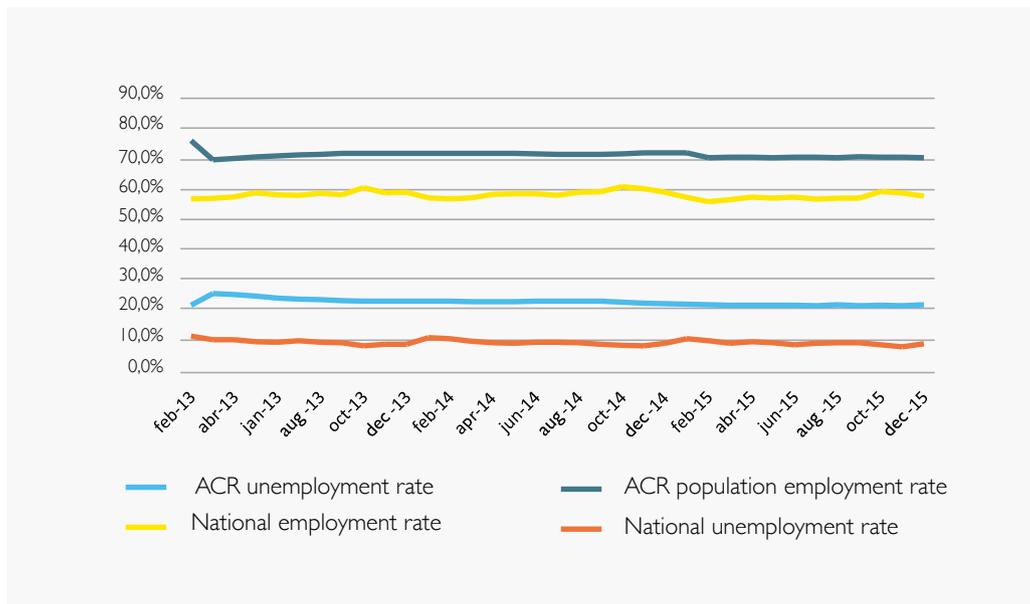
Due to the phenomenon of the absences in the Reintegration Process, it has been observed that, historically, this situation has the least predictable behavior. However, after its maximum point in January 2014 with 12,452 people, the tendency starts to

decline until reaching 8,711 people in December, 2015.

2. Performance of the people undergoing a Reintegration Process in the Labor Market

Regarding the socioeconomic conditions of the demobilized population, the occupation rate and education level of the people going through a Reintegration Process are analyzed below:

Graph 2. Monthly Employment and Unemployment Rate 2013-2015



Source SIR
 Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group - Monitoring Sub-Directorate
 Information: SIR march 10,2016

Graph 2 contains the rate of employment and unemployment calculated for the people undergoing a Reintegration Process and on whom the unemployment rate instrument has been applied, which is the tool with which ACR has been measuring the labor market of its subject population. The first thing that can be noted is that the unemployment rate of the demobilized population under study is higher than the

unemployment rate of the Colombian population at a national level in more than 10% for the entire period. The different barriers that the demobilized population have to face when accessing the labor market can explain this situation easily. These are related to stigmatization, constant changes in the place of residence, lack of soft skills for employability and entrepreneurship and low levels of schooling and training for work.

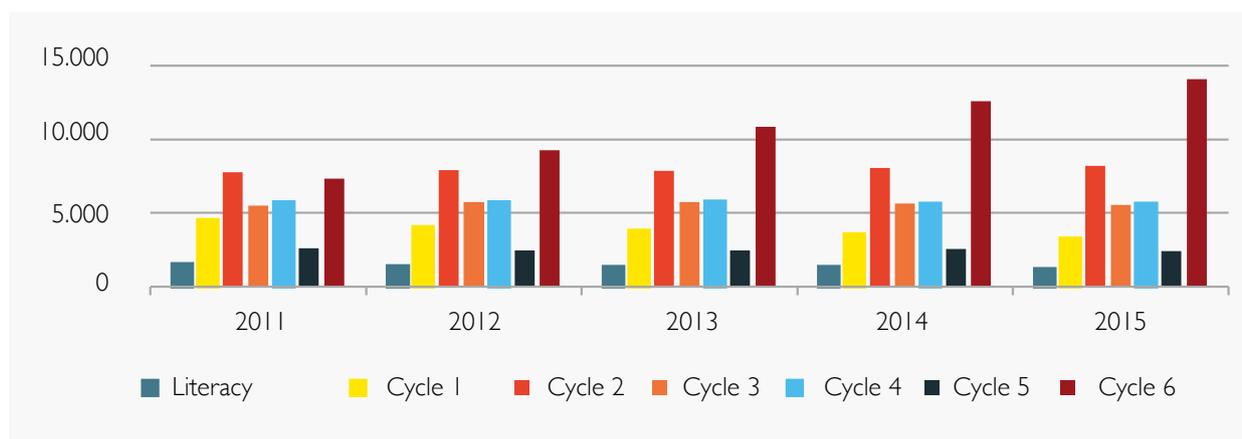
This situation contrasts with the second observable point and relates with how the occupation rate of the population going through a Reintegration Process (and who at the time of the analysis may be in process, have completed the same or absent), may be older than 10% of the total population of the country during the entire period of the study, which would rapidly lead to conclude that the demobilized population with an age for work has a greater participation in the labor market as compared to the national population that is not demobilized and that has the age for working.

Certainly, it is like this, but in order to put this panorama in context, it is necessary to take into account that the demobilized population analyzed is older than 18 (since ACR's population subject to attention is of legal age) and younger than 60, while the population with an age for work at a national level is aged 16 and onwards. This affects the comparison since the "youth unemployment rate in Latin America and the Caribbean (...) is around twice the rate of

adults" (FEDESARROLLO, 2016). This means that unemployment has a greater effect on the population aged between 16 and 24 and, since the population undergoing Reintegration Process is of legal age and more than 90% is between 26 and 60 years of age, they are not affected by this situation.

Finally, another point that affects the comparison between the occupation of the demobilized people undergoing a Reintegration Process and the occupation of the Colombian population in general, are the economically inactive people⁷. Regarding the population subject to ACR's services, this group has reached between 1.1% and 7.0% while, in relation to the national Colombian population, the same group has reached 34.8%. This means that as of December 2015, the population undergoing a Reintegration Process of legal age who did not work because they could do without it was 7%, while in the case of the Colombian population, the percentage was 34.8% of the people older than 16 years of age.

Gráfico 3. Education Level of the People undergoing a Reintegration Process - Years 2011-2015



Source SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group - Monitoring Sub-Directorate
Information: SIR march 10, 2016

⁷ **Economically Inactive Population (EIP):** it is comprised by all the people in age of working that don't participate in the production of goods and services because they don't need, can not or are not interested in having a paid activity. The people in this group include students, housewives, retired people, investors, people with permanent disability, and people who are not interested nor believe working is worth the effort.

Graph 3 shows the education level of the people who have gone through a Reintegration Process. The period between December 2011 and December 2015 shows an increase in the education level of the demobilized population that ACR has served, being it more notorious in Cycle 6⁸ rather than Cycle 2. There were 7,314 bachelors in 2011 and 14,081 in 2015. On the other hand, the number of people who completed fifth grade was 7,770 in 2011 and 8,221 in 2015. This means that (even if the education level of around 2,000 people has been updated for the period of analysis), 12.91% of the demobilized population increased their educational level between 2011 and 2015.

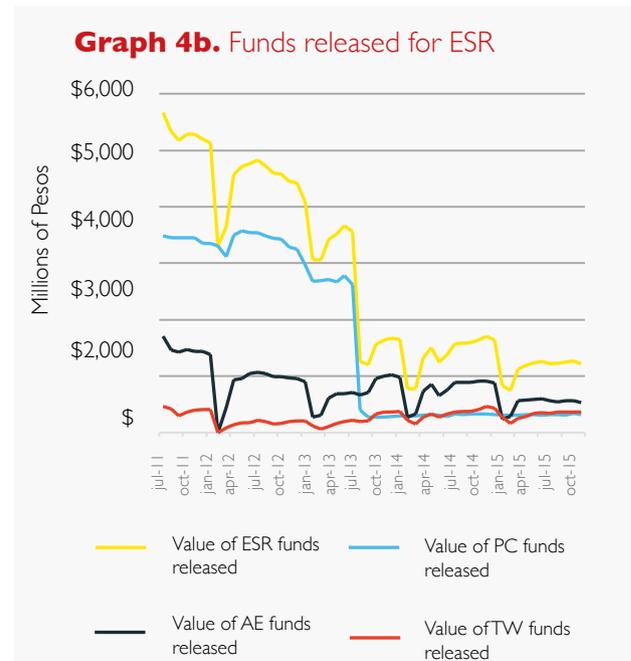
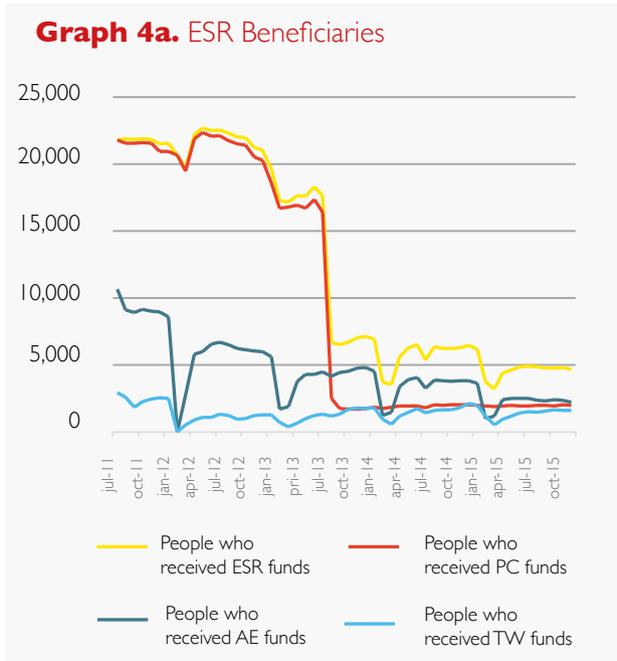
It can also be observed in this same graph that the movements are not very notorious in the other educational cycles due to the new population that accesses the program and replaces the population that

progresses therein, taking into account that 900 people access the process during the period of analysis. One of these slight changes that are worth highlighting is the reduction of the population that only has a literacy level and that in December 2011 was 1,566 and as of December 2015, was 1,223.

3. Coverage of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR).

This part of the document aims at analyzing ACR's coverage in the Reintegration Process through the history of disbursement of funds for Economic Support for Reintegration (ESR) that the people undergoing a Reintegration Process receive for the compliance of their obligations within the process, as seed capital, and due to the attendance to the activities that are part of the Reintegration Route.

Graph 4. Disbursements of Economic Support for Reintegration (ESR) 2011-2015



Source: SIR
 Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group - Monitoring Sub-Directorate
 Information: SIR March 10, 2016

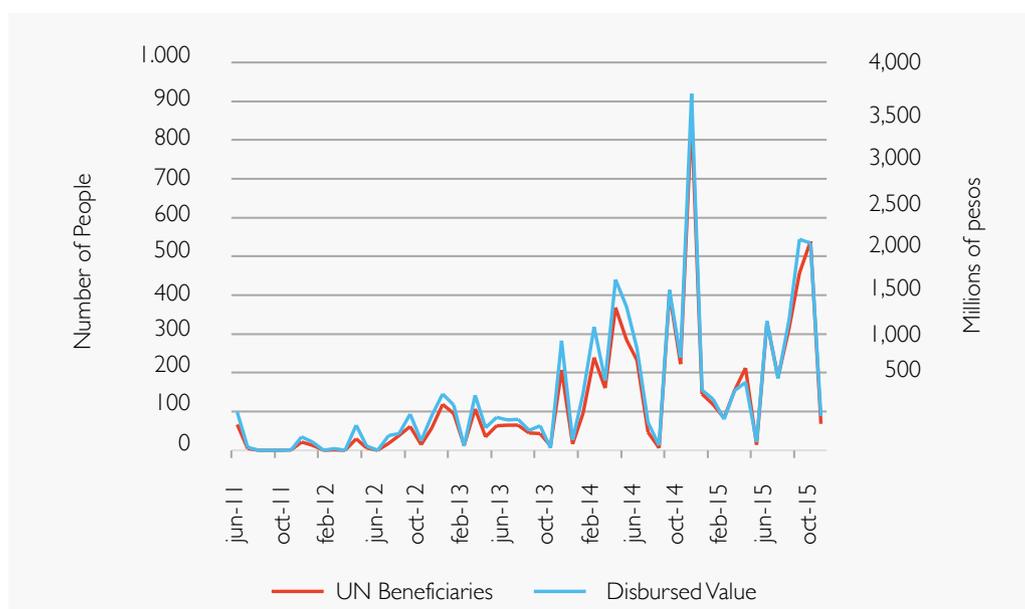
⁸ Decree 3011 of 1997 regulates education by cycles for adults. Cycle 1 corresponds to first, second and third grades, Cycle 2 to fourth and fifth grades, Cycle 3 to sixth and seventh grades, Cycle 4 to eighth and ninth grades, Cycle 5 to tenth grade and Cycle 6 to eleventh grade.

Graph 4 shows the number of beneficiaries of ESR and the value corresponding to the monthly disbursement for each benefit for which the demobilized people can receive support. The first thing to take into account is the abrupt decrease in the series between July and August, 2013, in the line corresponding to the disbursements for the psycho-social component, an effect that is also transferred to the line that corresponds to the sum of disbursements. This decrease is related to the massive termination that is applied to the psychosocial component of 84.7% of the population that, according to Resolution 163, 2011, already complied with the maximum time for receiving this economic benefit. Upon this change, the disbursements in money and number of beneficiaries have had a more stable

behavior, except for the 6-month cycles that are directly related to the periodicity of school cycles, as we will see further with the information on attendance. This decrease meant a reduction of \$2,226 million in the form of economic support.

Another economic benefit of the Reintegration Process is the disbursement of funds for the development of business units with the collaboration of international donors. The value disbursed for this benefit depends on the type of demobilization (collective or individual) and if the process is associative or individual. The information of graph 5 corresponds to the disbursement of funds for business units granted from June 2011, time in which, according to the regulations, ACR must follow up on the resources delivered to such purpose.

Graph 5. Disbursements for Business Units 2011-2015



Source SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group - Sub-Directorate of Monitoring
Information: SIR march 10,2016

The historic series highlight the behavior since December 2013, when the value of the total disbursements (including the money of donors) reaches \$1,131 million, thereby benefitting 208 former combatants. This behavior is a result of the first cases of completion

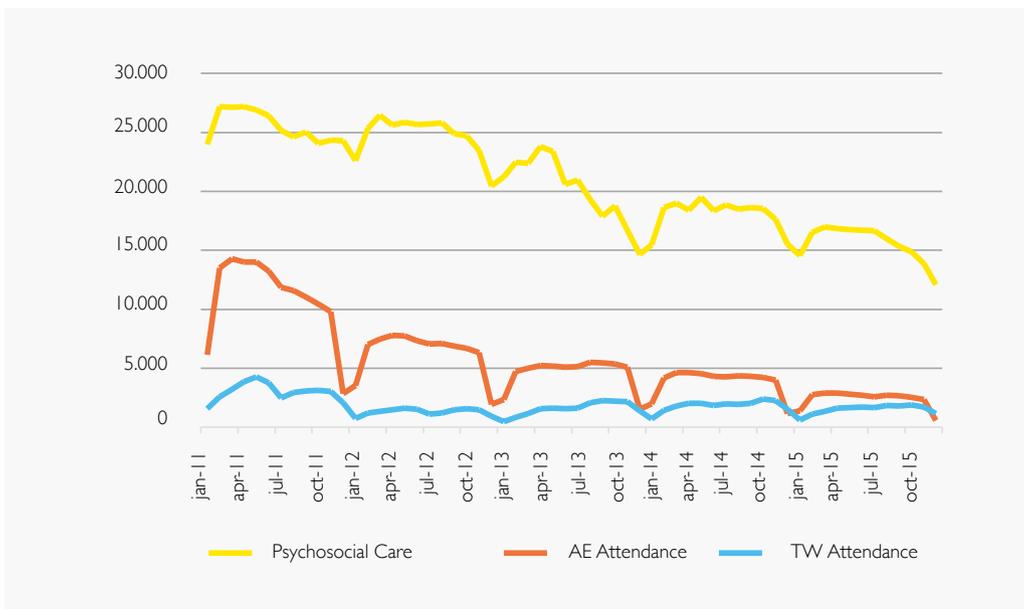
of the Reintegration Process that started to materialize from the end of 2012, precisely because the target population of this benefit was made up by people who have gone through the path of training for work and until six months after completing the Reintegration

Process. The highest peak of release of funds as of the date has been December 2014, with \$3,680 million disbursed and 860 beneficiaries.

In order to provide an understanding of the historic coverage of ACR, the attendance to Psychosocial Care sessions (PC), Academic Education (AE) and Training for Work (TW) is analyzed below: the behavior of the

attendance to the activities of the components of the Route has a cyclic tendency that depends on the hiring times of Reintegration Professionals who are those who schedule and record attendance. This is how there is a fall in the three benefits during all Decembers since it is during this period in which Reintegration Professionals are complying with the tasks related to the ending of their contracts.

Graph 6. Disbursements for Business Units 2011-2015



Source SIR
 Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group - Monitoring Sub-Directorate
 Information: SIR march 10,2016

Disregarding this seasonal effect, it can be observed that, as in the case of the number of people undergoing a Reintegration Process and disbursements, attendance has a decreasing tendency and don't have to do with desertion but with a reduction in the population subject to attention in each one of the benefits.

It can be observed that the attendance level to the training for work activities has not been 5,000

in a month. It is important to take into account here that from January 2011, the people who have at least passed fifth grade were 25,273 and the bachelors were 4,512. This lag in coverage has to do with the different factors as the offer of courses in each region, the schedules that are offered and the willingness of the demobilized people in participating in the offer of the region.

Conclusions

The population undergoing a Reintegration Process had its maximum volume in August 2012 with 40,458 people with statuses. This figure has been decreasing until July 2015, when the people who exit the Reintegration Process start being more than those that we are still serving. In the case of continuing with this tendency, this will mean that around February, 2018, the population undergoing a Reintegration Process may be zero. It is important to analyze the behavior of the people that are absent from the process since this population group is the only one that seems to maintain itself on the same level. Due to this reason, developing a deeper research of the reasons for which these people got into this situation is worthwhile.

Regarding occupation, it is important to determine which are the factors that lead to the demobilized population maintaining a level of unemployment 10%

higher than the national level. It is necessary to inquire about the regional factors that influence in the low hiring of the demobilized population.

12.1% of the demobilized population has increased its level of basic education. On 2015, there were 27,691 people who passed cycle 2 and this provides evidence on the fact that the people that are going through a Reintegration Process value education for their life plan, something that generates better tools to compete with the national population in general.

In addition and taking into account that the disbursements for the business units will continue having an important participation for the upcoming years, it is necessary to reinforce the procedures of training for work with the purpose of increasing the coverage of these benefit in addition of taking advantage of the educational offer to generate the skills that are sufficient so that the business units can meet the market needs in each region.

Bibliography

FEDESARROLLO. (May 8, 2016). Informe Mensual de Mercado Laboral - June, 2015. Obtained at: http://www.fedesarrollo.org.co/wp-content/uploads/IML-Junio_2015_We-VF.pdf

ACR (12, 2015). Glosario Proceso y Política de Reintegración. Obtained at: www.reintegracion.gov.co/es: http://klein/SIGER/ModuloDocumental/Documentos/Radicado/ACR%20-%20Documentos%20Complementarios/GLOSARIO%20PROCESO%20Y%20POLITICA%20REINTEGRA-C%D3N1215201540753%20PM.pdf

ACR (February, 2015). Guía metodológica para la construcción del indicador de reincidencia en la población desmovilizada. Bogota.

Subsequent Accompaniment Strategy: Reporting on the Public Value of the National Policy on Social and Economic Reintegration of Illegally Armed People and Groups (SERP)

Adriana Villamarín García

Introduction

Empirical evidence on the results, effects and impacts of a program or social intervention plays a fundamental role in the processes of design, implementation and assessment of public policies. Counting on reliable information allows the minimizing of the degree of uncertainty in decisions aimed at adjusting or improving a determined public policy.

Developing and implementing rigorous and effective tools for monitoring the National Policy of Social and Economic Reintegration (SERP) enables the identification of learning and opportunities of improvement in the Reintegration Process. This exercise has a particular relevance taking into account the historic moment the country is going through, where having adequate mechanisms of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) is fundamental for guaranteeing peace in a possible scenario of a post-conflict.

This article has the purpose of presenting the strategy of subsequent accompaniment, an initiative of ACR's Sub-Directorate of Monitoring that seeks to report on the public value of SERP through the generation and analysis of information about the social, economic and legal situation of those who have successfully completed their Reintegration Process.

This text has four parts. The first one is this introduction. The second section contains a contextualization on the importance and need to have a monitoring scheme and assessment of the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy. In addition, the framework used to design the strategy is described in this section. On the other hand, the third section contains the results of the main socioeconomic variables that are periodically monitored during subsequent accompaniment, that allow to come closer to the measurement of the quality of life of the people who have completed the Reintegration Process.

1. The importance of having and monitoring and assessment scheme for the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy.

In 2012, the first 832 demobilized people from an organized illegal armed group successfully finished their Reintegration Process. This situation brought new challenges for ACR. In particular, the need of reporting on SERP's public value in development processes, citizen coexistence, actions and spaces for reconciliation was identified (ACR, 2014, page 6).

Here, public value is not only understood as the satisfaction of needs of a particular population (beneficiaries, users or recipients). This is a commonly approach used in methods of project and program assessment (Hintze, 2005). In

contrast, the latter is a wider approach that is assumed as the change that occurs in social variables, due to a program, policy or intervention and how these are related and contribute to development processes.

Reporting on public value of the Reintegration Policy responds to the following needs; I) Efficacy to ensure that the policy complies with its objectives; II) Efficiency to optimize the use of the public resources; III) Reporting: to guarantee the transparency in the use of public resources; IV) Democracy: to count on an instrument of democratic deepening; and V) Trust: to contribute to the enhancement by the citizens towards the government and public services.

Taking the above into account, the Monitoring Sub-Directorate of the agency designed the strategy of subsequent accompaniment as a fundamental part of the responsible completion of the Reintegration Policy. Through this strategy, ACR knows and analyzes information about the economic, social and legal situation of the people who have successfully completed their Reintegration Process. This way, rigorous evidence about the results and impact of SERP is obtained and the sustainability of the Reintegration Process is determined.

2.1 The strategy of subsequent accompaniment: the design of an innovative proposal of policy assessment

In order to develop the subsequent accompaniment strategy, the Sub-Directorate of Monitoring carried out a review of the literature of the main technical benchmarks regarding monitoring and assessment of processes of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). Such review had as a purpose to identify the guidelines and good practices of other experiences to subsequently monitor the people who complete their Reintegration Process and therefore know the results and impact of SERP.

While general guidelines for the assessment and monitoring of DDR processes were found during this review, it was not possible to find references for the

initiatives of this type of processes for a subsequent moment (ACR, 2014, pg. 6-10). For the most part, the methodological guidelines of assessment and monitoring of DDR processes refer to phases of planning and preparation of monitoring during the process but not to subsequent phases (ACR, 2014, pg. 6-10).

For instance, while reviewing the integral DDR standards (IDDRS), it was possible to identify the basic guidelines for the assessment and monitoring of DDR process, but not for a posterior moment (ACR, 2014, pg. 6-10). Likewise, the periodical, theme and final reports of the Multinational Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP) were reviewed. These constitute a regional framework created to support the process of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of around 350,000 former combatants in the region of the African Great Lakes. No references to initiatives of monitoring processes or subsequent assessment for the countries that are part of this region were found in these reports (ACR, 2014, pages 6-10).

In addition, the reports of the Transition for Demobilization and Reintegration Program (TDRP), which was a continuation of MDRP, were reviewed. In this case, no references of methodologies of subsequent monitoring for people undergoing a Reintegration Process were found either (ACR, 2014, pages 6-10).

The manual of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) "How to Guide: Monitoring and Evaluation for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programs" was also reviewed and no guidelines or references on monitoring and assessment for the post-process were observed. Moreover, other UNDP documents oriented to providing tools and guidelines for the design and implementation of monitoring and assessment processes of social programs were consulted. Nevertheless, no references to the monitoring of beneficiaries after fulfilling an intervention were found.

Besides consulting the main references of multilateral bodies, documents and initiatives of actors of the third sector and non-government organizations that operate

in countries in post-conflict were also reviewed. It is important to point out that, during this search, the Monitoring and Evaluation of Peace Operations Report issued by the International Peace Institute, which was prepared with ACCORD and the Norwegian Institute of Foreign Affairs was highly useful in the conceptual definitions of the strategy of Subsequent Accompaniment (ACR, 2014, pages 6-10).

After consulting the main technical benchmarks regarding monitoring and assessment of DDR processes, we proceeded with a bibliographical review of the monitoring mechanisms of populations that have gone through a detention facility. Particularly, initiatives oriented to determine the efficacy of policies related to crime management (ACR, 2014, pages 6-10) were reviewed. Thus we found that these methodologies are focused on carrying out an electronic monitoring and a psychosocial accompaniment to prevent recidivism (ACR, 2014, pages 6-10). However, such proposals don't monitor the citizen behavior of the people.

This is how we could conclude that there are no theoretical or practical benchmarks regarding post-process assessment for DDR programs or other public policies. Hence, the post accompaniment strategy is an innovative proposal of assessment that, even if it uses concepts and instruments that are common in the evaluation of programs and projects, is a pioneer as it accompanies beneficiaries during the post-process.

2.2 Assessing the objectives of the Reintegration Process: the overcoming of vulnerability and the autonomous exercise of citizenship

ACR's Reintegration Approach states that the people undergoing a Reintegration Process may overcome their vulnerable situation that is a consequence of belonging to an Organized Illegal Armed Group in the past. The vulnerability of the demobilized people is understood from a multi-dimensional perspective that integrates elements of development and that are directed towards the exercise of citizenship.

In this order of ideas, the subsequent accompaniment strategy has the purpose of measuring and assessing if the skills acquired during the Reintegration Route and its implementation has led the person who completed the process to a full exercise of his/her citizenship and the overcoming of his/her situation of vulnerability. In order to comply with this purpose, the strategy focuses on monitoring a series of variables and indicators that allow the assessment of the degree of vulnerability of the people who have completed their Reintegration Process.

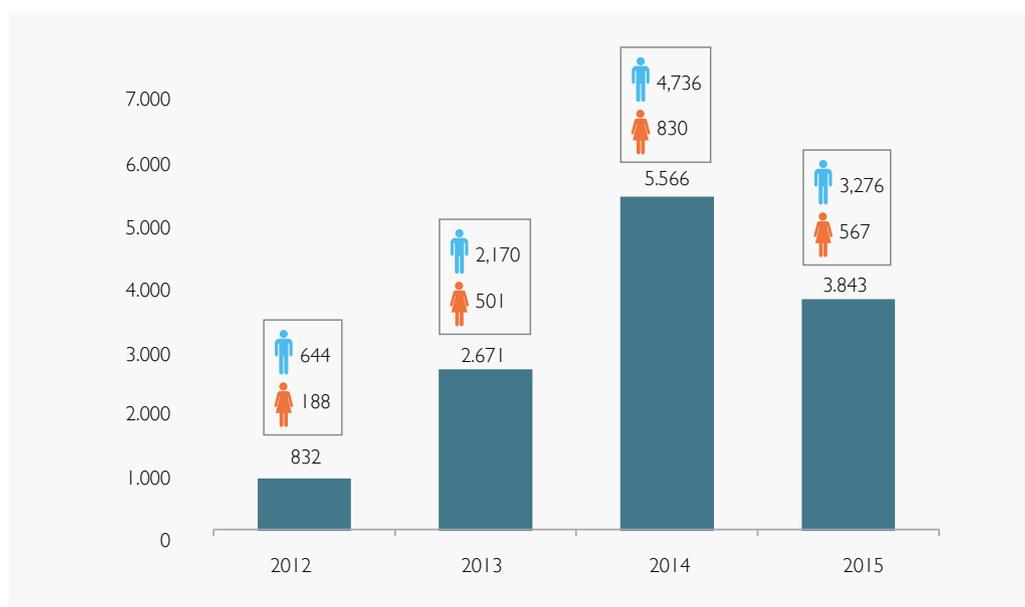
The periodical and rigorous reporting of the overcoming of the vulnerable situation of the person who finishes his/her Reintegration Process, including the overcoming of poverty and the autonomous exercise of his/her rights and duties is sought with the monitoring of these variables and indicators (ACR, 2014, page 30). Such variables and the corresponding indicators may be grouped into the following six socio-demographic categories (ACR, 2014, p.30): 1) socio-demographic characteristics; 2) participation in economic characteristics; 3) educational characteristics; 4) family characteristics; 5) citizen behavior; and 6) social and political aspects. The results of the calculations of some of the indicators associated to these categories are presented below

3. Results of indicators and variables of people who completed the Reintegration Process

In 2012, the first group of 832 people, comprised by 645 men and 187 women, successfully completed their Reintegration Process. From this year, the number of people who demobilized from Organized Illegal Armed Groups that complied with all the requirements of the Reintegration Route has been becoming higher, registering a maximum value in 2014 (See Graph 1).

As of December, 2015, a total number of 12,912 people would have finished their Reintegration Process. The majority of these people (73%) belonged to the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), while 22% belonged to FARC-EP and the remaining 5% belonged to other Organized Illegal Armed Groups.

Graph I. Number of people who completed the Reintegration Process 2012-2015



The results presented in the following section of this article have a cut-off date the first semester of 2015. As of June 2015, a total number of 9,314 people had successfully completed their Reintegration Process⁹. Among these, ACR contacted 79.2% of the people within the framework of the Subsequent Accompaniment strategy. The results of the indicators presented in Section 2.2 are shown below, which explain the economic, social and economic situation of the people who have finished their Reintegration Process.

⁹ The frequency of the implementation of the subsequent accompaniment strategy is half-yearly. This means that the people that complied with all the requirements of the Reintegration Route during the second semester of 2015 are being accompanied during the first semester of 2016 and therefore, at the time of writing this text, there was still no information available for these people.

3.1 The socio-economic situation of the people who have finished their Reintegration Process

As explained above, the monitoring of the variables that represent the overcoming of the vulnerable situation of the people that have undergone a Reintegration Process is sought through the subsequent accompaniment strategy. The results of the main socio-economic results are presented below. Even though other variables are monitored through subsequent accompaniment, for example those related with citizen performance, this article focuses on analyzing the results of the main socio-economic indicators related to the overcoming of the vulnerable situation of the people who have finished their Reintegration Process. The following indicators are analyzed in particular:

Table 1. Variables and indicators of subsequent accompaniment

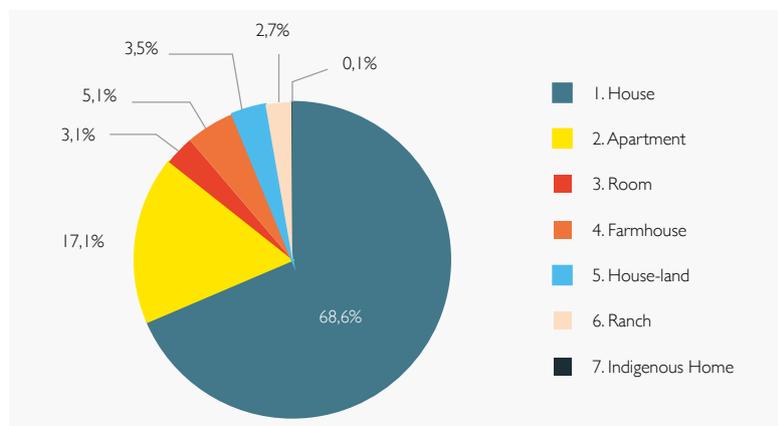
Línea temática	Línea temática	Indicador
Socio-demographic characteristics	Sanitation and access to services	Percentage of people with access to electricity
		Percentage of people with access to water services
	Housing	Percentage of people according to a regime of housing tenure
		Percentage of people according to type of housing
Health	People affiliated to the General Social Security System (Health).	
Participation in economic contexts	Economic occupation	Occupation Rate
	Employment quality (formal, informal)	Percentage of people according to type of employment (formal/informal)
Security	Threats to security	Number and percentage of people who finish a Reintegration Process that are victims of homicide.
	Recidivism	Number and percentage of people that have demonstrated proved and potential recidivism.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

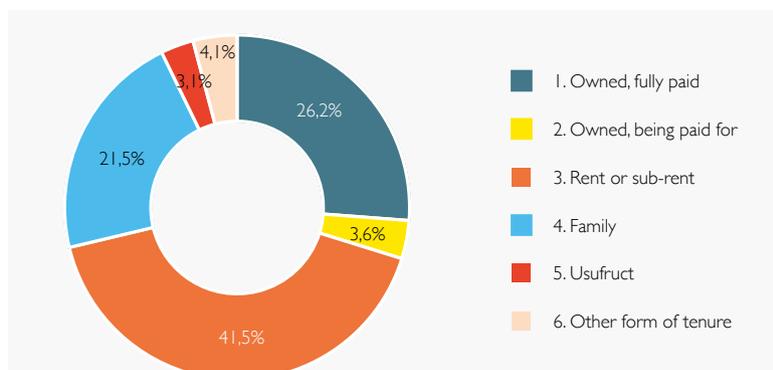
The majority (85.7%) of the demobilized people who finished a Reintegration Process who were contacted within the subsequent accompaniment strategy lives in houses (68.5%) or apartments (17.1%). 41.5% of these pay rent. This proportion is greater than the percentage

of Colombian homes who live under this modality of tenure (37.3%), while the percentage of demobilized people who completed the process that has a totally paid home as of June 2015 (26.2%) is lower than the national percentage (41.6%). Likewise, the percentage of people who live in an own home but that are still paying for them (3.6%), is lower than the national one (4.3%).

Graph 2. Demobilized People who finished the process by type of home



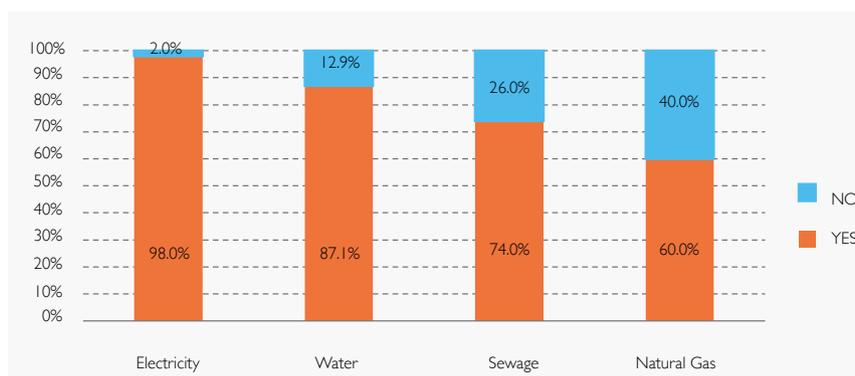
Graph 3. Demobilized People who finished the process by the type of home



Regarding access to public services, 98% has access to electricity. This percentage is very close to the national percentage of homes with access to this public service (99%) (ECV, 2015). 87.1% has water service in their homes. This percentage is below the national percentage of homes with access to

water service. Likewise, until June 2015, 74% of the demobilized people who finished the process and from whom there is available information, has sewage services in their homes. This percentage is lower than the national percentage of homes with access to sewage (77%).

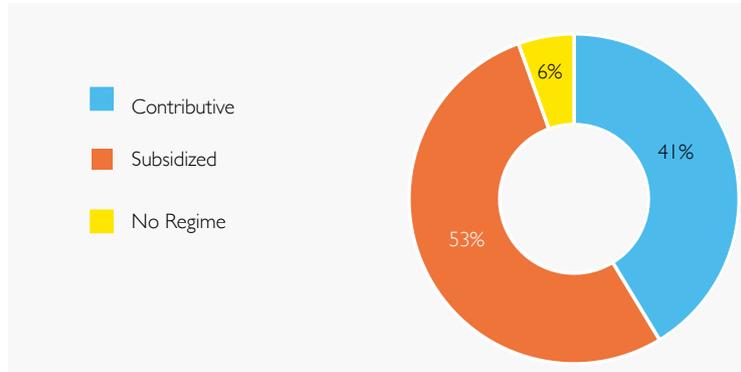
Graph 4. Demobilized People who finished the process and their access to Public Services



Regarding the affiliation to the General System of Social Security (Health), 94.5% is affiliated. This figure is a very similar to the national one since 94.6% of the population is currently affiliated. To June, 2015, 41.3% of the demobilized people who completed the process is affiliated to the contributive regime. This figure is

smaller than the percentage of Colombians that are affiliated to this regime (50.6%). On the other hand, to June 2015, 53.2% of the demobilized population who completed the process is affiliated to the subsidized regime. This proportion is greater than the percentage of Colombians affiliated to this regime (48.2%).

Graph 5. Demobilized People who finished the process by Health Regime



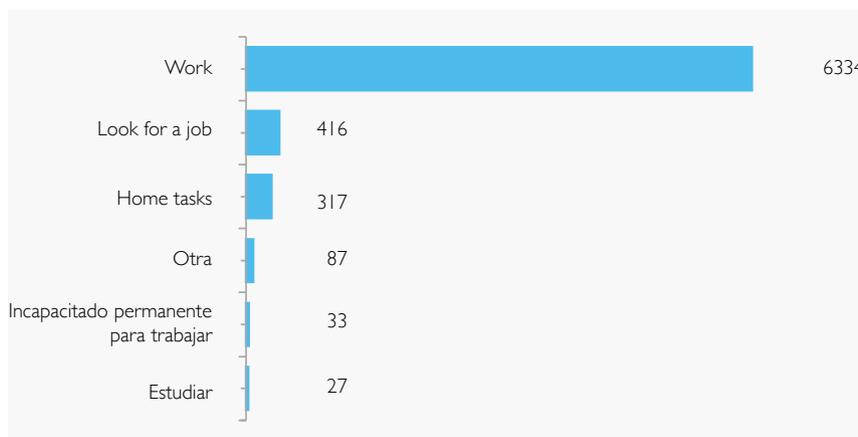
Participation in economic environments

87.8% of the demobilized people who finished a Reintegration Process and that were contacted during Subsequent Accompaniment informed that they had been working during the last month. 52.4% of the people who informed that they had been working are affiliated to the subsidized regime of the General Social Security System, while 5% is not affiliated. This suggests that around 57.4% (3,636) of the demobilized people who finished the process and have a job are employed in the informal sector.

Regarding occupation, important gender differences are identified. 89.8% of men informed that they had been working during the last month while in the case of women, the two activities to which they dedicated most of the time in the last month were working (66.9%) and home tasks (21.8%).

46.12% of the people who reported that they were working during the last month affirmed to be working in the sector of services, 20.5% in activities related to agriculture, cattle raising, hunting, forestry and fishing, 17.1% in the sale and/or distribution of any product and 16.4% in the manufacturing or preparing of a product.

Graph 6. Demobilized People who finished the process according to the activity to which they dedicated most part of the time during the last month

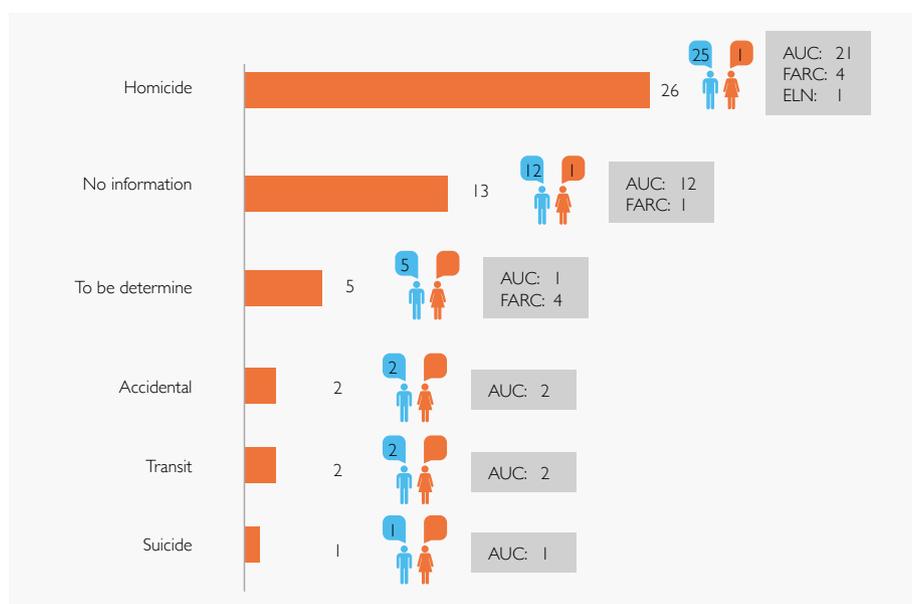


Security

26 people who finished their Reintegration Process until June 2015 have died after completing their process as a consequence of homicide and 6 of these people reported a case of risk before the National Protection Unit as follows: three for threat, two for assassination attempt and one for persecution.

Less than 1% of the people who have completed their Reintegration Process have proved recidivism. This type of recidivism is made up by all the people who died in combat against the public force or during a battle against Organized Illegal Armed Groups, according to official information, or that were condemned for crime committed in a date that is subsequent to their demobilization.

Graph 7. Deceased demobilized People according to type of death



Conclusions

The figures collected until December 2015 through the strategy of subsequent accompaniment on the social, economic and legal situation of the demobilized people who successfully completed their Reintegration Process until June 2015 show important achievements of the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy. In particular, the following can be noted:

- The majority (94.5%) of the demobilized people who finished the process as of June, 2015, are affiliated to the General Social Security System (Health). However, 53.2% is affiliated to the subsidized regime. This figure is greater than the percentage of Colombians that is affiliated to this regime (48.2%).
- The majority (88.2%) of the demobilized people who finished their Reintegration Process until June, 2015, and that were contacted during subsequent accompaniment, informed to be working. To June 2015, 52.4% of the demobilized people who finished their Reintegration Process informed to be working and affiliated to the subsidized regime (Health) and 5% is not affiliated. This suggests that 57.4% of the demobilized people who finished the process have an informal job. This figure is greater than the percentage of Colombians with an informal job (47.2%) for the trimester December 2015-February (2016).
- 7% of the people who finished their Reintegration Process until June 2015 and who have been contacted during Subsequent Accompaniment

have attended training programs after finishing their Reintegration Process. It should be highlighted that 74 people are undergoing undergraduate and postgraduate studies.

- 0.9% of the people who finished their Reintegration Process until June, 2015, have proved recidivism. This figure is lower than the percentage with this type of recidivism (9.6%). In addition, the percentage of people who finished their Reintegration Process with potential recidivism (21.4%) is lower than the proportion of demobilized people with this type of recidivism (23.8%).

Subsequent Accompaniment also allows to identify some of the challenges that the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy. The figures gathered on the

habitability conditions of the people who have finished their Reintegration Process show that:

- The percentage of people who finished the process and live in their own homes (30.2%) is lower than the national percentage (45.6%).
- The percentage of people who finished the process and live in their own homes with access to electricity (98.1%), water (87.2%), sewage (74.1%) and natural gas (60.2%) is lower than the percentage of Colombian homes that have access to these services (99%, 89.9%, 77% and 62.5%, respectively). It is important to take into account that the access to the services of water and sewage is used as an indicator of poverty within the indicator of multidimensional poverty index calculated by DANE.

Bibliography

ACR. (2014). Documento de Apoyo Estrategia de Monitoreo Post.

ACR (2014). Documento de Enfoque de Reintegración.

Hintze, J. (2005). Evaluación de Resultados, Efectos e Impactos de Valor Público. X International Congress of CLAD on State Reform and Public Administration. Santiago de Chile.

DANE (2015). Encuesta de Calidad de Vida.

The Psychosocial Approach in the Frame of the Social and Economic Reintegration Process of Armed People and Groups¹⁰

Luisa Fernanda Mejía Gómez¹¹

At this time, “the psychosocial” approach or model of intervention is a topic for discussion and analysis that calls for both the academy and various public, private and independent actors, specially because during the last decades the word psychosocial has become popular and has even become a priority regarding social intervention, accompaniment and community guidance, mainly with vulnerable populations..

The Social and Economic Reintegration Process of Armed People and Groups implemented in Colombia over the last 13 years has not been alien to the mentioned psychosocial phenomenon due to the importance of the “psychosocial accompaniment” in the program led by the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR) and

to the deep discussions and analysis produced in this respect at the interior of this process.¹² From there, a series of perspectives, benefits, models and strategies of psychosocial accompaniment for the population subject of attention of the Reintegration Program in Colombia have materialized.

In this regard, upon identifying the impact produced by the armed conflict on the individuals directly or indirectly involved in it, the Reintegration Process led by ACR has placed the psychosocial accompaniment as the axis of all the strategies of attention, from where the strengthening of competences, skills and abilities has been sought both in former combatants and their families, and in the communities as, besides the individual implications, it is acknowledged that war or violence primarily affects social tissue. The above is based on the perception in ACR of the national armed conflict as a social phenomenon that, beyond a group of individuals motivated by a warlike acting, involves a

¹⁰ This article uses some elements addressed in an internal document of ACR: “The Role of the Psychosocial Strategies in the Social and Economic Reintegration at the World Level”, published in 2009 by the Social Reintegration Unit.

¹¹ Luisa Fernanda Mejía is a psychologist graduated from the Catholic University of Pereira (Colombia) with a Masters’ Degree in Political and International Studies from Rosario University (Bogota-Colombia). At ACR, as member of the Group of Design of the Territorial Sub-Directorate, she is in charge of leading the design and management of the physical and mental health strategies and guidelines in the psychosocial field of the Reintegration Process.

¹² ACR, in the frame of its intra and inter institutional analysis has participated in different academic debates where, based on its experience, it has contributed to the discussion on how to understand and implement the psychosocial aspect from the public policies standpoint, as well as in armed post-conflict and peace-building sceneries..

series of social, political, historical, cultural and economic conditions and circumstances that have propitiated the emerging and strengthening of internal civil wars and an armed conflict that Colombia has been experiencing currently and over several decades.

In the frame of this initial analysis this article intends to support the understanding of the psychosocial aspect as experienced through the Reintegration Program experience and to such end, different conceptual, historical and analytical aspects will be addressed that will make it easier for the reader to build a much clearer perspective regarding this concept.

Conceptual Background of the Psychosocial Scene

The psychosocial concept arises as a theoretical perspective to explain the individual psychological development of the human being (Erikson, 2000). Over time such perspective is developed and expanded in several closely intertwined senses, specially in connection with the systemic paradigm of psychology, ecological model, Symbolic Interactionism and Social Constructionism (Mead, 1934, Berger and Luckmann in Arango, 2015), whose approaches emphasize on relations among persons and define that the individual-society interaction directly affects the mental health of the population and can constitute a determinant of the psychological pathologies, and their recovery (Bertalanffy, 1968; Vygotsky, 1996; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bowen, 1966).

On the other hand, the psychosocial perspective amalgamates to the psychiatric approach as a conceptual and therapeutic tool that should be applied to all mental pathologies, whether they are produced or not by psychosocial factors. This is because the psychological and social implications of any pathology must be treated as the biological ones. In this regard, the psychosocial approach overflows the paradigms of psychology, addressing the suffering of millions of people that despite of not presenting mental pathologies, require

psychological and interdisciplinary support to overcome their vulnerability condition or situation.¹³ Therefore, the psychosocial health consists in a state of emotional, cognitive and social welfare that allows any person to function in his/her daily life (MDRP, 2006).

According to this theoretical base, the psychosocial concept starts to be considered as something that goes beyond the absence of pathologies and psychological discomforts, and intends to understand mental health as a pillar of the social tissue and development of nations. (Baró, 1984; Beristain et. al, 1999). As a consequence, the concept is currently understood not only as a particular type of treatment of the mental pathologies, but also as a model of community intervention focused on alleviating the suffering of the vulnerable persons (OMS, 2001). It is worth mentioning that nowadays the psychosocial concept has been emphatically focused on the latter definition.

Actions in the psychosocial scope contribute to the suitable functioning of individuals in their contexts, overcoming a number of conditions that afflict them and with emphasis on vulnerable populations and on people suffering mental issues. According to this perspective where both the academic community and expert bodies of international cooperation are enrolled, the psychosocial action is currently assumed mainly as a comprehensive process and not only a technique or method (OMS, 2001, p.62).

In alignment with the perspective assumed by the World Health Organization (WHO) regarding the psychosocial scene, Law 1616, 2013 has as its purpose to ensure the full exercise of the right to mental health in Colombia and defines the psychosocial problem as "a negative vital happening, environmental difficulty or deficiency, familiar or interpersonal stress, insufficiency

¹³ Vulnerability can be generally understood as "the higher probability of being affected by the risks, given that the persons or the families lack the mechanisms to face them" (DNP, Doc. without date. P. 1) or as "the degree in which a system or a population result or may result harmed or deteriorated as a consequence of a stimulus" (DNP, 2007. P7)

in social support, personal resources or other issue related with the context” (Law 1616, 2013), while it defines psychosocial rehabilitation as follows:

“A process that provides an opportunity to individuals who are deteriorated, disabled or affected by a mental disturbance handicap, or disadvantage, to reach the maximum level of independent functioning in the community. In turn, it implies an improvement in the individual competence and the introduction of changes in the environment to achieve a life of the best possible quality for people that have experienced a psychic disorder or that suffer deterioration of their mental capacity that produces certain level of disability. The Psychosocial Rehabilitation aims at providing the optimal level of functioning to individuals and societies, and the minimization of disabilities, of skills and handicap, enhancing the individual elections on how to live satisfactorily in the community” (Law 1616, 2013).

As it can become evident, the psychosocial sphere spins-off and can be interpreted from a different perspective whether as a process, a specific action, an approach or an all-embracing process of reality. In this respect, authors such as Montero (2004) regarding the “psychosocial process” state that it is produced and made visible in the relations that come about at the interior of the community based on conversation, ways of thinking, interactions and particular ways to understand and build the world. In this regard, if the starting point is recognizing that psychosocial processes are inherent to the communities or social groups, the psychosocial intervention must be inclined mainly towards strengthening the existing dynamics in the various forms of social organization (Montero, 2004).

Arango (2015) notes that the psychosocial perspective can be understood as “a form of approach of social scientists to understand reality in an interdisciplinary way” (p.3), while he specifically defines the term psychosocial as “the field of the personal and

interpersonal or experience or inter-experience where, based on the interaction and exchange of meanings between people, processes and objects are created as a function of which we build our subjectivity, our identity and the personal, social and cultural reality that are part of our daily life” (p.4).

In this regard, it may be then inferred that the psychosocial approach or perspective can be assumed as a comprehensive model of reality that uses different means to facilitate the social and community processes, such as the psychosocial intervention that, from Arango’s perspective (2015) can be understood as a “techno-practical tool that guides the psychosocial work towards building the community and strengthening its intervention capacity” (p.6).

This way of understanding the psychosocial concept is supported also on other theoretical perspectives from where it is assumed as “a way to understand and recognize the interrelation of the psychological, social and cultural dimensions of the populations with whom we work in all the actions developed” (ICBF, IOM & UNICEF, 2014. p. 50).

In the frame of the conceptual approach of human development that assumes the Social and Economic Reintegration Process led by ACR, the psychosocial field is assumed as a comprehensive model of the reality that determines ways of being and doing (Villa, 2014) that are proper of the accompaniment offered to the population undergoing a Reintegration Process, their families and the recipient communities. This perspective assumes that the psychosocial sphere favors the scope of the objectives proposed by the program and the approach of reintegration itself, in terms of development of capacities that allow the population to autonomously exercise its citizenship, build or reconfigure their life project in the social, economic and political contexts, thereby overcoming the specific vulnerability situation associated to their involvement in the Organized Armed Groups outside the Law (Grupos Armados Organizados al Margen de la Ley, GAOML).

Applying the Psychosocial Approach to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Processes

Many contexts where Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programs (DDR) have been implemented completely disregard or ignore the psychological symptoms coming from the war and its psychosocial discomfort, as well as the more common psychiatric pathologies of former combatants, while mental health has been assimilated as a peripheral axis of the physical health, thereby producing consequences that significantly affect the comprehensive development of the process of returning to legality of such former combatants (MDRP, 2006; 2006a; OMS, 2001).

The above situation has been experienced by different countries where, as in Colombia, DDR programs have been implemented. In the case of Somalia, for example, the lack of a psychosocial intervention prevented dealing with mental health issues, such as the consumption of psychoactive substances that coexisted with Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)¹⁴, whose consequence was the social dysfunction and labor disability of former combatants. Symptoms of such issues aggravated to such point that the efforts of managing jobs and developing business plans were dramatically truncated, thereby hindering the Reintegration Process (MDRP, 2006).

¹⁴ PTSD is a psychiatric clinical picture that occurs in subjects exposed to a traumatic event of extreme nature that produced intense fear, despair or horror, characterized by the re-experiencing of episodes of the traumatic event in the form of memories, nightmares, sensation or acts where the subject feels that the event is occurring; this may be triggered due to situations that symbolically remind the initial event, symptoms of stimuli avoidance associated with the traumatic event, isolation or emotional numbness that should last for over one (1) month and cause a major social, occupational and relational dysfunction that is acute if the symptoms last less than three (3) months and chronic if it persists longer.

From a clinical point of view, the diverse mental pathologies, many times resulting from practices of physical, structural¹⁵ and symbolic¹⁶ violence experienced during the activist period, determine the unfeasibility for former combatants to operate in the educational, economic and social spaces of the civil context (MDRP, 2006; 2007). The symptoms of mental pathologies or suffering events associated to depression, PTSD and Impulse Control Disorder¹⁷ (ICD) support the problems.

Such symptoms add to the psychological effects of the war¹⁸: the mourning for the loss of relatives and friends, the approach to the consumption and abuse of Psychoactive Substances (PAS), detachment, the mental discomfort that results from the psychological coercion coming from the rigid and vertical hierarchies of armed groups, the guilt coming from the perpetuation of

¹⁵ Structural violence: understood as the violence caused by the social structure to which a subject belongs (Farmer, 2004). For example, social inequalities restrict the agency and autonomy of people, hindering their development and causing suffering. As example, hunger can be caused by a lack of economic resources to buy food, which cause can be the economic restrictions imposed by an Illegal Armed Group. (Sen, 1988; Sepúlveda, 2008).

¹⁶ Symbolic violence: understood as the forms of submission and domination that come from the power exercised on the basis of legitimacy that provides a symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999). For instance: the term "seniority", in GAI, is understood as the length of time a combatant has been active. This is socially represented and has a symbolic meaning of experience and knowledge; a "senior" member knows more and is more aware than a new one. This notion legitimates the use of power and the command of the "senior". Therefore, this symbolic capital-"seniority"-in some cases could give the right to the psychological abuse as a means of military training.

¹⁷ As its name indicates it, this disorder has to do with the difficulty or impossibility for a person to handle or yield to a wish or impulse that can end up damaging the same individual that performs it, or others. Usually, the action performed, despite the damage caused, produces instant pleasure but later on it can produce guilty feelings.

¹⁸ Studies on this field can be found of such authors as: Theidon, K.2004; Castro, M. 1991, 2001, 2006; Armañanzas, G. 2012; Kenneth E. & Rasmussen, A. 2009; Baró, I.1984; Villa, J.D.2013.

violent acts and the loss of self-esteem, trust, sense of responsibility and autonomy, outline the psychological aspects that compromise the mentioned process.

Now, in parallel to the presence of psychological discomfort and possible mental health disorders, other psychosocial issues appear in former combatants. In this line, the fundamental determinant is the alienation of former combatants with civil contexts, especially when referring to urban spaces alien to the sociocultural and economic logics of rurality and war. In this regard, reintegration into a civil context that is alien to the socialization habits and practices of militancy, where former combatants lack the social skills to suitably operate, where other capacities are required than those brought by the individuals and where social building dynamics imply other habits, modes of relation that in many cases are characterized by the existence of prejudice or stigmas, exemplify some of the most relevant psychosocial issues.

In this scenario, former combatants can experience a sensation of dysfunction, loss of autonomy and control on their own lives, producing situations such as despair, difficulties in the social and family relations, low school performance, unemployment and even delinquent or illegal conduct. In this respect, it is important to note that the emotional discomfort implied in these circumstances, exacerbates the conditions of adversity faced by former combatants and without any doubt complicates the Social and Economic Reintegration Process.

Now, it is crucial to consider that this psychosocial discomfort experienced by people that have lived in armed conflict sceneries must be understood as a reaction of the subjects to a phenomenon of social origin, such as the war, and not as an isolated symptom, i.e., if discomfort in people has arisen as a consequence of their direct participation in war actions, the same must be understood in the framework of such reality and not as a mere psychopathological individual reaction. In this respect, Baró (1990) states: "The psychosocial nature refers to a trauma that has been socially produced and is nourished and maintained in the relations between the individual and the society

but this does not mean that a uniform effect on the population is produced" (Baró mentioned by Beristain, et.al. 1999, p.49).

Until now the psychosocial reality of former combatants has been mainly exposed considering their own history and reintegration, but on the other hand it is crucial to consider the psychosocial aspect from its recipient contexts, meaning those that characterize the community-former combatant relation, a relationship where the social contexts determine the reintegration capacity of the individuals. From this perspective, stigma and social exclusion, based on the fears of the community produced by a background of violence of former combatants, as well as the conditions of poverty, de-scholarization and psycho-educational ignorance, the decomposition of social tissue and the lack of economic opportunities of the contexts, determine the Reintegration Processes.

This psychosocial component that characterizes both the former combatant and his/her social context is indeed a big challenge for the Reintegration Processes, to the extent that it not only decisively affects the comprehensive development of the person and his/her social ties, but also reintegration itself. Such reality implies a significant social burden for the communities that receive former combatants to the point that the suffering and needs of the social groups can increase, and relations can be altered as well as the coexistence sceneries and the reconstruction of social tissue. Accordingly, the understanding of the psychosocial realities and issues and therefore, the decision-making that attends the needs therein produced, becomes a fundamental aspect for the feasibility or facilitation of the Reintegration Process, thinking on the welfare of the former combatants and their families and communities.

Now, having identified some of the main psychosocial issues of the population undergoing a Reintegration Process and the recipient communities, forms of attention and accompaniment that comprehensively respond to the challenges suggested by such reality need to be envisaged. To such effect, the psychosocial

scenario as a comprehensive approach gains meaning, as it departs from the recognition of the circumstances and possibilities of individuals, communities and contexts, and based thereon, hand in hand with the people strategies are built or strengthened that permit them be empowered and lead to a series of conditions that will favor their quality of life.

In this regard Beristain (1999) notes, referring to the Reintegration Processes into the civil life, that the psychosocial approach would have to be focused on a realistic analysis of the problems and needs of the populations, and measures would be needed to help the concrete context in which these are to be inserted, as the disarmament and demobilization projects can not be presented only as disarmament and provision of humanitarian aid.

The psychosocial scene, as a comprehensive model of the reality that departs from the subject, of the context, history, memories, culture, social networks and generally, the risks and opportunities of the people in their territories, is a basic element for social intervention. In this regard, in the scope of Social and Economic Reintegration, the psychosocial aspect must contribute to the development of each institutional and social action that tends to favor the sustainable return into legality of former combatants, the consolidation of reconciliation sceneries, and the social building of the peace.

Evolution of the Understanding and Strategies of Psychosocial Accompaniment at ACR

As mentioned before, psychosocial accompaniment has been a strategic element in the development of the Reintegration Process led by ACR, which has been present in each moment of the program and with the passage of time has become stronger, reconfigured and consolidated as a comprehensive model of reality, where a series of strategies, techniques and tools are framed tending to favor the collaborative construction of forms of life much more adaptive and generators of individual and collective welfare.

With the purpose of favoring the acknowledgement of some of the experiences and learning undergone by ACR regarding the psychosocial perspective, a historical recount that contributes to the analysis on this topic made by the Agency, as well and other external actors interested therein is presented below.

The current Reintegration Process gathers people that since year 2003 have demobilized, individually or collectively, from the Armed Groups Organized outside the Law. During the first three years, the then in charge Ministry of the Interior and Justice led this process through the Program of Reincorporation into the Civil Life (Programa de Reincorporación a la Vida Civil, PRVC¹⁹). This was a short term reinsertion program focused on the individual, one of its main objectives being “to reform and prepare demobilized persons for the civil life through a series of socio-economic benefits of psychosocial, educational and productive type” (Portal, ACR, 2016).

The psychosocial attention in the frame of PRVC was an aspect of vital importance regarding the guidelines to be given to demobilized persons that focused on aspects related with the rebuilding of the life project of this population in the legality, for which activities were promoted mainly group-based, where people would have the possibility of acquiring new skills that would allow them to enroll in dynamics other than those experienced in the illegal armed groups. PRVC initially established some places of reception and accompaniment in different regions of the country, referred to as shelters²⁰ where the demobilized people

¹⁹ PRVC was created through Decree 200, 2003, as part of the organizational structure of the Ministry of the Interior and Justice and its purpose was to coordinate and direct the action of the State in the handling of the social and economic insertion of demobilized former combatants of illegal armed groups (the Ministry of the Interior and Justice, 2006).

²⁰ The shelters were urban and rural reception centers established to produce the initial accompaniment of the process, specifically during the demobilization stage of the former combatants. In such shelters the recently demobilized people and their families were attended.

who had recently abandoned the armed group resided. After several months of accompaniment upon their return they would be transferred to different places of the country where they were attended by teams of professionals based on the recently created Centers of Reference and Opportunities (CRO²¹).

The various professionals were assigned to both the shelters and the CRO, some of them dedicated to the psychosocial attention, who, particularly in the reincorporation scenario worked in coordination with other collaborators that were in charge of performing and guiding the population in the remaining benefits of the program (access to formal education, health, formation for work and productive projects). The actions of attention implemented in these sceneries were framed in some general national guidelines, from where a great autonomy was allowed to the various work teams as to the type of activities they would develop.

In this regard, the specific psychosocial accompaniment exercises were to a large extent determined by the knowledge, expertise and skills of the professionals that were in charge of the psychosocial field. In the majority of cases they were professional psychologists and social workers²², who developed activities mainly of psycho-education, intervention in crisis, general orientation with regards to immediate actions of the population, and life projects. All these activities were essentially implemented with the use of group methodologies and workshops that, in the majority of cases, involved an extensive number of persons.²³

²¹ Centers of Reference and Opportunities (CRO) were distributed in different places of the country; they offered accompaniment to demobilized people that were part of a reincorporation process.

²² This information was obtained from reports offered in this respect by different professionals who, at that time performed the role of psychosocial professionals both in the shelters and CRO and, at the time of writing this article, were working for ACR.

²³ It is important to note that currently ACR does not keep documentary records that support the psychosocial accompaniment offered to the population at such time.

In year 2004, the Peace and Reconciliation Program is created for the city of Medellin in response to the collective demobilizations of self-defense groups that operated in this municipality and in its metropolitan area. In the frame of this venture of the Municipal Mayor's Office, a Model of Return to Legality that envisages an important strategy of psychosocial intervention for reinsertion is created, from where the psychosocial accompaniment is understood as "an intervention that promotes the comprehensive development of the individual, considering the factors from which we approximate to the human being, the subject of intervention, as a biological, psychological and social being (Mayor's Office of Medellin & OIM, 2007. P. 17).

Under this psychosocial perspective, the psychosocial professionals²⁴, through the development of group, family and community activities would seek to "introduce new models or make the existing visible, promote new criterion figures, promote leadership and joint actions in legality, motivate adequate intra-family relations, community activates, collective repair, and directly through social action, propend for the reconciliation between victims and victimizers" (Mayor's Office of Medellin & OIM, 2007. P. 19).

As it occurred in the frame of the strategies of accompaniment implemented by PRVC at the national level, the Peace and Reconciliation Program featured a clear spin-off in the accompaniment to the demobilized and disengaged population²⁵ to the extent that the professionals, according to their profiles, dedicated themselves to strengthen a series of skills and competencies specifically framed in one of the benefits of the program (psychosocial, health, education, productive projects, formation for work, etc.).

²⁴ Formed mainly in Psychology and Social Work.

²⁵ The disengaged people are those people recovered from the Organized Group outside the Law before they become of adult age, formally recognized as victims of the armed conflict.

As a consequence of the growth in demobilizations and the need to expand the accompaniment processes to former combatants, the High Counselor's Office for the Social and Economic Reintegration of Armed People and Groups was created in year 2006, an entity that, differing from PRVC understood reintegration as a long term exercise where the promotion of significant change processes would be needed considering the national reconciliation both by the demobilized or disengaged individual and the society in general.

When ACR was recently created, it welcomed the learning of both PRVC and the Peace and Reconciliation Program, especially in relation to the psychosocial intervention strategies. However, considering the challenges faced by reintegration at that time, it was necessary to adopt new measures and prioritize the development of processes that would respond to the emerging needs. Thus, in year 2007, the Social Reintegration Unit (Unidad de Reintegración Social, URS)²⁶ structured a team of psychosocial professionals at the national level comprising, once again, mainly psychologists and social workers, who would accompany a group of 100 to 150 demobilized persons located in specific areas of the country. The transit of PRVC to ACR produced, as a priority, the linkage of the population to the offer of services of the new institution, and therefore the psychosocial professionals were mainly dedicated to the geo-referencing and characterizing of the population during the first year.

The accompaniment offered by ACR was configured in a similar way as the former program had been functioning: professionals were assigned to guide the population according to each benefit of the Reintegration Process, a situation that continued affecting the integrality of

the intervention, as although interdisciplinary work teams existed, each professional was in charge of developing his/her activities of performance and guidance independently. Regarding psychosocial accompaniment and the collaborators dedicated to it, the latter were the ones who gained greater knowledge and understanding from the participants in the program, who progressively suggested an attention much more centered in their particularities.²⁷

For year 2008, both the psychosocial professionals of the Service Centers²⁸ (Centros de Servicio, CS) and the persons in charge of the psychosocial area at the national level, started to identify the difficulties that arose when the Peace and Reconciliation Program model was duplicated, which was specifically designed and structured for an urban population with very specific characteristics of the demobilized persons from self-defense groups²⁹. This contrasts with a population with much more rural characteristics, coming from the self-defense movement and the guerrillas, who collectively and individually demobilized, and in turn, expressed dissimilar interests, to which the diversity of the regional context was added.

Therefore, during year 2008, two national encounters of psychosocial professionals of different Service Centers in the country were carried out. Their purpose was to gather experiences and identify the main strengths and weaknesses of the population undergoing Reintegration Process and the accompaniment

²⁶ The creation of ACR entailed a restructuring of the mission and functional Units that PRVC had among which the Social Reintegration Unit was created, which would integrate the Psychosocial, Health and Education services.

²⁷ The demobilized and disengaged persons continuously called the attention of their professionals regarding their particular needs and demands, requiring the accompaniment actions to be centered more in them. Along with these requests, multiple complaints were registered regarding the group activities that in some cases were not significant.

²⁸ The Service Centers (CS) were regional offices where ACR attended the population. At the time of the publication of document, such offices were called Territorial Groups or ACR Attention Points.

²⁹ The Peace and Reconciliation Program initially attended a demobilized population coming from the United Self-Defense Blocks of Colombia (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia): Cacique Nutibara and Heroes of Granada.

strategies implemented. During the same year, encounters of psychosocial links³⁰ were carried out as well, upon which all the information that had been gathered during period 2007-2008 was analyzed. This was added to the focal groups formed with the population involved in the Reintegration Program and the interviews with experts on the topic of intervention in vulnerable populations and documentary analysis, based on what it was possible to define in the conceptual framework and the general structure of what would be the Psychosocial Attention Model for the Peace (Modelo de Atención Psicosocial para la Paz, MAPAZ) for year 2009.

MAPAZ was based on a conceptual perspective based on the criminology from where the delinquent behavior of individuals is particularly analyzed, mainly aiming at the prevention of the recidivism of the demobilized population. Based on the above, the "psychosocial attention proposed from this model, framed in the mission and other services of ACR was based on multifactorial theories³¹, assuming them as the main axis of its conceptual development" (High Counselor's Office for Reintegration, 2011, p.3).

On the other hand, considering the particularities of the reintegration phenomenon, the need of envisaging not only the individual, but the various factors of his/her context was evident, for which ACR found that the social competence approach³² turned out specially

appropriate for the prevention of recurrence by the population undergoing a Reintegration Process. This way, the fundamental relation individual - receptor context was proposed from MAPAZ. This became a foundation of the psychosocial accompaniment strategy to the participants in the program, as it was based on the "principle that reintegration does not exclusively depend on the participants and that violence is not an individual problem, for which the actions carried out for the peace and reintegration must be closely linked to the characteristics of the social contexts to which demobilized persons return" (High Counselor's Office for Reintegration, 2011, p.21).

In this frame, the objective of MAPAZ was "to develop and strengthen the competencies in participants geared towards the establishment of assertive relations, the non-violent conflict resolution, the recognition and exercise of rights and duties, the projection in the short, middle and long term, and the conduct of actions that allow reaching such targets in order to contribute to their Reintegration Process in their family, educational, productive and community contexts" (High Counselor's Office for Reintegration, 2011, p.10-11).

In the frame of the implementation of MAPAZ, in addition to the psychosocial professionals, other professionals were retained for the fields of education, health, training for work, employability and business plans (formerly called, productive projects), who continued advising specifically on the other benefits granted by the program. It should be highlighted that, besides directly involving psychosocial attention as a benefit, MAPAZ was conceived as a comprehensive strategy of accompaniment to the individual in his/her family, educational, productive and community contexts. Activities were developed for strengthening the skills linked to the remaining benefits legally established regarding the Reintegration Process (health service management, education, training for work, economic incentive for employability and economic incentive for higher education), for which psychosocial professionals continued performing a fundamental role in the accompaniment of the demobilized and

³⁰ Persons that in that time were in charge of coordinating the team of psychosocial professionals and the implementation of the Model of attention.

³¹ The Multifactorial Theories can be generally defined as those which assume that delinquency has its origin in a series of combined factors, being the empirical method used in the study of the criminal phenomenon. Some factors to which reference is made from this perspective are: family, school, personality, work, places of residence, among others.

³² This approach considers the multiple variables of the social context that affect the configuration of crime or delinquency and therefore the prevention of the same.

disengaged persons, as they knew better the process of each accompanied person and catalyzed all the information coming from the remaining professionals or collaborators of ACR (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2014b).

During years 2010 and 2011, MAPAZ was implemented and as a result of the needs that became evident after its development³³, in 2012 ACR designed a model that better met the needs of the population and the context and that emerged as a product of an exercise of analysis and collective construction, nurtured by the learning of ten years of experience in the accompaniment of demobilized and disengaged population³⁴. Such model addresses new concepts that invite to understand reintegration upon a human development approach, from where different dimensions of the lives of the individuals are envisaged and understanding that development is only possible when individuals and the communities improve their life conditions integrally (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2014).

From this new perspective, the accompaniment of the population undergoing a Reintegration Process, their receptor families and the communities was based on the need of giving a greater meaning as a process to the topics addressed since, according to the previously described background, it was identified how, in certain occasions and with progressive frequency, ACR teams and participants themselves did not find a complete illation and coherence among the various activities comprising the development of the intervention along

³³ Regarding MAPAZ, some suggestions arose by the work teams, who mainly claimed that it had turned into an excessively standardized model that affected the customization of the accompaniment. At the same time, the Agency began to consolidate a new perspective regarding reintegration that implied to significantly modify some of the strategies of attention implemented until then.

³⁴ 10 years of experience are assumed, taking into account that ACR attempted to gather the learning of PRVC regarding the accompaniment of population and that the entity has sought to maintain its human capital, the live memory of the evolution of the Reintegration Program.

the route of the psychosocial attention implemented at that time, where the actions developed had no relation among themselves in certain cases. In addition, the implementation of predesigned activities was requested from a national level, which in some occasions made more difficult for each professional and Service Center to carry out a personal and regionalized guidance.

The mentioned approach of human development of the Reintegration Process intends to favor the overcoming of a situation of vulnerability produced by the involvement in illegal armed groups that includes those aspects that propitiated the entry to the same, and the effects of militancy in them, and along with this, the challenges imposed by the return to legality. To make this approach more operational, ACR consolidated a multidimensional model that envisages eight dimensions where a series of targets are addressed tending to favor the development of skills that facilitate the autonomous exercise of rights and duties by the populations undergoing a Reintegration Process.

In alignment with the human development approach the Reintegration Process assumes, the operational scope acknowledges that the specialization of professionals in specific benefits of the program such as education, income generation and psychosocial accompaniment was not contributing to the consolidation of an integral attention strategy. For this reason, the roles of the professionals were redefined in 2012 and a decision was made to create a professional profile from where the different needs and demands of the population would be attended, i.e., a collaborator who would provide and perform psychosocial accompaniment, guidance in terms of access to health services, advice on academic formation and for work, projects on economic insertion and employability. The name given to this new role was Reintegration Professional (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2014b).

Such Reintegration Professional, regardless his/her profession, must favor the all-embracing welfare of the person undergoing a Reintegration Process, therefore

seeking to facilitate the development of the skills that would permit such person to overcome the situation of specific vulnerability associated with GAOML. Upon this institutional determination, the question from the psychosocial standpoint in ACR begins to transform the specific scope of an isolated benefit of the Reintegration Process (a psychosocial accompaniment benefit³⁵), as well as the role of a professional (psychosocial), into the specific questions of: how to do this? How to accompany the other person? Hence, the psychosocial as a perspective of the reintegration is configured as such in a comprehensive model of reality, in a way of being and doing (Villa, 2014) that permits the Reintegration Professional fit each accompaniment action from a humanizing perspective, from where the person undergoing a Reintegration Process is prioritized, along with his/her life context, history, realities, needs, possibilities, motivations, ways of living and of understanding the world.

Additionally, the psychosocial approach in the frame of a Reintegration Process undoubtedly must contribute to the understanding of the factors that have favored the gestation and development of the armed conflict that has so badly affected the reality of a country as Colombia and this can be achieved as from the recognition of the realities, contexts, the individual, social, political and cultural history of the population it accompanies. In this regard, Beristain & Dona (1997) in their analysis regarding the challenges imposed by the humanitarian intervention on the psychosocial approach refer that the latter has to help to think about the reality of the country that is being subject of such aid. And this is decisive while one of the major purposes of Reintegration is to favor the guarantees of

non- repetition of Human Right infringement acts and against the International Humanitarian Law and only to the extent that reality is recognized (memorized), understood and re-signified (made), it is possible to overcome the suffering, violence as a means to resolve conflicts and therefore, to restore the social tissue damaged by the war.

Conclusions

The work experience gained for over 13 years by different professionals in the frame of the reintegration of demobilized and disengaged persons from the armed conflict has left multiple teachings to ACR as the entity that guides a public policy of great transcendence in the current Colombian national reality, as well as the diverse actors of public and private institutions, the academy, non-profit organizations, researchers and other subjects interested in working for vulnerable populations, particularly those affected by social phenomena such as the armed conflict. Without any doubt, such teachings have emerged from experiences of triumphs and failures, successes and errors, where the social and territorial reality, the dynamics of the communities and the particularities of each family and person undergoing Reintegration Processes, have called the attention on how, with whom and for what purpose must the social accompaniment or intervention be carried out.

In this regard and as previously stated, ACR recognizes in the psychosocial perspective something that goes beyond a specific technique or professional role, as it involves the way it is understood and from there, a series of actions or procedures are developed tending to produce welfare in the subjects, families and communities. The psychosocial scene is conceived in this logic and apprehended as an approach³⁶ of accompaniment or a comprehensive model of reality that

³⁵ The psychosocial accompaniment is considered a benefit in the frame of the different resolutions where the requisites, characteristics, conditions and obligations are legally stipulated for the access and granting of the social and economic benefits of the Reintegration Process programs for the demobilized and disengaged population, procedures of cessation and loss of benefits and culmination of the process. Until today, the ACR resolutions have evolved as follows: 008, 2009; 163, 2011; and 0754, 2013.

³⁶ An approach can be understood as a position or point of view to analyze a situation or object of study, with the intention to understand it, interpret it and resolve the problematic therefrom derived.

propitiates the co-building of strategies directed to favor the empowerment and autonomy of the subjects and their communities when facing their self-determination as citizens -creditors of rights and duties.

The psychosocial approach understood in this way implies a recognition of the integrality of the individual and to such end it is necessary to get to know the person in his/her context, inquiring and understanding his/her history in depth, as we can only understand what the other is, feels and wishes once the person is recognized in the frame of his/her relations with others and the world.

From this perspective, the psychosocial approach of an intervention policy, program or strategy, as previously indicated, is anchored in the way of being and doing: a way of being, as it questions the way in which the human being is conceived and his/her own reality; and in doing, to the extent that, depending on how I understand others and the world, I can solve how to accompany and intervene in favor of the foundation, reconfiguration or strengthening of their individual and social reality.

In this regard, the psychosocial as a work approach will not concern a specific field of knowledge and much less a specific profession. On the contrary, it is situated in an interdisciplinary perspective from where, the encounter with others, the communities and the different contexts can be favored within the frame of the conjugation of several knowledge and methodologies.

After many attempts, and upon the implementation of several strategies developed by professionals of several disciplines of the field of Human and Social Sciences, ACR has found that a large part of the success in its accompaniment throughout the Reintegration Route³⁷ depends on the way each

professional and collaborator of the entity approaches and accompanies the other person (demobilized/disengaged person, family member or community member). On the way, such facilitator permits and favors individuals to recognize, enhance and develop their skills in the frame of their own realities and interests, and this is only possible when, during the accompaniment process, the human being, which is the person undergoing Reintegration Process, is placed in the center of each action and act.

In this regard, making accompaniment humane is one of the main lessons gained by the Reintegration Process, and to such end it has been necessary to keep in mind that besides having proficient professionals from the academic stand point, they need to be endowed with relational skills, sensibility and commitment to work with persons and communities and be able to overcome their own egos, fears, prejudice and preventions, so that in their fears, frustrations, capacities and potentialities of the persons accompanied flow within their social intervention.

To conclude, the psychosocial component in ACR exceeds the strict provision of a service and is configured in a comprehensive perspective or approach from where the accompaniment actions are framed, and is something that the different professionals and collaborators of the entity carry out with the population subject to attention (persons undergoing reintegration, their families and communities). This psychosocial approach is transversal for each strategy of attention and has been implemented to favor the comprehensive development of the Reintegration Route based on, as mentioned before, the way the current state of affairs of the people subject to attention under the National Reintegration Policy is anchored and accompanied.

³⁷ The Reintegration Route is the path that each demobilized and disengaged person with the support of ACR follows to overcome his/her situation of vulnerability that remained in his/her life after being part of the Armed Group outside the Law.

Bibliography

- Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración, (2016). Site of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration. Bogotá, Colombia. Recovered from: <http://www.reintegracion.gov.co/es>
- Alta Consejería para la Reintegración, (2011). *Manual del Modelo de Atención Psicosocial para la Paz –MAPAZ*. Institutional Document.
- Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración, (2014a). *Culminación Responsable del Proceso de Reintegración Social y Económica de Personas y Grupos Alzados en Armas*. Internal Document. Bogotá, Colombia.
- Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (2014b). *El Rol del profesional reintegrador II. Internal Document unpublished*.
- Mayor's Office of Medellín & OIM (2007). *Del Individuo al Colectivo, de la Persona a la Ciudadanía. Manual de intervención psicosocial para la Reinserción, la Experiencia de Medellín*. Medellín, Colombia.
- Arango, Carlos (2015). *La intervención psicosocial en tiempos de posconflicto*. Unpublished article, circulates in the Colombian Network of Community Psychology.
- ACNUR. (2002). Extracts of Reports on the United Nations' Human Rights Commission Theme Mechanisms. Extracts referring to forced recruitment. Colombia. Recovered from: <http://www.acnur.org/pais/docs/192.pdf>
- DNP, (2007). *Una aproximación a la Vulnerabilidad*. Colombia. Recovered in: https://colaboracion.dnp.gov.co/CDT/Desarrollo%20Social/boletin34_1.pdf
- DNP (Doc. without date). *Promoción Social por la Inclusión y la Equidad*. Institutional Document of the Bank of National Investment Programs and Projects. Recovered in: https://spi.dnp.gov.co/App_Temas/SeguimientoProyectos/ResumenEjecutivo/1016004340000.pdf
- Arjona, A.M., and Kalyvas, S. (2006). Preliminary Results of a Survey of Demobilized Combatants in Colombia. Yale: Connecticut.
- Baró, M. (1984). "Guerra y salud mental", in: *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 429: 503-515.
- Beristain, M., Giorgia, C., Páez, D., Pérez, P., and Fernández, I. (1999). *Reconstruir el tejido social. Un enfoque crítico de la ayuda humanitaria*. Icaria Antrazyt: Barcelona.
- Beristain, M. & Giorgia, C (1997). *Enfoque psicosocial de la ayuda humanitaria*. Deusto University. Bilbao.
- Bertalanffy, L.V. (1968). *The Organismic Psychology and Systems Theory*. Clark University Press: Worcester.

- Bandeira, M. (2008). Restoring dignity. Current psychosocial interventions in South-Africa. A review, discussion and policy dialogue project. The Center of Studies on Violence and Reconciliation: Johannesburg. Recovered on January 4, 2009 from: <http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/correctional/restoringdignity.pdf>
- CONPES. (2008). Política Nacional de Reintegración Social y Económica para Personas y Grupos Armados Ilegales.
- Congress of the Republic of Colombia. (January 21, 2013). Law 1616 on Mental Health. Bogotá, Colombia.
- Erikson, E. (2000). El ciclo vital completado. Barcelona: Paidós Ibérica.
- Guttman, M. (1997). "Trafficking in Men: The Anthropology of Masculinity", in: Annual Review of Anthropology, 26: 385-409.
- ICBF, OIM, UNICEF (2014). Impacto del Conflicto Armado en el Estado Psicosocial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes. Bogotá, Colombia.
- Humphreys, M., and Weinstein, J. (2007). "Demobilization and Reintegration", in: The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 51(4); 531-562.
- (2005). Disentangling the Determinants of Successful Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration. Recovered on July 20, 2008 from: <http://igcc.ucsd.edu/pdf/cphumphreysweinstein.pdf>
- (2003). What do the fighters say? A survey of ex-combatants in Sierra Leone. Unloaded on July 20, 2008 from: <http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/SL.htm>
- Marks, M & McKenzie, P. (1995). Political Pawns or Social Agents? A look at militarised youth in South Africa. Unloaded on January 19, 2009 from: http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=201&bind_to_section=8&cp_publication_subjects%5B-5D=children_youth&cp_text_search=&submit_search=Search
- Moor, M. (2007). "A new start, an open end. The reintegration of individual demobilized combatants in Colombia", in: Intervention, 5(3): 191 – 202.
- Mckay, S. (2004). "Reintegration of girls in Uganda. Reconstructing Fragile Lives: Girls' Social Reintegration in Northern Uganda and Sierra Leone", in: Gender and Development, 12(3):19-30.
- Ministry of the Interior and Justice, (2006). LA POLITICA DE REINCORPORACION A LA VIDA CIVIL 2003 – 2006: Una Mirada Institucional. Recovered from file:///C:/Users/luisamejia/Downloads/politica%20of%20reincorporacion%20a%20la%20vida%20civil%20min%20interior.pdf
- MDRP [Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program]. (2009).
- Narrative Exposure Therapy (NET): Vivo's treatment approach. Unloaded. Recovered from: http://www.vivofoundation.net/eng_narrative_exposure_therapy.php.

- (2008). "Psychosocial issues in the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants", in: MDRP Dissemination Note, 1:1-6.
- (2007). "Burundi excombatants: why they joined, why they left, how they fared?", in: MDRP Working Paper No. 3.
- (2006). "Elisabeth Schauer, Director of Vivo, Speaks About Psycho-Social Support for Ex-Combatants", in: News & Noteworthy, 12:1-6.
- (2006a). "Reintegration Assistance for Excombatants: Good practices and lessons from de MDRP", in: Working Paper No. 1.
- Montero, Maritza. Introducción a la Psicología comunitaria (2004), Editorial Paidós OACP/ACR CMSC (2010). Lecciones Aprendidas y Resultados del Proceso 2002 – 2010; Bogotá – Colombia.
- Springer, N. (2006). Deactivating war: How societies demobilize after armed conflict. NATO Defense College: Rome.
- Villa, J. D. (2014). Conference: Comprensiones sobre lo psicosocial en el marco del acompañamiento a víctimas del conflicto armado. Free Course Ignacio Martín Baró, Pontificia Javeriana University. Bogotá, Colombia.

Differential Approach and Reintegration Policy

Angela María Andrade Perdomo and Angela María Correa Villegas

Introduction

To discuss the inclusion of a differential approach in the Reintegration Policy, we must begin with an insight on the foundations of this approach in the recognition of human rights and its relation to human development. This allows for the establishment of a direct relationship with the approach given by the Colombian Agency for Reintegration to the implementation of the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy, SERP. For this reason, the article initially addresses the way in which, from the promotion of individual and collective human rights, the recognition of the difference gains meaning for their guarantee, respect, access and restoration. Subsequently, the regulatory framework developed in Colombia around the differential issue is discussed, where regulations have been gradually built and expanded, and the rights approach has been developed, which has its genesis in the principles set forth in the Constitution. Finally, a discussion follows on the relation between the reintegration approach and the need to give a differential attention to the population that has demobilized and disconnected from the Organized Armed Groups outside the Law (Grupos Armados Organizados al Margen de la Ley, GAOML).

The Rights Approach and the Differential Approach

As defined by the United Nations, Human Rights are “universal legal guarantees that protect individuals and groups against actions and omissions that interfere with the fundamental freedoms and rights” (2006, p.1) which are enjoyed by all humans alike. These rights are

based on the principle of human dignity, which implies recognition of the intrinsic value of people regardless of any social, cultural or physical characteristic, and without the racial differences of origin, gender, creed, etc. that are grounds for discrimination.

In this regard, the human rights approach emphasizes the responsibilities mainly of States and Governments in guaranteeing human rights, which implies the need to develop laws, policies and programs intended to favor the enjoyment of rights in conditions of equality for the population. However, such equality does not come from a homogeneous vision of the population, but implies recognizing the particularities of the groups comprising it in order to provide conditions of access for all, taking into account the particular needs and interests (Arteaga, 2012), so that the purpose becomes effective that no differential characteristic will be an obstacle to the exercise of participatory and democratic citizenry. Here, the need arises to have a differential approach that leads to the guarantee of rights for all population groups.

According to Blanca Arteaga, (2012) “the differential approach encompasses all those measures that seek recognition of the needs and particular vulnerabilities of each population group, acting on them” (p.29) This remark about the importance of acting on the needs of the population supports the inclusion of this approach in the public policies, as it becomes a key element in directing government actions, specially towards identifying vulnerabilities and providing the possibility of accessing development

opportunities through affirmative actions³⁸ that favor the participation and enjoyment of rights of groups that have been traditionally excluded.

The Colombian regulations framework for the incorporation of the Differential Approach

As to the inclusion of a differential perspective on the national mandates, the Constitution of 1991 plays a decisive role in the Colombian ordainment since, among many things, it gives a fundamental nature to the rights, exposing an expressly established catalog, with a specific mechanism for their guarantee, such as the protection of rights action (*tutela*). Furthermore, it creates the Constitutional Court, which knows about violations of these rights and is empowered to order their restoration. Likewise, as an innovation in this country, this Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, gender equality and the recognition of ethnic minorities, on the basis of cultural respect.

The Colombian Constitution states in its preamble that the purpose of the State is to assure equality to Colombians based on the recognition of a difference, since this must be understood in a material sense, as "equality among equals." Such statement presupposes the study of the special characteristics of each person in order to achieve adequate, effective and efficient attention. In this regard, the Constitutional Court (2008) in Case C-862/08, ruled as follows:

The interpretation of this principle and right is not limited to understand equality from a point of view of a mathematical or formal equation that would require absolute homogeneity, but must be seen from a material perspective that establishes equal treatments among equals, different treatments among assumedly dissimilar persons and, even,

different measures for the benefit of groups that although from one perspective are the same, from another, require a better treatment by the State.

For this reason, equality can not be presumed on the basis of a mere similarity of cases, but an analysis of the realities, particular situations and contexts of each person to whom his/her rights will be guaranteed, is required.

In this regard and as already mentioned, the real guaranty of the rights must be substantiated in human dignity, considering the attention and response by the State to people according to their individual condition. Human dignity, being intrinsic to individuals, has great relevance at the time of implementing the components of the differential approach, as only after recognizing it, the need becomes relevant to provide an attention that envisages all the features of each person.

The Constitutional Court (2002) through jurisprudence has defined three guidelines regarding human dignity, which are covered by Ruling T-881/02, as follows:

- i) Human dignity, understood as autonomy or possibility of designing a life plan and to be determined according to its characteristics (i.e., to live as desired).
- (ii) Human dignity understood as certain specific material conditions of existence (i.e., to live well).
- And (iii) human dignity understood as intangibility of non-capital goods, physical and moral integrity (i.e., to live without humiliations).

On the other hand, it is important to highlight that policies aimed at different population groups based on the differential approach begin, among other things, from a historical disadvantage in the recognition of the particular characteristics of a discriminated minority. Thus, along with the historical changes, rights and freedoms have been changing, and these changes have gone hand in hand with social demands, which increasingly require a more inclusive perspective.

From a legal point of view, the differential approach has been devised for different population groups

³⁸ Refers to the measures adopted in order to favor a population group, thereby reducing inequalities and guaranteeing the respect and access to rights.

(people with disabilities, elderly people, women, etc.), which has produced a specific framework for each group within the Colombian legislation. Below

is a brief presentation of the legal framework for the components of the differential approach that have drawn the attention of ACR:

Disability: presents the legal development regarding disabled population, making emphasis on the inclusion of the population, the elimination of discrimination and the guarantee of the effective enjoyment of rights.

2006 International Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities	Seeks to ensure the exercise of the human rights and the freedoms of people with disabilities without any type of discrimination due to this condition. (Ratified by Colombia)
CONPES 166, 2013	Public Policy on Disabilities and Social Inclusion.
Law 361,1997- Modified by Laws 982,2005;1145,2007;1316,2009;1287,2009	Social integration mechanisms are established for people with disabilities, in order to ensure equal opportunities. The National System of Disabilities is established.
Law 1306, 2009	Promotes the protection and inclusion of people with mental disability or conducts that disqualify their performance in society.
Law 1616,2013	Its purpose is to guarantee the right to mental health.
Law1618, 2013	The guarantee of rights of people with disabilities is established.
Law 1680, 2013	Seeks to ensure the autonomous and independent access of blind people and with impaired vision, to information, communication, and knowledge, among others.
Law 1751, 2015	Its purpose is to guarantee the right to health.
Law 1752, 2015	Intends to criminally sanction discrimination against disabled persons.

Disengaged: Refers to people who abandoned the armed group outside the law while being underage.

The 1989 Convention on Children's Rights	Acknowledges equal and unalienable rights of children. (Ratified by Colombia)
CONPES 3673, 2010	Policy of prevention of recruitment and use of boys, girls, adolescents by the organized armed groups outside the law and the organized criminal groups.

Law 418,1997-Modified by laws 548,1999; 782, 2002; 1106, 2006 and 1421,2010	Mentions, among other things, the provisions to protect underage individuals against the effects coming from the armed conflict.
Law 975, 2005	Guarantees that recruited minors will be put at disposal of the Colombian Family Welfare Institute.
Law 1098, 2006- Modified by laws 1753,2015, 1709, 2014, 1564,2012, 1453, 2011	The Childhood and Adolescence Code is issued that guarantees a full and harmonious development to boys, girls and adolescents.
Law 1448, 2011	Grants status of victims to boys, girls or adolescents that leave a group outside the law.
Law 1622, 2013	The Young Citizenry Code is issued, to ensure the effective enjoyment of rights by all young people in exercise of their young citizenry.

Gender: The Colombian legal development shows that “gender” is equated to the defense and protection of women’s rights, leaving aside other aspects contained by this component, such as those that relate to sexual diversity and LGBTI population. However, at the public policy and jurisprudence levels much wider and ensuring achievements have been obtained.

1999 Empowering Protocol of the Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women	Seeks to guarantee equality of rights between men and women. (Ratified by Colombia).
CONPES 161, 2013	Public policy of equality of gender for women.
Law 82, 1993-Modified by Law 1232,2008	Feminine head of household receives special protection.
Law 294,1996-Modified by Law 1257,2008	Intends to give an all-embracing treatment to the various modalities of family violence. Likewise, regulations are adopted to allow all women to live free of violent episodes.
Law 731,2002	Its purpose is to improve the quality of life of rural women.
Law 823,2003- Modified by law 1496,2011	Guides government policies and actions in order to guarantee equal opportunities for women.
Law 1009,2006	The Observatory of Gender Matters is created.
Law 1542, 2012	Protection is guaranteed in the investigation on presumed violence offenses against women, eliminating the complaining and desisting nature of domestic violence and the lack of provision of food.

Law 1719, 2014	Access to justice by victims of sexual violence is guaranteed, specially the one associated to the armed conflict. These measures seek, as a priority, to assist the needs of women, girls, boys and adolescent victims.
-----------------------	--

Ethnic: The legal development envisages the recognition of the various communities, in order to ensure the exercise of their rights.

1989 Agreement on Indigenous and Tribal Towns	Promotes the guarantee of the rights of the tribal towns whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from the national collectivity (ratified by Colombia)
Law 70, 1993	African-descent communities are recognized according to their traditions and the right to collective property. Mechanisms are also established for the protection of the cultural identity in the frame of equal opportunities.
Law 691, 2001	Promotes the guarantee of the right of access and participation of the indigenous towns in the health services.
Law 1381, 2010	Seeks to guarantee collective rights recognition of the ethnical groups.

Old Age: The recognition of the rights of the elder people has been a relatively recent development that intends to protect and guarantee the respect and access to fundamental rights of this population group.

CONPES 156, 2012	Design and implementation of periodical economic benefits in order to increase protection to old age.
Law 931, 2004	Intends to guarantee equality in the right to work, by reason of age.
Law 1251, 2008	Its purpose is to protect the rights of senior adults and guide State activity so that aging process is considered in its plans and programs.
Law 1171, 2007	Intends to guarantee better conditions to persons over 62 years old.

These developments in regulations show that through the years, Colombia has progressed in the recognition and inclusion of the differential approach within the State policies, in the frame of the attention to different

population groups, with a special development that has become relevant for ACR in recent years, which originated in the need to attend the affectations produced by the armed conflict.

An example of this has been envisaged both legally and jurisprudentially in Law 1148, 2011 (Congress of the Republic, 2011) and in Rule T-025, 2004 (Constitutional Court, 2004) in connection with the attention to population that has been victim of the conflict considering the differential approach.

Another example was mentioned in relation to the attention of demobilized population in CONPES Document 3554, 2008 (National Planning Department, 2008), which embodies the National Policy of Social and Economic Reintegration for illegal armed people and groups:

(...) The institutional actions shall integrally incorporate the differential approach of gender and diversity in all aspects of the Reintegration Policy. Attention to women, children and ethnical minorities undergoing a Reintegration Process shall be specially considered by recognizing the characteristics of the population group and promoting the dynamic role of the family within the process. (p.30)

The following section will discuss the way in which this differential perspective addressed in CONPES 3554, 2008 (National Planning Department, 2008) has been incorporated into the current accompaniment of ACR to the demobilized and disengaged population undergoing a Reintegration Process.

Differential Approach in the framework of the Multidimensional Attention Model

As previously announced, the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy for the Illegal Armed Groups and Persons - SERP, is based on the guideline of including the particularities of individuals in the attention of State institutions. In this regard, ACR has been careful to incorporate the differential approach to the various models of attention that it has had along its history.

The Psychosocial Attention Model for Peace (MAPAZ, for its acronym in Spanish), implemented at the Entity between 2009 and 2012, provided a type of attention based on the recognition of the characteristics,

experiences and roles of the population, assigning a particular route according to criteria of gender, health conditions (persons with disabilities, persons with dependency on Psychoactive Substances and mental health problems), range occupied in the group (former middle managers) and age group (young and senior adults). These differentiated routes led to address the redefinition of their life history and the development of skills in context (family, educational, productive and community), according to the needs of each population group (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2014b).

Subsequently, since year 2013, ACR adopted the Multidimensional Model of Attention, which envisages the accompaniment to the persons undergoing a Reintegration Process on a comprehensive basis from the personal, health, family, education, productive, housing conditions, citizenry and security dimensions. This model is based on a human development approach that seeks to overcome the vulnerable situation and the autonomous exercise of citizenry. Such approach understands vulnerability as the lack of capacities and assets (material and intangible) associated both to the participation in, and demobilization from, the Armed Groups Organized Outside the Law (GAOML, for its acronym in Spanish).

For such reason ACR, through its process of accompaniment, promotes the strengthening and development of capacities as well as the acquisition of assets that allow people who have left the armed groups outside the law and their families to broaden their freedom, opt for the life project they want and participate in a citizen exercise in the frame of legality (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2014a).

Such approach acknowledges that the exercise of rights and duties is fundamental to achieve a sustainable reintegration of the demobilized and disengaged persons for which it is impossible to separate the Reintegration Route from a human rights approach that, as mentioned at the beginning of the document, has as its pillar the equality as to enjoyment, and fulfillment of such rights and duties, regardless gender, age, ethnical origin and other characteristics.

Both the Approach of Rights and the human development perspective assumed by the Agency aim at the freedom and welfare of people, through the enhancement of the opportunities to which they have access; besides, as mentioned by the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (2015):

(...) consistent with the reintegration approach proposed by ACR, a view from the approach of rights needs to be incorporated, because based on the social, political, national and international framework the perspective of human development is favored, and a holistic view of the environment is adopted where individuals and communities affected by the armed conflict contribute to overcome vulnerability and promote the building of sceneries with equal opportunities and social cohesion. (p.4)

However, such overcoming of the vulnerability can not be achieved without a recognition of the difference and the inclusion of a differential approach, so that all people without distinction will have the possibility to develop the capabilities to initiate the life project of their choice (Bogota Mayor's Office, 2013; United Nations Organization, 2006).

In this framework ACR has made efforts to strengthen the components of the differential approach and to offer an accompaniment that acknowledges diversity and favors the development of capacities and the acquisition of assets to overcome the situation of vulnerability of each demobilized or disengaged person and its family group, regardless his/her gender, age, ethnical origin or other physical or psychological characteristics.

For such reason, at this time, the differential components of gender, ethnicity, disengagement, disability, aging and old age are being addressed in order to strengthen the process the Agency has been offering though the Multidimensional Attention Model, considering the implications of the differential attention. This means that each of these dimensions is permeated by a differential view, attending the needs, interests, potentialities and other features particular

to each population group, and even acknowledging that several features can converge in only one person undergoing a Reintegration Process that deserves a differential reading, to enhance his/her individual, family and social development (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2015).

Given the above, the methodology of the Work Plan, through which the Agency currently develops its accompaniment to the persons undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families, seeks that the coordination and fulfillment of agreements in the dimensions lead to a full development of skills, considering not only aims, needs and capacities, but also the differential aspects that may increase their vulnerability or, on the contrary, to turn into a factor that enhances his/her reintegration (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2015).

Even though the Colombian Agency for Reintegration takes into account the components of the above-mentioned differential approach, these have been gradually developed and strengthened from the various scopes. On one hand, ACR currently has an internal conceptual base in the components of disability, gender, old age and disengaged, aimed at providing the teams of the territorial groups and points of attention, with the guidelines for addressing the population and the conduct of an appropriate accompaniment.

On the other hand, the set of regulations show that Resolution 0754, 2013 of ACR, acknowledges the need to provide a specific support (affirmative action) to some population groups, such as the elder or disabled persons and those with high cost illnesses. This regulation provides that the Work Plan for these people will be focused to achieve a more tuned attention that leads to respond to their characteristics, and differential conditions are created to access the economic and social benefits of the Reintegration Process.

Additionally, each component develops inter-institutional coordination actions to strengthen the implementation of SERP and to reinforce the networks of institutional support to population

undergoing a Reintegration Process. For example, in the accompaniment to the disengaged, ACR has coordinated with ICBF and the Unit of Comprehensive Attention and Reparation of Victims, in what relates to the gender component with UN, Women and the High Counselor's Office for the Equality of Women, among others. Likewise, in the topics of disability, aging and old age, joint work has been conducted with the Ministry of Health and Social Protection and several organizations with expertise in these topics.

Conclusions

The Rights approach makes it indispensable to take the differential component into account in order to make the fundamental value of human dignity effective. For this reason the Colombian regulatory framework has been adjusted to include the progress proposed in the 1991 Political Constitution, which marked a milestone in the guarantee of the fundamental rights, by opening

the legal and jurisprudential door, for its citizens to effectively enjoy, respect or re-establish the rights, as the case may be.

This implies that the differential approach becomes a State policy that is properly regulated within the legal ordainment with mechanisms to ensure its fulfillment, and in the event of flagrant violations, its restoration.

Given this regulatory framework, the Colombian Agency for Reintegration, has included in its operative guidelines and inter-institutional processes, the differential features of the people undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families in the implementation of the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy, so that the objective of overcoming the situation of vulnerability, through the development of the capacities of this population, is fulfilled for all demobilized and disengaged persons, regardless of their age, gender, origin, physical or psychological condition.

Bibliography

Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (July 18, 2013) Resolution 0754, 2013. Recovered from: <http://www.reintegracion.gov.co/es/agencia/Documentos%20Resoluciones/Resoluci%C3%B3n%200754%20de%202013.pdf>

Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (2014 a). *Fundamentos del Enfoque de Reintegración: El ejercicio autónomo de la ciudadanía para una reintegración sostenible*. Bogota: ACR.

Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración, (2014 b). Informe de gestión. August 2010 – August, 2014. Cuatro años construyendo paz. (Preliminary and unpublished version)

Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración, (2015) *Enfoque de la Ruta de Reintegración, Enfoque de derechos y diferencial*. (Unpublished Document).

- Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, Inter-sectorial Commission on Population of the Capital District, (2013) Lineamientos Distritales para la Aplicación de Enfoque Diferencial. Recovered from: http://participacionbogota.gov.co/index.php?option=com_remository&Itemid=73&func=fileinfo&id=1290
- Arteaga, B. (2012) El Enfoque Diferencial: ¿Una apuesta para la construcción de paz? Jorge Tadeo Lozano University of Bogota. Peace Building Observatory (2012). Identidades, enfoque diferencial y construcción de paz. (pp. 15- 40) Bogotá: Jorge Tadeo Lozano University of Bogota: Fondo para la Sociedad Civil por la Paz, la Democracia y los Derechos Humanos. Recovered from: <http://titan.utadeo.edu.co/comunidad/paz/images/stories/documentos/Serie3.pdf>
- Congress of the Republic (June 10, 2004) Whereby measures are dictated of comprehensive attention, assistance and reparation to the victims of the internal armed conflict and other provisions are dictated. [Law 1448, 2011]. D.O 48.096
- Constitutional Court of Colombia, (October 17, 2002). Sentence T-881/02. [MP. Eduardo Montealegre]
- Constitutional Court of Colombia, (January 22, 2004). Sentence T-025/04. [MP. Manuel Cepeda Espinosa]
- Constitutional Court, Full Room, (September 3, 2008) Sentence C-862/08. [MP. Marco Gerardo Monroy Cabra]
- National Planning Department, (2008) Conpes Document 3554, 2008. Recovered from: <http://www.reintegracion.gov.co/es/la-reintegracion/centro-de-documentacion/Documentos/Documento%20Conpes%203554%20I%20Pol%C3%ADtica%20nacional%20de%20reintegraci%C3%B3n%20social%20y%20econ%C3%B3mica%20para%20personas%20y%20grupos%20armados%20ilegales.pdf>
- United Nations. (2006) *Preguntas frecuentes sobre el enfoque de derechos humanos en la cooperación para el desarrollo*. Office of the Human Rights High Commissioner for Human Rights, Recovered from: <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FAQsp.pdf>

The Stabilization Phase

Reintegration Program Directorate

Introduction

The Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR), the entity in charge of implementing the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy, along its years of experience has identified that demobilized and disengaged people³⁹ find themselves in a greater situation of vulnerability as soon as they access the Reintegration Process. This is observed in a set of internal conditions that make them susceptible to risks of their context, due to the fact of having belonged to an Armed Group Organized Outside the Law (GAOML, for its acronym in Spanish).

Considering the above, ACR focuses its attention on the period of entrance to the Reintegration Process throughout the stabilization phase in order to accompany the people undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families in dealing with the effects of belonging to a GAOML, adapting to the new context and preparing them to develop skills in each dimension of the Reintegration Route.

Basic Concepts and Interpretations

As a start point, it is important to retake DDR, an acronym that identifies the process of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of former combatants

that appears in the eighties with the initial efforts in the framework of peace maintenance operations created by the United Nations (UN), to provide support in post-conflict scenarios to countries that suffered internal wars subsequent to the end of the cold war. Despite this progress and the wide experience acquired by UN, during more than decade, a precise strategic framework did not exist that would permit to effectively conduct and support DDR processes (IDDRS, 2004).

Facing the need to unify the criteria, an Inter Agency Work Group on DDR (AI-WG-DDR) was created. This entity was in charge of drafting what we know as the United Nations DDR Integrated Standards (IDDRS/2004), the roadmap for the design, implementation and evaluation of ideal DDR programs.⁴⁰

As a supplement to the efforts of the UN, the Swedish Government lead the Stockholm Initiative on DDR (SIDDR, 2004/2006) in order to identify errors and weaknesses of the DDR processes and contribute to the creation of a framework of reference for the effective planning and implementation of these programs. A major contribution of the initiative was a more "holistic vision of reintegration" geared not only to attend the immediate needs of the demobilized people, but also their expectations and aims towards the future (ID-DRS, 2004).

³⁹ The term Disengaged ("desvinculados") is used since 1996. It refers to underage individuals that leave the armed groups organized outside the law in the midst of the armed conflict. (Grajales, 1999).

⁴⁰ Operational Guide to the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards. United Nations Inter Agency Working Groups IDDRS; p.13-18

In the Colombian case, the first International Conference on DDR (CIDDD) was organized and one of its main results was the release of the Contribution of Cartagena to DDR (CCDDR/2009), an extensive document whose purpose was to strengthen and enhance what was done with SIDDR and IDDRS, especially regarding the adoption of a maximalist approach where DDR processes are understood, not so much from the traditional technical and military view, but as all-embracing processes coordinated towards more ambitious and long term targets of social and economic development, social governability, reform to the security system, institutional strengthening, justice and reconciliation (Ideas for Peace Foundation, 2014).

According to the United Nations DDR Integrated Standards, Disarmament is the “collection, documentation, control and recovery of short weapons, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and frequently, of the civil population. Disarmament generally includes the development of programs for the responsible handling of weapons” (IDDRS, adaptation of CIDDD). Analytically, not only the delivery of weapons is considered but also the war and logistics material, but is also a symbolic act recognized by a public ceremony or an individual act. Demobilization is the “formal and controlled disarmament and demobilization of the active combatants of the Armed Forces and other armed groups” (IDDRS, CIDDD adaptation). It is frequently understood as the moment where the armed organization is deemed terminated or at least a large part thereof. Reintegration can be understood as the set of “processes whereby former combatants acquire civil status, become employed and earn a sustainable income. Reintegration is essentially an economic and social process in an indefinite time period, developed in the communities, at the local level” (IDDRS, CIDDD adaptation). While it can be also considered a process associated to a program, it may not be circumscribed only to it, as in a wide sense it is the new adherence to legality and institutionality, to new logics of the social link that redirect life, the exercise of the citizenship and the social and economic coordination.

Within the DDR processes, a phase of transitional assistance has been implemented where certain assistance is provided to former combatants prior to the long term Reintegration Process (Carames and Sanz; 2009). It is a form of transitional aid to cover the basic needs of the former combatants and their families through benefits for the security, food, clothing, medical services, short-term education, formation, employment and tools. This type of transitional assistance is understood as short term stabilization (Fisas; 2011) for which it generally lasts few months and is also known as reinsertion (Fisas; 2011) and considered, in the majority of cases an initial phase of the reintegration stage (Carames and Sanz; 2009). It is argued due to the fact that once former combatants are demobilized, they are left without their habitual means of survival, for which the required aids are thereto provided to satisfy their basic needs.

In this line of thought, a transition phase prior to the entry of the demobilized and disengaged population to the Reintegration Process is also established in order to generate an integrality between the Institution (ICBF, GAHD, INPEC), in charge of the first attention to the population and ACR for the demobilized or disengaged persons to be able to continue with the processes developed regarding their re-socialization (GAHD or INPEC) or restoration of rights (ICFB) and achieving a better adaptation within its Reintegration Process to the civil and economic life.

Profiling is carried out during the transition phase, something that allows to get to know the profile of the demobilized or disengaged person and subsequently, his/her entry to ACR's process. It is supplemented in a second instance with the characterization, during the initial months, of the stabilization phase, in order to generate a focused Reintegration Process that allows a real transformation.

The Stabilization Phase

It was during the transitional assistance at the beginning of the Reintegration Process that a need was identified for the stabilization phase. It was observed that demobilized and disengaged persons,

having belonged for long periods of their lives to illegal armed structures, —a situation that produces clear effects on former combatants since they have had to assume behaviors of the armed group, including being subject to a strict hierarchical structure— featured the appearance of the psychological symptoms related to post-traumatic stress, difficulties for the control of impulses, disturbances in the state of mind, and difficulties of adaptation to the civil life context in general (Externado de Colombia University, 2010).

The psychological, family and social effects of having undergone armed conflict scenarios, have been described as characteristic present in the people after periods of war in several countries. These findings coincide with the increase in the appearance of psychological issues related to a constant sensation of anxiety, difficulties in getting to sleep, occasional increase in the violent behavior, and generally, a persistent sensation of difficulty to face daily life situations. This impacts negatively the relation of the individual with his/her family and social group (Leguizamón, Correche, M., Gómez, L. and Martínez, V, 2012).

These same elements have become evident in the results of mental health screening, done to persons that have experienced the Reintegration Process, indicating that near 30% consumes psychoactive substances reaching the point of generating difficulties, 27% consumes alcohol on a regular basis, reaching a point where they have problems. In addition it shows that there is a strong trend to the lack of control of impulses (26%), a pathological addiction to gambling (12.5%) and maniac episodes (22.7%). Approximately 28% are affected by symptoms of anxiety disturbances related to post-traumatic stress, which reached a maximum level of around 33% (Externado University of Colombia, 2010).

The prolonged experience of demobilized and disengaged people being direct part of the armed conflict for several years leaves serious affectations. Such former combatants are left with a certain ideological view of the armed conflict which Ignacio Martín Baró (1988) referred to as a psychosocial trauma that depends on the peculiar experience

experienced by the person, according to the extent of participation in the conflict, his/her personality and experience. The psychosocial trauma takes the shape of an affectation in the individual experience of the individual, leaves a mark on him/her, a permanent negative residual, an unfavorable print for the life of a person. The same author talks about the ideological connotation and militarization of the social life that includes contempt for human life, the perception of life according to the law of the strongest person as a social criterion and corruption as a lifestyle, precipitating a vicious circle that tends to perpetuate war objectively and subjectively. Thus, as stated by the author, the idea is not to abandon the people that suffer the alienating wreckage of the war, for which it is necessary to generate an intense depolarization, ideology removal and demilitarization work that heals the social relations and allows individuals to build their lives in a different interpersonal context than that of the war. This is achieved through a differentiated psychosocial intervention.

In this regard, the situation of vulnerability of demobilized or disengaged persons regarding the previously described psychological symptoms during the stabilization phase is addressed under the heading of effects of belonging to GAOML.

Simultaneously, when a person enters an armed group, a limitation or conditioning of his/her status as a citizen is produced, which was formally acquired at the time of birth and recognition and, while citizenry is not lost, individuals who take the path of the weapons are marginalized from their exercise as citizens, they disregard the social spaces and the State, denying for themselves the possibility to exercise their own citizenship. (ACR, 2014).

Some demobilized people are disoriented. In many cases they operated in rural spaces and once they demobilized, their life project begins in an urban context of their choice. Others remain in rural populations but are displaced towards areas where, for security reasons, they did not operate. In occasions they cannot return to the places where they were raised for reasons related

to the protection of their life and personal integrity. A rupture is also found between their chronological age and the social age of their peers that is expressed in gaps such as unfamiliarity with technologies, culture and dynamics that, in the current context, rule the life of the majority of people.

In Colombia, several research has been done that recognizes the capacity of the illegal armed groups to destroy, de-structure, re-build and structure subjectivities according to the objectives and strategies of the organization through mechanisms of subjectivity. In their research, Salgado and Rodríguez (2010) address the way the process of configuration of subjectivities occurs at the interior of the organizations outside the law. Such organizations employ the concept of subjectivities, indicating that these are product of the war, and keep on emerging and being corporeal in the acts of the person. This involves the ways of relating with others and regulations, and finding a place where the person feels comfortable considering the strong discipline inherited from the interactions that in the conflict establish relationship guidelines used in everyday life (as mentioned in Externado de Colombia, Xavieran and Santo Tomas Universities, 2014).

One of the main thesis of Salgado and Rodríguez (2010) is that stepping into civil life leads to turns in the subjectivity of former combatants (ruptures), and the permanence of some traits of their war experiences (validity). For these reasons, to which other previously exposed are added, a time of

adjustment to the new context needs to be assigned with an adequate orientation, as aimed with stabilization through the accompaniment in the adaptation to the new context.

Conclusions

In summary, ACR understands that people who have been demobilized or disengaged for a long period of their lives remained in a non-autonomous controlled context. In other words, the GAOML (and also during the time of imprisonment, in the case of the people deprived of their freedom), so that subsequently and upon finalizing the transitional assistance phase (GAHD, INPEC, ICBF) they exercise their citizenry in an autonomous and uncontrolled context.

With the knowledge of these significant changes in the lives of former combatants, it is from the accompaniment in the stabilization phase and through the attention focused on the effects of their permanence at GAOML, and the adaptation to the new context, that from the first moment in which the demobilized and disengaged persons establish contact with the Colombian Agency for Reintegration, they seek to minimize the emotional impact of the exit from GAOML, generate empathy and trust so that the person and his/her family respond positively to the proposal of the Reintegration Process and reduce vulnerabilities that, due to variables of psychological and social nature, such as the above-mentioned, will frustrate the development of the route foreseen for each one of them.

Bibliografía

AAgencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (2014). Fundamentos del Enfoque de Reintegración - *El ejercicio autónomo de la ciudadanía para una reintegración sostenible*. Reintegration Programmatic Direction.

Baró M.I. (1988) *La violencia política y la guerra como causas del trauma psicosocial en El Salvador*. El Salvador Psychology Journal, April-June 28 , 1988. Pages 123-141.

- Fisas Vicenç (Nov- 2011) *Introducción al Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración (DDR) de excombatientes*. Quaderns de Construcción de Pau N° 24. Escola de Cultura de Pau. http://escolapau.uab.es/img/qcp/introduccion_ddr.pdf
- Fundación Ideas para la Paz. Fin del conflicto: *desarme, desmovilización y reintegración* – DDR. Peace Bulletin No. 33 – Peace Negotiations – April 2014.
- Leguizamón, L. Correché, M., Gómez, L. and Martínez, V. *Consecuencias de la guerra en ex combatientes. Una revisión bibliográfica* (online article) found in: <http://www.dialogos.unsl.edu.ar/files/dialogos> Recovered on August 2, 2012.
- United Nations Inter-Agency Working Group IDDRS. Operational guide to the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards. (2004)
- Universidad Externado de Colombia (2010). *Evaluación de Trastornos Mentales, Consumo de Sustancias Psicoactivas –SPA- y Factores de Riesgo que indiquen Conductas Violentas y/o Delincuenciales para la Población Desmovilizada en Proceso de Reintegración*. Results presented in ACR on November 1, 2013 by Aponte C.M., Mendez M.M., Zapata G. J. School of Social and Human Sciences. Center of Research on Social Dynamics (2010).
- Externado de Colombia University, Javeriana University and Santo Tomas University (2014). *Documento técnico teórico metodológico del modelo de intervención en salud mental para los procesos de reintegración de personas desmovilizadas del conflicto armado colombiano*.
- Salgado, A. and Rodriguez, J. (2010). *Reintegración social de excombatientes: vigencias y rupturas de las subjetividades de la vida guerrillera*.

Shared Responsibility: the Role of the Private Sector in the Reintegration Process

Darío Cabrera. and Laura Niño M.

Introduction

Colombia has been a country struck by the internal armed conflict for over five decades. This has left approximately 8 million victims⁴¹, incommensurable consequences in the economic and political field, as well as the degradation of social tissue. In such context, the Reintegration Process carried out by ACR for over 13 years is a big contribution to the building and achievement of a stable and everlasting peace. This continued and committed work includes 48,814 persons that have joined the Reintegration Process⁴², of which almost 13,000 people have already completed their process.

ACR is aware that the Reintegration Process can not be a unilateral process (i.e., only one actor), but the target must be a comprehensive process that comprises all dimensions of the human being, as well as institutions and social actors, as all peace-building and reintegration processes depend, to a large extent, on the sum of efforts of several sectors in society. In this regard, the role and contributions of the private sector are considered of vital importance, and for such reason they have been envisaged to contribute to the Reintegration Process.

Then, the question arises on what should be the role of the private sector in reintegration and in peace-building processes? The purpose of this text is, therefore, to provide conceptual tools on the role of the private sector in the Reintegration Process through the principle of Shared Responsibility. To this end, the text is divided into three parts. The first section will seek to conceptually define Shared Responsibility. The second one will address the challenges the private sector in contexts of conflict. Finally, the role of the private sector in the Reintegration Process will be highlighted and the relationship between Shared Responsibility, Corporate Social Responsibility and Peace-Building will be established.

Shared Responsibility, Sharing a Commitment

Shared Responsibility is a concept little explored by the Academy. However, it has been analyzed by authors such as Penso (2006) and Gómez and Baracaldo (2007), who address the term in several contexts, which allows them to understand the term of shared responsibility. An initial approach, Penso (2006) “analyzes Shared Responsibility in public matters as a concept and practices that bring several actors to converge, face problems and generate proposals...” Likewise, the author mentions that a basic principle of this concept must be participation where, besides having interaction, coordination and collaboration for an effective intervention, a framework of institutions that determines the conducts of the actors involved needs to be built (Penso, 2006).

⁴¹ According to the Unit for the Comprehensive Attention and Reparation to Victims (UARIV), 7,957,219 victims have been historically registered as of March, 2016.

⁴² According to the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR), 12,912 demobilized persons completed their Reintegration Process as of December, 2015.

It is evident that the leadership of the Reintegration Process aiming at the construction of an everlasting and stable peace still falls on the State and Government. However, other actors intervening in society play a determinant role, as they not only support to the process, but also are active participants and guarantors of its success.

For such reason, it is understood that Shared Responsibility “refers to the idea that building what is known as Public is the task of all men and women citizens alike” (Penso, 2006; 29). This shared and common responsibility “has the intention of generating synergies-and commitments-between government and non-government institutions, based on relations of trust, cooperation...” (Penso. 2006; 25).

From another perspective, and reinforcing the main vision on Shared Responsibility that this text intends to hold, we find authors such as Gómez and Baracaldo (2007) who analyze the strategies implemented by the National Police of Colombia in the handling of public order, coexistence and security through Shared Responsibility. The cause that led the police to use this term and design such strategies was the slow process of appropriation by the various authorities and public institutions or the regulations in the handling of public order.

Strategies carried out by the National Police conceived “Shared Responsibility, as the joint work among civil authorities, the police, and the citizens in general, depending on their role in the Social State of Law” (Gómez and Baracaldo. 2007; 104). These strategies were directed to cause the local authorities to get to know and implement the standing regulations, the allocation of the funds needed to apply the regulations and, even more important, to understand the principle of Shared Responsibility, the participation of citizens in matters of coexistence and citizen safety.

As it can be noted, different definitions and notions share elements on what is understood as Shared Responsibility. These common elements are summarized in stating that the building of the public sphere should not only be a task of the State, but also civil organizations, the private sector, the third

sector and citizenry in general, play a determinant role. Therefore, such building consists in a shared work, where the various actors reach agreements and assume their responsibilities for a common purpose. This makes the importance of shared responsibility evident in the Reintegration Process and Peace-Building in the country.

Accordingly, from ACR, Shared Responsibility is conceived as the relation with the remaining entities of the public sector, actors of the private sector, the third sector, the Academy and the international sector, at different levels, allowing to generate support, visibility and appropriation of the process and the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy, SERP, through the establishment of alliances that favor persons in the Reintegration Process, their families and the community, contributing to coexistence, reconciliation, development and Peace-Building in the country.

The Private Sector in the Conflict

Companies have a double condition in the armed conflict. On one side, they are affected and are the target of the attacks of illegal armed groups (extortions, attacks to infrastructure, kidnapping). On the other hand, they can indirectly participate in the conflict as it will be described later.

A thought on the first condition, is that actions of the armed groups outside the law within a territory, produce complex environments for the cooperation of the companies (International Alert, 2005). This situation, leads to dynamics that impose risks and other kind of challenges for companies to carry out their economic activity. According to figures of the Ministry of Defense, during year 2015 there were 440 terrorist attacks in Colombia at the national level, of which 129 were against infrastructure (blasting of pipelines, roads, bridges etc.) and 121 were actions against the Police. These actions directly affect business activity.

To exemplify the second condition, on the indirect participation in the conflict, we must consider that one of the conditions that sharpen the confrontation, are

the gaps in power or institutional weaknesses. This produces scenarios that are appropriate for the illegal armed actors to strengthen their structures and territorial domain. In this context, companies could indirectly contribute to the conflict to the extent they deepen the institutional weakness. According to Llorente (2014), "Examples of this are the situations where the amounts of social investment of a municipality are lower than those of a company that has operations in that territory. Therefore, it is more rewarding for local people to access the funds of the companies than those of the Mayors' Offices, which end up undermining the institutionality of the State at a local level" (Delgado and Prias, et.al, 2014) and ultimately, it ends up strengthening the illegal armed actors.

As it turns out, the companies may shoot, exacerbate or sustain violence, some times without even noticing it. However, they can generate conditions for the peace and the security (Vargas, 2014), hence their importance in Peace-Building. This double condition endows companies with a social and ethical duty that must be actively assumed, and accompanied by joint actions with the State and other organizations of the civil society. To overcome conflict and situations of violence, companies operating in these contexts can also find unique opportunities to increase their economic activity, based on having an active role in their neighbor environments (Vargas, 2014).

It is important to highlight that many companies in Colombia have learned to operate in complex contexts, and have succeeded in creating transformation processes of their operation environments. "An important part of the business sector has progressed in the development and adoption of work schemes that seek to achieve an operation that cares for human rights, sensitive to the conflict and akin to the building of peace" (FIP, 2014; 23). A clear example of this type of transforming actions are some of the experiences of joint work between ACR and the private sector, through which more than 10 communities have been intervened that have been affected by the armed conflict, and where reconciliation scenarios have been structured.

This example shows how companies can make thoughtful analyses of risks and impacts in complex environments, to create synergies in the territories and increase their potential. In this regard, people undergoing a Reintegration Process are not viewed as a risk, but as an aid and an opportunity to strengthen and enhance reconciliation scenarios, and therefore, contribute to Peace-Building.

The Private Sector in the Reintegration Process

Considering the above-mentioned context, and to answer the question on what is the role of the companies (private sector) in the Reintegration Process, we need to refer to concepts such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), as this has been the approach accepted by the companies to further actions that have positive impacts on society. To be highlighted, this is not the only principle that addresses the initiatives carried out by companies with positive impacts in their environment. There are others also such as the shared value or corporate citizenry that we will explore later on.

One definition of the Corporate Social Responsibility concept was given by Vargas (2014), who defines it as "the set of responsibilities that companies willingly assume as a result of the demands and expectations of its stakeholders. These responsibilities are voluntary because they do not originate in the regulations but in the demands of (...) society in general and even in the government" (2014; 27).

As observed in this definition, CSR is a set of actions based on the ethical principles and in the willingness of companies to solve problems of common interest. It is then a firm basis to progress towards the coordinated concept and actions, that is, towards shared responsibility.

Well, to advance in the definition of the concept of shared responsibility in the building of peace, and, particularly, in the Reintegration Process, it is necessary to abandon the idea that CSR is limited to actions that seek to lighten the negative externalities derived from

the economic activity, as this restricts the intentions of the businessmen to certain actions that are carried out individually or in an isolated manner.

In agreement with the above statement, we understand that the role of the private sector in Peace-Building is based on assuming that the company is not only an economic actor, but also a social actor, as it acknowledges the influence of its actions in the political, social, economic and environmental scenarios. In this regard its decisions and acting contributes to the development, growth and strengthening of the environment where it operates (ACR, 2013).

Then the concept arises of corporate citizenry as a figure that seeks to relocate the role of the companies at the interior of a progressively globalized society. In the frame of the 2001 World Economic Forum, companies acknowledge the role they can play by contributing to the improvement in the conditions of development at a world level, and initiate the development of what is known today as the Global Corporate Citizenry, which is defined as "the contribution of a company to society, through its essential activities as company, its social investment and philanthropic programs, and the work in the public policies of a country" (2001 World Economic Forum).

This concept endows companies with a more active role on societies, where they are committed not only to prevent their economic activity from generating negative consequences in the territories and the communities where it is developed, but also to assume the international principles of peace and sound coexistence as their own. Among these principles, some that arise from the United Nations Global Pact are worth highlighting. Some of these are:

- Businesses should support and respect the protection of the internationally proclaimed fundamental human rights within their scope of influence.
- Businesses should ensure that their companies are not accomplices in the violation of human rights.

- Businesses should support the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labor.
- Businesses should support the eradication of child labor.
- Businesses should support the abolition of discrimination practices regarding employment and occupation.
- Businesses should work against corruption in all its forms, including extortion and bribery.

Therefore, the relationship between the action of the companies (corporate social responsibility, corporate citizenry) and shared responsibility (shared responsibility between the State, the private sector and the civil society), "essentially consists in avoiding -more cycles of violence- and enhance conditions for peace" (Vargas, 2014; 12). Additionally, López and Usaquén (2011), mention that companies, besides assuming responsibilities, must propitiate spaces where they can include the various social sectors. This is a commitment to produce "win-win" relations, since companies assume that their participation will contribute with the transformation of the environment and produce a more stable environment, which translates into more profitable businesses.

An example of the engagement of the private sector with the Reintegration Process and Peace-Building, is the alliance established with the Exito Group who, being aware of the social problem of the country, launched an initiative of labor inclusion to vulnerable populations such as people in condition of disability, victims of the conflict and people undergoing a Reintegration Process (PRP) (Zuluaga. 2010).

The work carried out with the Exito Group has the support of the National Learning Service (SENA, for its acronym in Spanish) and seeks to propitiate spaces so that the beneficiaries of the initiative can access technical education. Students, besides receiving theoretical knowledge, acquire skills and competencies through their experience in the shops and premises of this commercial network.

This model of education has benefitted 610 PRP that correspond to 48% of the total persons in condition of vulnerability involved in this process. In turn, and based on the knowledge and practices imparted by the Exito Group and SENA, it has been possible to introduce 151 PRP in the productive chain of the Group, with an approximate duration of one year in the Company.

To Zuluaga (2010), this initiative permits to strengthen the commitment of the PRP with their process as new opportunities open for the performance of their life project in legality from the productive dimension. This is a significant example on how the private sector can contribute to the Reintegration Process. However, ACR has five mechanisms of engagement that adjust both to the needs of PRP and to the offer and capacity of the companies.⁴³

Considering the above, it is clear that the role that the private sector can assume in peace - building is related with its human and material resource capacity (Rettberg. 2010; 94). Companies, upon their Corporate Social Responsibility policies, can comply with the provision of utilities and with the opening of economic opportunities to the actors involved in the conflict (Vargas, 2014). Likewise, they can create reconciliation spaces and be involved in the restoration of the human tissue of the country. It is important to highlight that these economic resources, know-how and capacities of the companies are supplementary to the action of the State on Peace-Building, which constitutes a benefit for both parties.

⁴³ The mechanisms of engagement of the private sector with ACR's are a) Employability: the possibility of engaging PRP through labor agreements; b) Voluntary work: businessmen contribute with time for the training of PRP in such topics as personal finance, or entrepreneurship; c) Productive Chains: is the integration of PRP business units to the value chain of the companies; d) Customized Training: provides PRP the possibility of acquiring skills and experience in the labor scope; e) Reconciliation Scenarios: Seek to promote coexistence and reconciliation actions as well as to socially strengthen the recipient communities. In this process, companies contribute with funds for the effective creation of spaces in the territories.

Ultimately, "the end of the armed conflict creates opportunities for the private sector to flourish and contribute to the consolidation of peace. Companies can play a significant role in the generation of economic opportunities for the victims and demobilized combatants so that they can "turn the page" and become engaged in legal and dignified productive activities. However, the successful reintegration of (...) former combatants represents big challenges for the companies, as the signing of a peace agreement will not transform the context from one day to another. And factors such as insecurity, the inadequate or inexistent infrastructure, and corruption, can persist in obstructing investment and new ventures" (Vargas, 2014; 20). In this context, despite that the role of the private sector in Peace-Building depends on the institutional framework created by the government so that there will be a larger share of other sectors of the society (the private sector), the companies also need to understand that a country in peace produces the incentives that lead to a greater productivity, and therefore, to the fulfillment of the economic objectives of the companies.

Conclusions

The *Shared Responsibility principle* is a wide principle of commitment and shared responsibility among the various actors of society for the acquisition of a common purpose. This transcends the individual and the spontaneous actions of the diverse actors and seeks to create integration, cooperation and coordination routes for a democratic society, and in the case of complex contexts, building peace.

In the specific case of Colombia and the Colombian Agency for Reintegration, the Reintegration Process carried out by former combatants would not be effective without the involvement of the remaining public institutions, the civil society and the private sector. Therefore, this process must be addressed from the shared responsibility concept, that is, from the shared commitment and the joint actions that need to be carried out for an effective reintegration, and still more important, for obtaining of a stable and everlasting peace.

From ACR's experience, the relationship with the private sector has left a very positive balance. For example, over two thousand people have benefitted from the volunteer actions or trainings in topics related with the business community, personal finances, entrepreneurship, among others. Likewise, over 350 business units have been created or strengthened and, as mentioned, in more than 10 municipalities community interventions have taken place that aim at strengthening the links of citizens and the prevent the forced recruitment of minors.

For this reason, ACR considers the private sector as a fundamental ally in the Reintegration Process, given

that through the initiatives intended from the shared commitment to build a country in peace and the RSE policies, the companies can put their economic and political capacity at the disposition of the people undergoing Reintegration Process to have new opportunities and carry out their proposed life project in their return to legality.

As part of shared responsibility, CSR is a set of actions, wills, provisions, resources and actors that, with the leadership of the State, design, build and execute policies with a common objective where companies play a key role given their economic role and ethical responsibility.

Bibliografía:

Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración. (2013). *Corresponsabilidad por Cooperación/Coordinación. Ciudadanía Corporativa.*

Blofield M. and Martinez J. (2014). *Trabajo, familia y cambios en la política pública en América Latina: Equidad, maternalismo y corresponsabilidad.* CEPAL Magazine 114.

Colombia, Medellin Mayor's Office (2015). *Reintegrados, la vida después del conflicto.*

Colombia, Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración, ACR (2014). *Fundamentos del Enfoque de Reintegración. Bogota.*

Colombia. Ministry of Defense (2015). *Logros de la Política de Defensa y Seguridad. Todos por un Nuevo País.*

World Economic Forum (2001). Ciudadanía Corporativa. Taken from <http://www.weforum.org/en/initiatives/corporatecitizenship/index.htm>

- Global Compact of the United Nations (2015). 10 Principles. Taken from <http://www.pactomundial.org/quienes-somos/10-principios>
- Fundación Club el Nogal (2014). *III Congreso de Responsabilidad Social, justicia transicional y escenarios de reconciliación*. Natalia Delgado and Ángela Prías (et. Al.).
- Fundación Ideas para la Paz, FIP (2014). *¿Cómo construir paz desde el sector empresarial en Colombia?- Bogotá*.
- Gómez C. and Baracaldo E. (2007). *La corresponsabilidad: una estrategia para la convivencia y la seguridad ciudadana en la Policía Nacional de Colombia*. FLACSO.
- Gutierrez R., Avella L. and Villar R. (2006). *Aportes y desafíos de la RSE en Colombia*.
- International Alert, 2005. Conflict-Sensitive Business Practice: Guidance for the Extractive Industries y
- International Alert, 2006. Business and Human Rights: the Role of Business in Weak Governance Zones: Business Proposals for Effective Ways of Addressing Dilemma Situations in Weak Governance Zones.
- Penso C. (2006). *Las relaciones entre los gobiernos y las organizaciones de la sociedad civil. Los nuevos interrogantes*. Gestión y Estrategia.
- Prandi M. and Lozano J. (2010). La RSE en contextos de conflicto y postconflicto: de la gestión del riesgo a la creación de Valor. School of Peace Culture and Social Innovation Institute
- Rettber A. (2010). *La participación del sector privado en la construcción de paz: inventario e identificación de algunos ejemplos ilustrativos*.
- López A. and Usaquén M. (2011). *Reflexiones sobre la relación entre las políticas públicas y la responsabilidad social*. Revista CIFE 17.
- Vargas G. (2014). *La responsabilidad social empresarial en la construcción de la paz: una introducción*. Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios del Desarrollo CIDER. Los Andes University.
- Zuluaga A. (2010). *El grupo Éxito y su intención a la población vulnerable en Colombia*.

The Role of South-South Cooperation in the Strengthening of the Reintegration Process in Colombia and its International Standing

Yessica Natalia Vargas Talero

Introduction

During the last two decades, Colombia has undergone a series of major transformations at political, social and economic levels thanks to the introduction of public policies and programs that encourage foreign investment, economic growth, reinforcement of the public force, and security conditions throughout the national territory by allowing the opening of the political system to new partisan forces, fostering processes of administrative, political and fiscal decentralization, and thematically and geographically diversifying foreign policy, among others.

At a macroeconomic level, one of the most important references of these advancements is illustrated in the inclusion of the country in the list of the Upper Middle Income Countries (UMIC)⁴⁴ in 2010. While this classification is a positive indicator of the economy as it shows a significant progress in the reduction of poverty and economic growth, it also implies a challenge in terms of the traditional cooperation received since donor countries and multilateral bodies have reduced their support for UMIC.

With this scenario of resource reduction by the Official Aid for Development (hereinafter OAD), the South-South Cooperation alternative (hereinafter SSC),

also known as technical cooperation, is introduced. This is a form of cooperation that is complementary to traditional cooperation and allows countries to acquire and reinforce individual and collective skills through the exchange of experiences, knowledge and best practices, especially in the scientific and technical fields.

This article has the purpose of showing how SSC contributes to the Reintegration Process in Colombia. On one hand, it has the mission of promoting the sustainable return of the demobilized population to legal life, thereby contributing to peace, security and citizen coexistence through the reinforcement of the technical skills of the institution. On the other hand, it has the vision of becoming an international benchmark by year 2020.

Therefore, the first part of this article contains an overview of the context and provides the definition and principles of SSC. Secondly, the contributions of this type of cooperation to the current peace-building process, and specifically to the Reintegration Process, will be described. Finally, two outstanding examples of international activities led by the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (hereinafter, ACR for its acronym in Spanish) are introduced: El Salvador and South Korea.

I. South-South Cooperation

In general terms, technical cooperation and SSC start being talked about upon the historical context of decolonization and a political context of reconfiguration

⁴⁴ This categorization is made by the World Bank and classifies the income of world economies on the basis of last year's estimated GNI per capita (gross national income divided by the average population).

of the postwar world order⁴⁵. This was expressed with the intention of the least developed countries and those that attained independence of establishing new mechanisms of participation and influence in the international scenario through more equal and horizontal relationships.

This way, the milestone that determined the creation of SSC is the Buenos Aires Declaration of September 12th, 1978, a day in which 138 countries gathered in the capital city of Argentina to adopt the Buenos Aires Action Plan. This is a document that contains the structural changes in the aid for development and highlights the need of focusing on the reinforcement of national capacities, thereby raising a new world economic order upon the cooperation between the developing world without eliminating the responsibility of the developed countries (2015, p. 55).

This approach aimed at introducing a change in the traditional relationships of cooperation that had been generally characterized for being driven by the guidelines and agendas of the developed countries that used OAD, not only as a foreign policy tool to co-opt allies in the international scenario, but as a mechanism to reconfigure and maintain relationships with their former colonies.

Therefore, the least developed countries experienced uneasiness as OAD was perceived as an external and unilateral formula conditioned by the guidelines of the most advanced countries, "being aid so conditioned to the interests of the donors, especially to those that linked such aid more to their foreign policy, thus there was not only a resource transfer to the country receiving aid, but this help implicitly led to a forced transfer of a model of life (...); geopolitics transform aid into a vehicle for reproducing a development model that involves a transaction cost

that must be assumed by aid receptor countries." (Sotillo, 2012, p. 119).

Given the abovementioned considerations on the political and historical implications that made the emergence of SSC possible, the following principles demonstrate its purpose of strengthening and improving economic relations, promoting regional integration and achieving its development goals through agreed efforts in a more equal scenario without substituting or replacing traditional cooperation or OAD:

- **Horizontality:** Although there are different development levels between the countries establishing such cooperation, the actors perceive each other as voluntary partners around cooperative relations.
- **Equality:** By exercising this modality, it is expected that the benefits of cooperation are equitably distributed among all participants, as well as the costs incurred by the partners. The latter is crucial since the "cost-sharing" principle proportionally makes actors commit in technical and financial terms.
- **Consensus:** The willingness of those responsible for SSC to start negotiation processes in order to jointly agree on how to carry out the exchange of knowledge and experience.
- **Respect/Solidarity:** As mentioned above, SSC is based on the intention of the countries to maintain their sovereignty and to allow mutually beneficial relationships and not an external interference in their affairs.

In practical terms, SSC may be carried out as follows:

- **Exchange of experiences:** This process refers to the technical and political approaches made by the countries in order to know specific aspects on how processes, public policies, programs, among others, are performed. In general, experts go through internships or participate in international events that allow them to expose their best practices to specialized audiences.

⁴⁵ For more information and conceptualization of the SSC historical process, see "Chronology and History of the SSC" by the Ibero-American Program for the Strengthening of the South-South Cooperation of 2014. Available in <http://www10.iadb.org/intal/intalcdi/PE/2014/14230.pdf>.

- **Technical assistance of experts:** Besides the transfer of knowledge and experience, the developing countries are able to offer their specialized knowledge and experience to other countries on matters of mutual interest once they have accumulated significant progress. Technical assistance is usually provided by sending experts from one country to another after the preliminary design of a work agenda and the definition of peers, themes and expected results, among others.
- **Transfer of technology:** In order to increase the capacity between peer countries, these decide to implement and replicate scientific advancements in the design and creation of goods and services according to specific conditions.

Finally, it should be pointed out that SSC has its own scenario of coordination, convergence and complementarity with traditional cooperation or OAD through Triangular Cooperation, hereinafter TC, which is understood as that “form of cooperation in which a set of actors participate and distribute three roles among them, being all of them able to make different contributions (technical, financial, human or others).” See: Technical Secretariat for International Cooperation (SETECI for its acronym in Spanish), 2015, p. 157-158.

- **First Partner sharing experience:** this entity is mainly responsible for the implementation of the technical cooperation in order to strengthen capacities. It will be always a developing country sharing its experience and knowledge and its contributions to the partnership may be technical, financial, human, or other. This means that besides technical skills, the first offeror may assume part of the cooperation’s economic cost.
- **Second Partner sharing experience:** this entity is mainly responsible for the financing of technical cooperation and may represent a developing country, developed country, multilateral or regional organization, or any combination of them. Its main contribution to the partnership will be always financial. However, it may be also technical, complementary or other.

- **Partner receiving experience:** this is the beneficiary of technical cooperation and will always be a developing country. It may contribute to the partnership with financial, technical or other resources, that is to say, it may assume part of the economic cost of cooperation.

2. SCC as a Mechanism for Strengthening and Internationalizing the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy - SERP

Current Perspective of International Cooperation during Post-Conflict

The Presidential Agency for International Cooperation, APC-Colombia, the entity responsible for coordinating the international cooperation received and granted by the country under the guidelines defined by the Presidency of the Republic, Ministry of Defense, National Planning Department and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, designed the 2015-2018 Roadmap for International Cooperation.

The purpose of increasing the benefit of cooperation for international and Colombian societies in terms of development according to the priorities of the country and its partners is stated in this document. There are two strategic objectives within this context:

1. To channel and dynamize the international cooperation received by Colombia. Three areas have been prioritized for this: a) peace-building; b) sustainable rural development; and c) conservation and sustainability of the environment.

Regarding peace-building, the roadmap includes demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration of the actors of the conflict and all the activities contributing to the implementation of an eventual peace agreement. In addition, as stated in CONPES document 3850 - “Colombia in Peace Fund,” one of the policies that greater attention deserves by the local and national authorities is the one related to the demobilization and reintegration of former combatants into civil society (2015, p. 25).

This allows us to identify that public policy makers and those authorities planning and executing international cooperation resources in the country recognize the importance of the Reintegration Process as a fundamental component in peace-building. This supports and strengthens ACR's activities at municipal, departmental and national levels.

2. To share high-value knowledge to contribute to the foreign policy of the country and at the same time generate tangible benefits for the development of Colombia and the new partners of SSC and TC through regional strategies (Asia, Eurasia, Africa, Mesoamerica and the Caribbean), bilateral programs (mixed committees of technical and scientific cooperation, neighborhood committees and cultural, educational and sport committees, among others), strategic alliances (public, private, civil society, academic and/or international community) and regional integration (Pacific Alliance, General Ibero-American Secretariat, and FEALAC, among others).

This objective shows that SSC, as a foreign policy instrument, will enable Colombia to introduce the National Policy of Social and Economic Reintegration of People and Illegally Armed Groups – SERP in international scenarios of different nature, something that at the same time will facilitate the formulation and development of specific projects of cooperation that add value to the Colombian Reintegration Process and also enrich the experience of other countries.

International Cooperation in the Regulatory Framework of the Social and Economic Reintegration Policy - SERP

International cooperation, including the traditional one, SSC and TC, may be understood within the context of peace-building as an important mechanism of attention for vulnerable populations due to the armed conflict and for implementing the agreements reached in the negotiations with illegal armed groups.

Es decir, la comunidad internacional se convierte en un instrumento de colaboración eficaz para el ajuste y la consolidación de la PRSE, al tener en cuenta las experiencias internacionales así como las iniciativas nacionales exitosas (2008, Pág. 64).

Indeed, according to CONPES document 3554 issued on December 1st, 2008, SERP is considered a major challenge for consolidating the strategies and the financial, technical and political support of international cooperation.

This means that the international community becomes an effective cooperation instrument for the adjustment and consolidation of SERP by taking into account the international experiences as well as successful national initiatives (2008, p. 64).

Although there is no textual reference to SSC in that document, the public policy interest in internationalizing the Colombian experience and providing technical assistance to partner countries can be identified in the same document: "in order to commit to this task, ACR (...) will disseminate the Colombian model so that it is used as an example and at the same time to strengthen it with the technical cooperation offer from other countries and organizations implementing Reintegration Processes of people, armed groups or other vulnerable populations" (Ibid).

This way and through triangulation with other actors, the bilateral approaches and relationships established by ACR with international actors from the "south"⁴⁶ have enabled the entity's work to be outstanding at an international level and used in the cooperation framework in a double-way manner.

Additionally and as a result of the evolution of the Reintegration Process during the last 13 years, ACR

⁴⁶ According to the Dependence Theory developed at the end of World War II, the world economic order is determined by the relationship between an industrial and hegemonic center that establishes unequal economic transactions and a subordinated and agricultural periphery. Within this theory, the north-south duality is also presented for referring to the developed world versus the developing world and the first world versus the third world.

has accumulated knowledge in different fields thanks to its multidimensional approach (personal, productive, family, habitability, health, education, citizenry and security), which transcends the immediate assistance to the demobilized individual and makes him/her the lead manager of his/her change⁴⁷.

Practically speaking, these skills and experience have been transferred to other countries that have identified key components of the Colombian experience as the Model of Community Reintegration (Democratic Republic of Congo, Brazil and Indonesia), the strategy "Mamburu is not going to war: this is another story" (South Sudan and Brazil), gender approach (Uganda and Burundi) and the shared responsibility strategy with external actors (the Philippines). This is to name a few examples of best practices that may be used for countries facing challenges that are similar to those of Colombia (cooperation offer).

In turn, Colombia may also use the technical knowledge and experience of other countries that have also developed effective processes of reintegration, reconciliation and peace-building (demand for cooperation), as those carried out in South Africa (reconciliation), Brazil (communities and women), El Salvador (prevention of further violence) and the Philippines and South Korea (care and stabilization of people starting a process of reintegration into civil life), among others.

ACR's International Relations and Cooperation Group Strategy for year 2016

In terms of SSC and under the guidelines of SERP and the 2015-2018 Strategic Plan, the Shared Responsibility Group works in the gathering of international experts for the creation and implementation of cooperation projects that take into account the needs of the Reintegration Process and reinforce its strengths.

⁴⁷ This process is undergone through the Reintegration Route, which is the path every person walks through to fully reintegrate into economic and social life. This route provides personalized attention according to the life project of the person and the characteristics of the context.

This work is carried out through: meetings and gatherings with strategic actors as Embassies and multilateral agencies; strategic visits to territorial groups so that potential partners learn at first hand about the Reintegration Process in the regions; south-south technical cooperation visits; and international visits.

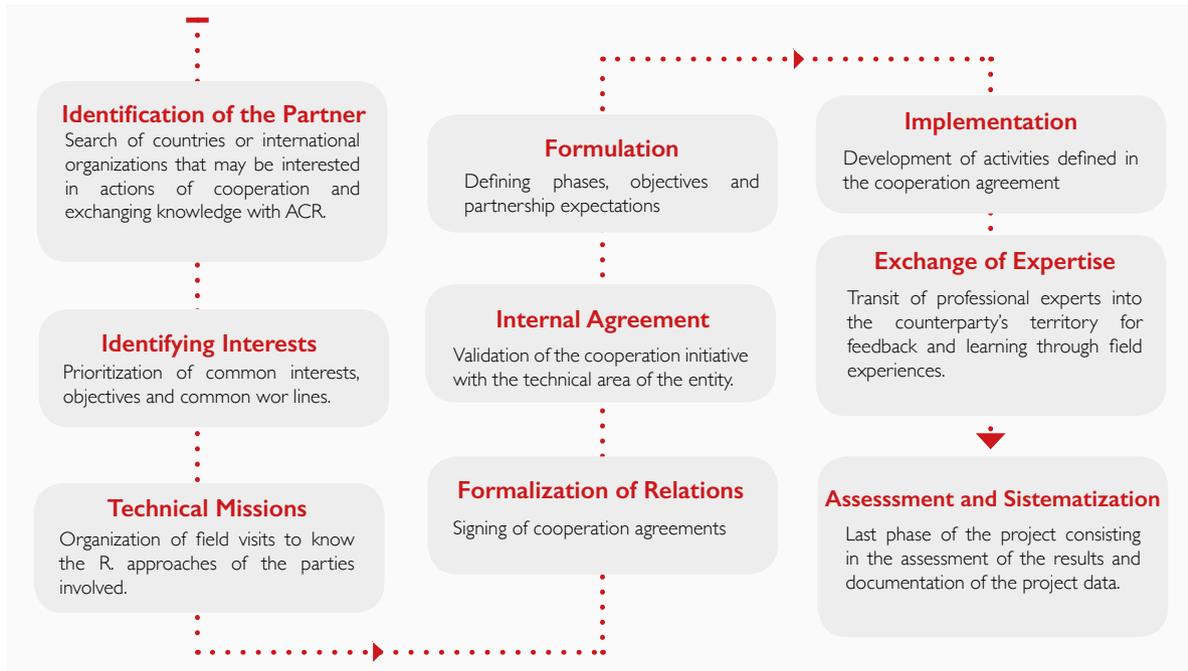
The cooperation offer is one of ACR's main institutional strengths and contributes to the consolidation of the Colombian foreign policy. The country has strengthened the SSC experience through the relations of cooperation created by the entity during the last 6 years. (See **Diagram I**)

Internacionalización de la ACR y fortalecimiento de la CSS: ejemplos emblemáticos. En su objetivo de fortalecer el proceso de reintegración y contribuir con el desarrollo de capacidades mediante el intercambio de experiencias y conocimientos, la ACR ha venido trabajando con países que han tenido experiencias similares en materia de reintegración. A continuación se muestran 2 ejemplos representativos:

ACR's internationalization and the strengthening of SSC: two emblematic examples.

ACR has been working with countries having similar reintegration experiences within the effort of accomplishing its objective of reinforcing a Reintegration Process and contributing to the development of capacities by sharing experiences and exchanging knowledge. The following are two representative examples:

SOUTH KOREA. Unification Policy and Reintegration Policy as international experiences in the context of overcoming vulnerable conditions. While the South Korean conflict differs from the Colombian conflict regarding its origin and causes, what is interesting about the Korean process is the national interest in sustainably reintegrating the people in a vulnerable situation who managed to leave North Korea on the basis of the Unification policy.

Diagram I. The step-by-step process of ACR's cooperation offer for year 2016

The Korean reunification process focuses on the idea of bringing both Koreas together within the same State after being separated during the Cold War and the confrontation where China, the Soviet Union and the United States of America were involved. In this context, the unification policy is based on the vision of a new era of hope and happiness through the economic recovery, welfare of citizens, culture flourishing and the building of a foundation for national unification.

A system of assistance for the resettlement of North Korean deserters in strong vulnerability conditions due to the lack of food, economic difficulties, restrictions on freedom of speech, differences with the North Korea regime or threats to their lives or their families was established as part of the execution of this policy by the Ministry of Unification.

Deserters go through a three-step process when they arrive in South Korea:

- **Hanawon Center:** These are educational centers where people meet with a curriculum focused on three objectives: to solve psychological and socio-economic anxiety, overcome barriers of cultural

heterogeneity and provide training to live in their own in society. Currently these centers may hold up to 400 people for three months.

- **Hana Centers:** Once individuals have committed to the established program in the Hanawon Centers, they are referred to the Hana Centers, where they are prepared to understand their receptor communities, are vocationally trained and receive guidance for designing a life plan.
- **Hana Foundation:** a public institution, this foundation helps people to find jobs in their new community and financially supports entrepreneurial initiatives.

Therefore, a great opportunity to exchange knowledge and skills with Korea has been identified. In particular, that country's experience could strengthen the Colombian Reintegration Process with the transfer of:

- Teaching methodologies with a differential approach from the experience of Hanawon.
- Care methodologies against socio-economic anxiety.



ACR's General Director and collaborators of the entity took the training course offered by the Korean Ministry of Unification. They are accompanied by high-level authorities of that country and Mr. Tito Saul Pinilla, the Colombian Ambassador in Korea. Seoul. 15/10/2015. Photo taken by ACR.

- Psychosocial care experiences from cultural heterogeneity
- Knowledge and individual care tools against sexual abuse
- Lessons learned against security and protection for refugees/former combatants

In turn, Colombia could reinforce Korean experience through:

- Psychosocial care methodologies
- Methodologies and experiences on citizenship issues (social service actions)
- Technical knowledge in the field of income generation
- Experience from the Reintegration Process in the family dimension

- Enhancement of capacities by using and creating technological tools for the process monitoring and evaluation (Information System for Reintegration – SIR for its acronym in Spanish).

In order to materialize this opportunity of transferring knowledge and experiences, ACR has been jointly working with South Korea since 2013 with the participation of the Education Office Director of the Ministry of Unification in the World Summit of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Directors. As a result of this first approach, the Agency conducted an exploratory mission to that country from March 24 - 28, 2014, that resulted in an official visit of four representatives of the Ministry of Unification to Colombia in December that year that had the purpose of learning in detail about the Reintegration Process and the experience of ACR's territorial groups (Bogota and Bucaramanga).

There was an additional visit to the territorial group in Bucaramanga in April 2015. In October, 15 technicians of ACR participated in a training program held in the Asian country on the Unification Policy and the support process during the resettlement of North Korean deserters.

During 2016, the Shared Responsibility Group expects to formulate and consolidate a two-way cooperation project to enable the exchange of the methodologies set forth above and to nourish the Korean process by developing a technical mission so that the officials of that country deepen in their knowledge of the Colombian Reintegration Process.

Specific actions have been designed in order to achieve this: a) dialogue and consultation with the Ministry of Unification to move forward in the formulation of projects whose action plan has already been introduced by ACR to the different actors in the process (Korean International Cooperation Agency – KOICA and Embassies in Bogota and Korea) b) model and methodology transfer, c) conduct of a training course in field work for officials of the Ministry of Unification; and d) design and formulation of the Hanawon Model for Colombia.

EL SALVADOR. The Colombian Reintegration Model as a reference for the Reintegration Process of Maras and gangs and prevention of further violence. El Salvador suffered a civil war during 12 years, from 1980 to 1992. In this conflict, the government army and the Armed Forces of El Salvador (FAES) fought against the insurgent forces of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). The estimate number of victims of this armed confrontation is 75,000, a figure that includes both dead and missing people.

The armed conflict ended after a dialogue process between the parties with the signing of a peace agreement (Chapultepec Peace Accords) that enabled the demobilization of the guerrilla forces and their incorporation into the political life of the country.

The case of El Salvador has been an international reference as it has been used as an example for studies of conflict resolution and peace-building, and a successful

case showing how the guerrilla forces may transit into a life within the law and participate in politics through a democratic and institutional way. In fact, ACR reviewed the case of that country and other international experiences to take some elements to design the structure, program and approach of the Colombian process.

One of the biggest challenges faced by El Salvador and other Central American countries are the Maras (meaning “groups of friends”)⁴⁸. Governments in several countries have assigned significant resources to combat these groups.

Furthermore, the prevention programs of violence and child recruitment have been created to mitigate the impact of these gangs on the communities. Currently, the generation of re-socialization programs for their members to be active and productive in society is sought as well.

In fact, given the problems of Maras and gangs, the United States of America promoted the creation of the Plan of the Alliance for Prosperity in the Northern Triangle (El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras), which seeks joint cooperation to obtain the necessary resources to address economic and social priorities of migrants in such countries.

Citizen security is within the guidelines of this plan, which includes the topic of reintegration. It is upon this scenario that ACR was invited to communicate the Colombian experience. The shared responsibility group identified a favorable scenario to carry out the exchange of experiences and technical knowledge.

The active participation of the delegates of El Salvador in the SSC Technical Visits led by ACR from 2010 to 2015 has been outstanding. Indeed, last year has been marked by the intensive activity

⁴⁸ These groups are criminal gangs that were born in the United States of America due to the discrimination of Salvadorans who emigrated to that country during civil conflicts in the context of the Cold War and returned to El Salvador by taking advantage of the absence of the State to position and engage in illegal activities such as murder, drug and weapon trafficking, extortion and human trafficking.

regarding technical and political approaches. For instance, ACR's Director officially visited El Salvador in April 2015, where the Reintegration Process was presented to government representatives. There were also meetings with representatives of the civil society and international organizations.

As part of a regional initiative with the countries of the Northern Triangle, another visit was made to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala in August that year. During this visit, the work experience of ACR was shared with representatives of governments, regional organizations, former combatants and international external actors. Additionally, key institutions that were present in these countries with experience in issues of further violence prevention, child recruitment prevention and peace-building were identified.

As a result of these meetings and during the same month, delegates of El Salvador visited the Territorial Group of Medellin to know at first hand about ACR's Reintegration Process and reconciliation efforts.

As a result, the members of the National Security Council stated that ACR has a technical experience that could be a major input in the design of a Reintegration Process for Maras and gangs, where one of the main challenges is to define a legal mechanism to sustain the benefits of those who access the process.

Moreover, ACR stressed in different meetings with the government of El Salvador that the entity is able to accompany and advise for the Salvadoran process and explained that such processes must be adapted to the context and the problems of the country, meaning that it would not be a copy of the Colombian model.

In that sense, the peers of El Salvador are reviewing ACR's proposal and the National Security Council in that country is studying how a reintegration policy with a component of alternative sentencing may be created.⁴⁹ In this process, the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Colombia, the Embassy of the Republic of Colombia in El Salvador and APC-Colombia have been key partners.



In the photo: Marco Sanchez Trejo, El Salvador's Ambassador in Colombia; Hugo Martinez, Minister of Foreign Relations; Joshua Mitrotti, General Director of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration; Julio Anibal Riaño, Colombia's Ambassador in El Salvador; Cecilia Dueñas, Staff Chief at the Ministry of Foreign Relations from El Salvador; and Dylan Herrera, Officer of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration. San Salvador.

15/04/2015. Photo by: Chancellery.

⁴⁹ In this case, alternative sentencing would offer "alternative" sentences or those that do not involve imprisonment to the members that are confronting the Salvadorean State with the condition that they demobilize and make some contributions in favor of the victims.

In addition and in the context of this joint work, both parties have mentioned that other knowledge of ACR must be considered, specially the one related to Community Reintegration Model and the recruitment prevention strategy "Mambru is not going to war". Work with communities is essential to El Salvador since the social fabric has been fractured due to violence and children recruitment is one of the main consequences of the Maras' phenomenon.

Throughout the engagement process with the government of El Salvador, significant regional experiences for preventing further violence have become evident and that may be useful for the Colombian Reintegration Process.

One of the most prominent examples is the process carried out in the municipality of Suchitoto, which, despite of suffering rigor of the civil war between 1980 and 1982, managed an institutional coordination (local government, police and community) suitable for the promotion of programs and actions directed to educate children, young people and parents in preventing violence and the emergence of gangs through workshops with a preventive approach by promoting positive values and habits of peaceful coexistence.

In 2016, the Shared Responsibility Group will assign part of its efforts to a cooperation project to provide advise to the authorities in that country on the formulation of a reintegration program for Maras and gangs adapted to the context and specific problems of El Salvador. Additionally, it will be a bilateral work on preventing further violence, recruitment of boys, girls, teenagers and young people (strategy "Mambru is not going to work, this is another story"), the promotion of public safety, peace-building and the community reintegration model.

Conclusions and Challenges

Through ACR, Colombia has led a Reintegration Policy of people who demobilized from armed groups outside the law and an effective Reintegration Process in terms of numbers (increase in the life quality of the assisted

people) and the development of institutional capacities that are internationally recognized today.

During these 13 years, the Agency has identified the importance of sharing its experience with other countries implementing Reintegration Processes in order to strengthen and identify unique experiences that can improve or enrich the process in Colombia.

Additionally, ACR has been increasingly moving towards a comprehensive process that ensures the successful reintegration of former combatants into society that considers the complexities and peculiarities of their life stories, their collective and individual dimension, the importance of their social and family networks and the psychosocial care required to leave violent contexts.

One of the greatest challenges in the present context is to further reinforce the technical skills of the entity and to propitiate spaces for learning and feedback with external actors, partners and validators that may support ACR in the successful implementation of the Reintegration Process.

The current situation involves some technical and political challenges. On the one hand, achieving recognition of civil society for the work done and assisting those who decide to abandon their weapons and with whom the country must reconcile; and on the other hand, the challenge is even greater due to complex life stories because new knowledge, lessons and best practices must be always focused to assist particular need of people undergoing a Reintegration Process. This is not about replicating experiences exactly, but identifying successful experiences that may be adapted to the Colombian context and the needs of the process and people.

To achieve this, the Agency has been promoting an active agenda with international external actors in order to introduce the Reintegration Process in different scenarios and identifying opportunities that are mutually beneficial through bilateral cooperation so that the benefits can be obtained under terms of horizontality and respect.

These approaches and exchanges have enabled the Agency to provide advice and support processes of assistance for people in vulnerable conditions due to their participation in the armed conflict, thereby becoming an international benchmark for reintegration processes.

The biggest challenge is to continue working in these cooperative relations and enrich and give

them sustainability in time so that the Agency continues finding spaces for obtaining resources of all nature, consolidating its international visibility, ensuring that its accumulated knowledge is externally and internally recognized, and more importantly, continues enabling a lasting, effective and comprehensive reintegration that contributes to peace-building and reconciliation.

Bibliography

Cooperation and International Relations Group Strategy. 2016.

Document CONPES 3850. Fondo Colombia en Paz. 2015.

Document CONPES 3554. Política nacional de reintegración social y económica para personas y grupos armados ilegales. 2008.

Hoja de Ruta de la Cooperación Internacional 2015-2018 de la Agencia Presidencial para la Cooperación Internacional, APC-Colombia.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. South-South Cooperation. <http://www.cancilleria.gov.co/international/politics/cooperation/south>. Recovered on February 18, 2016.

Ministry of Unification. <http://eng.unikorea.go.kr/main.do>. Recuperado el 18 de febrero de 2016.

Plan Estratégico 2015-2018. Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración.

Programa Iberoamericano para el Fortalecimiento de la Cooperación Sur-Sur. Cronología e Historia de la Cooperación Sur-Sur. Documento de Trabajo No. 5. 2014. 61 Pages.

SETECI (2015). Diccionario de Cooperación Internacional. 199 Pages.

Sotillo, J (2012). El sistema de cooperación para el desarrollo: actores, formas y procesos. Madrid. 318 Pages.

World Bank. Data. <http://data.worldbank.org/>. Recovered on February 18, 2016.

Good Practices for Reintegration: An Innovative Exercise

Katherin Díaz Albarracín.

The Reintegration Process has been built upon the work and learning obtained from the attention provided to former combatants undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families for more than 12 years.

This is why the first version of the Contest Best Practices for Reintegration with Social Innovation for Peace was held, being it promoted by the Territorial Sub-Directorate of the Reintegration Program Directorate and led by the Territorial Coordination Group.

Its goal was to recognize the work and leadership of the Reintegration Professionals and territorial groups that have found new ways to reintegrate and demonstrate that the methodologies used from the territory contribute effectively to overcome the vulnerability of the people undergoing a Reintegration Process.

The Contest Approach from the Best Practice Perspective

Committing to a contest in order to know the best ways of providing attention to the people undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families became a major challenge to the Territorial Sub-Directorate: to inquire about the concept of best practice as a reference of politics and public management and how to apply it to the public policy of Reintegration.

After reviewing different theories and generally speaking, it could be said that a best practice is a vehicle that promotes innovation. In favor of validating a public policy, we can refer to the Anglo-Saxon perspective that identifies the “best practices” in this context and has obtained prizes and distinctions

with the intention of highlighting experiences and new ways to do things that stand out from the rest.

To ACR and as Löffler (2000) suggests, best practices “provide an impressive set of tested examples and solutions that can help solving management problems” (quoted in Armijo, 2004:5). This is about practices that enable the incorporation and/or improvement of strategies in order to obtain better results and offer solutions to problems, thereby showing how others did it and encouraging the search of innovative solutions.

As a matter of fact, best practices should have the following characteristics:

1. Realistic expectations: Believing that there are no better practices but good practices to resolve problems.
2. Identification of smart practices that create public value in a relatively low-cost manner⁵⁰.
3. Characterization and observation: it is possible to distinguish between “support” and “essential” elements.
4. Recognition of generic vulnerabilities: it is possible to explain why failures and/or weaknesses arising from the practice may happen.

⁵⁰ Regarding the nature of the “public value”, see Mark H. Moore, *Public Value Creation: Strategic Direction of the Government*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.

5. Return to the path multiplied by eight: this means not falling in unjustified optimism but recognizing the elements of the context.

In this line, within the contest and recognizing the elements mentioned above, it could be said that many of the proposals submitted did not really comply with the essential elements of best practices. Instead of that, those were exercises that should be developed within the normal attention process for the people undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families.

Therefore, it is necessary to mention that the term “best practice” also has justified criticism. This is how Eugene Bardach talks about the inability to affirm that a practice is “the best” and states that there could only be “good” or “smart practices”, since they can contribute to solve other social problems, but cannot make innovative or radical transformations.

Criteria for identifying Good Practices in Reintegration

Being the term “best practice” understood, the criteria established for the contest did not only call those practices promoting the appropriation of the reintegration approach, but also those that called the implementation and monitoring based on the following criteria:

- **Innovation:** To demonstrate significant changes for approaches or known processes, i.e., actions through which new ways of managing, organizing and implementing practices or new alternatives tending to improve or solve the problems of the people undergoing a Reintegration Process have been developed.
- **Articulation with the Reintegration Approach:** The proposals submitted must be totally related to the Reintegration approach, specifically describing how it is given and how it can be improved. This is to say how the condition of vulnerability can be overcome and bring the people undergoing a Reintegration Process to an autonomous exercise as citizens.

- **Conceptualizing the Reintegration Route and its Work Plan:** The best practice with innovation must tend to be materialized through of actions or ways of doing things, achievements, goals or agreements of certain dimension (s), and in the way it is reflected in the agreement and development of a work plan⁵¹.
- **Collaborative Work:** Understood as the building and strengthening of networks, alliances and work conditions of the professionals that are part of the territorial groups, community members, public institutions, private sector, international cooperation and other groups of domestic, regional or national interest, in order to identify the specific roles and create a favorable environment for its development.
- **Creation of Conditions for Sustainability:** Reintegration initiatives with best practices and social innovation for peace must imply defined processes, mechanisms or instruments that are traceable, a document to support them and management indicators for monitoring.

Territorial Approach: Means taking into account the environment in which the practice is applied and those environments in which it could be repeated in the short and mid term.

Results of the Best Practices for Reintegration Contest

The nomination of proposals for evaluation started in the second half of the year. A total of 50 proposals were received and after an evaluation process against the criteria set, 11 finalists were selected and later, the 4 winners were chosen by a steering committee.

⁵¹ This plan is understood as the tool through which a person undergoing a Reintegration Process and his/her family sets his/her life project and the goals in order to achieve it.

Proposals Submitted

ACR TERRITORIAL GROUP	GOOD PRACTICES
ACR ANTIOQUIA CHOCO	14
ACR BOLIVAR	5
ACR URABA	4
ACR META - ORINOQUIA	4
ACR TOLIMA	4
ACR HUILA	2
ACR CASANARE	2
ACR- PUTUMAYO	2
ACR SUCRE	2
ACR MAGDALENA	1
ACR NARIÑO	1
ACR EJE CAFETERO	1
ACR BOLIVAR	1
ACR BOGOTÁ	1
ACR CAUCA	1
ACR SANTANDER	1
ACR CAQUETÁ	1
ACR CESAR GUAJIRA	1
ACR URABA	1
ACR VALLE	1
Total	50

Contest Winners

1. *A partially distance model of accompaniment for the Reintegration Route with a community approach*, by the Bolivar Territorial Group. It enables to develop some activities of the Reintegration Process in remote municipalities by using Information and Communication Technologies in partnership with Digital Kiosks, which are promoted by the Ministry of Information Technology and Communications.
2. *Disengaged people*: the innocent face of the Colombian conflict, by the Caquetá Territorial Group. A proposal that works on a special route for those people with less than a year after demobilization through activities and an appropriate accompaniment than enable them to approach public institutions.
3. *Employability pilot for People undergoing Reintegration Process in Humanitarian Demining* by the Antioquia- Chocó Territorial Group. An employment proposal in which the people undergoing a Reintegration Process are part of a group of people who find and remove landmines.
4. *Stabilization Route*, by the Tolima Territorial Group. A proposal that creates support networks among the people undergoing a Reintegration Process at different times in the process, thereby creating mentors for new demobilized people.

Conclusions

This first approach with the best practices and social innovation enabled us to know and recognize the work made in the territory where reintegration happens. It is the place where former combatants and their families are recognized as individuals with equal rights and duties accompanied by Reintegration Professionals who are leading the life projects of these people through orientation and transformation.

The best practices are developed more easily when co-responsible actors of a Reintegration Process are present through their accompaniment, making the process visible, believing in it and trusting the people undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families.

Best practices are based on a need that is intended to be solved to improve the life quality of the people undergoing a Reintegration Process and their families.

Although this was a first exercise that collects and keeps record of the reintegration and attention process

of the people undergoing a Reintegration Process, this exercise must be reformulated to avoid falling into unjustified optimism and to better recognize the vulnerabilities of the same and the opportunities for improvement of the entity on this matter.

Best practices are validators of the public policy for Reintegration because they show the skills defined by ACR and the progress of the people undergoing a

Reintegration Process and their families into legality in a sustainable manner.

Making visible the best practices at the national level is an exercise that strengthens the expertise of over 12 years of attention for the demobilized people undergoing a Reintegration Process. This undoubtedly may be considered as a dynamic element for the post-conflict.

Bibliography

Departamento Nacional de Planeación DNP (2014). Documento preliminar CONPES de innovación social.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación DNP (2014). Criterios para la identificación de iniciativas de innovación social para la Paz. Guía básica de criterios para la identificación de iniciativas de innovación social para la construcción de paz.

Banco Interamericano de desarrollo BID. Área Prevención del Delito y la Violencia a Nivel Local. Centro de Estudios en Seguridad Ciudadana - Instituto de Asuntos Públicos Universidad de Chile (2011). Evaluación más buenas prácticas, aprendizajes y desafíos para la prevención del delito en América Latina y el caribe.

Red Calidad Humana 2012, gestión de desarrollo de personas de la administración pública. Experiencia del Primer Concurso de Buenas Prácticas promovido por la Secretaría de la Función Pública. Viva Paraguay.

Build, Reintegrate: A Vision of Reintegration Contributions to Peace-Building from Galtung's and Heidegger's Perspective

Dylan Herrera and Lucas Uribe

Introduction

Although Colombia has undergone an internal armed conflict for more than 6 decades (Pizarro Leongómez, 2015) (Moncayo, 2016), where society has made countless attempts of practices and actions searching to bring us closer to peace in parallel, recently, with the expectations of the Dialogue Process in Havana, the topics of post-conflict transition and peace-building are again being addressed with euphoria in the country.

Concepts such as Territorial Peace (Jaramillo, 2013), Social Justice (Miller, 1999), Peace-building (Boutros-Ghali, 1992), Positive Peace (Galtung, 1967), among others, have emerged in the discussions and forced us as citizens, to think about the true scope of peace process, beyond signing the agreements. The implications and challenges this involves for the central government as well as for the territories and the effects that it will have in the Colombian civil society.

In this regard, this document invites readers to ponder on some guiding questions: Will this be the transition towards times of peace, therefore a milestone in the history of the internal armed conflict? What elements do the citizens need in the country for this transition (values, appropriation, etc.)? Why is peace-building being talked about? What are the implications of building in territories and what is being built?

Approaching these guiding questions leads us to examine and assume the role of the individual, the civil society, and the local and central government in peace-building; likewise, it enables us to review upcoming challenges in the reintegration of armed groups, reconciliation at its different levels⁵², care provision to different vulnerable populations and strengthening of human and local development dynamics⁵³ (UNDP, 2015); in the different territories.

⁵² Levels make reference to the individual (personal, community, national), but at the same time to the territory/space (national, regional, domestic).

⁵³ Notions of human and local development are separated, because although they are not inclusive, it is necessary to divide the human development elements in 1) The Individual (capabilities and choice possibilities are included), searching to accurately understand the particular vulnerabilities of the individual and the necessary skills to improve its life quality and facilitate its autonomous citizenship exercise. 2) Opportunities searching to empower the individual, and in addition, to give the spaces and guarantees to enable the use these tools, choice possibilities and capabilities. That is where the approach converges with the local development initiatives, creating conditions for the human development. That is to say the local development cannot be conceived without human development, but in order to think about local development is imperative to make the diagnosis and approach upon human development and individual particularities.

Decision making in public policy cannot be apart from the social process dynamics happening in territories. It is from here, where through a theoretical and conceptual foundation, it is possible to comprehensively and complementarily focus the attention among the different entities, understanding the particularities of the territories, communities and individuals who benefit thereof.

It is within that context where, through pondering on reintegration, its coordination with other public policies and complementarity with other programs that focus on vulnerable populations and territories affected by the armed conflict, there is an aim to highlight that peace-building challenges and needs are more convergent than divergent, and the need of claiming spaces for rights and empowerment, will be crucial for the local construction processes to recognize and allow the citizens active role, and answer to the territory vision.

1. Colombia and the times of transition into Peace

In his book **Being and Time** (1951) and his essay **Time and Being** (1971), Heidegger analyzes that time may be understood as a present unit, from the "now"; however, time did not ignore past and future despite of having a strong connotation of the present. Nevertheless, the role of the present speaking about time has a crucial role as it links present with presence, with the being. In this regard "being in terms of presence is determined by the time" (Heidegger, *Time and Being*, 1971, p. 347). This means that the individual and his development as a person are intrinsically linked to the living time, and the legacy of the past preceding it up to that space and time.

Among the time expressions, people talk about it as something that comes, remains and goes, hence expressions such as everything in due course emerge. Currently, in the country there seems to be a unison interest from the different political or non-political positions regarding Peace. After many years, there is a dynamic where people have been owning and empowering peace, its challenges, and necessary measures to leave the internal armed conflict, at the

time that different inequality and exclusion dynamics catalyzing various manifestations of the conflict, not only armed, have been approached. After a decade of escalating armed violence, for many Colombian people this is the opportunity to reopen peace-building spaces at a national level. Will this be a milestone achieved in the history of the conflict and the country? Will this be the beginning of peace or transition to peace?

If the response to the previous question regarding these being times of peace or transition to peace is positive, what does this mean for us as Colombian citizens? What is needed in peace-building times? Which will be our challenges and roles? Thinking about the opportunity as a country to end an armed conflict involves seeing the importance of its scope and therefore its scope in time. Peace is not a final objective, but the consolidation of a steady, sustainable and multidimensional process.

The succession of present times that Heidegger talks about will be crucial, especially because it allows to begin regulating existing expectations regarding signing of a peace agreement. Peace in Colombia goes beyond such agreement, changes do not occur in paper and will take time, will require public policies that respond more assertively to dynamics of the territories and the needs and perspectives of the citizens who inhabit them. But not just that, by definition although time steadily goes on it always remains. Thinking about time, it involves thinking about what remains, and for the Colombian case, it punctually implies asking which elements in this transition we want to remain or build to remain, and in this way make peace and peace times something sustainable and lasting.

"Thus time itself passes by. However, while time passes by constantly, it remains as time. Remaining means: Not to disappear, therefore presence. Consequently, time is determined through something Being" (Heidegger, *Time and Being*, 1971, p. 349).

As Heidegger highlights it in the above quote, time cannot be conceived by itself, and neither the events

occurring, happening or remaining in it. Individuals are the time determinants, which Heidegger calls Being. Time concept cannot be given without the individual, as well as transitions and changes. The individual is the time giver and receiver, or as Heidegger poses, time is not possible without soul or conscience, therefore we may say that the individual is the time giver and receiver. (Heidegger, *Being and Time*, Jose Gaos' translation (1951), 2012).

So, transition times to peace in Colombia need citizens who are the soul and conscience of this time, of this transition, and of the efforts to ensure permanence of the foundations for a sustainable peace, but above all a positive peace (Galtung, 1967). This argument leads us to think "...To what extent is this determination of Being given by time?" (Heidegger, *Time and Being*, 1971, p. 347). Recognizing that the time we live in influences the person or being we become, involves thinking about those changes and transitions we must lead as a society to constructively and inclusively be able to contribute to transition toward positive peace.

2. The Contribution of Reintegration to Peace-building from Heidegger's Being

As time, Being is also determined by presence. In this way and retaking the argumentative structure in section 1, Being is presence and this involves an intrinsic relationship with the present. However, for Heidegger, thinking presence transcends such causation relationship and adds: "Thinking about the present, presence is shown as allowing for presence" (Heidegger, *Time and Being*, 1971, p. 351).

The addition above is crucial to the extent that Heidegger understands that allowing for presence is to uncover "In the un-covering comes into play the revelation of the one that gives presence in the allow-presence, this means, Being" (Heidegger, *Time and Being*, 1971, p. 351). Sadly, fear dynamics in Colombia have made many people hide because they are afraid of dying, have been forced to displace or even exile for persecution and victimization. In

Colombia, for over 100 years (Pardo, 2004), we have been polarizing opinions against the adversary and in turn, we have been legitimizing and legalizing labels, adjectives and classifications that end up destroying each other, eliminating or cancelling the human dignity element people have as Individuals, Colombians, or in Heidegger's terms, beings.

It is pertinent to approach Heidegger in the extent that in Colombia, dialectic walls were generated in a polarized environment where a person was red or blue, a victim or victimizer. The complexities derived from a conflict lasting nearly 60 years and the implications for the population living through it were disregarded. This ignores the fact that in Colombia it is important to recognize that conflict dynamics have led to the point that instead of white or black, there are countless shades of gray, nuances, which make the conflict resolution complex, but at the same time, this invites and forces us to think about spaces, public policies and transitions including all the actors, visible and hidden.

In Colombia, during the internal armed conflict that has extended through several generations, enemies were inherited, fears were instilled, and a war culture was built (Adams, 2014). It is then, one of the main challenges of Being, to begin deconstructing jointly the elements that consolidated and technified the war culture, to enable thinking about setting up the foundations for the fundamental elements of what is understood as peace culture (United Nations, 1999), (Adams, 2014).

Building a peace culture has as an essential requirement, the guarantees for the autonomous exercise of citizenship, or in Heidegger's words to have a context for the Being to be. This does not imply that within Heidegger's theory collectivity cannot be conceived but only the individual. On the contrary, the first step to build communities must be to ensure freedom, autonomy and recognition of the individual, understanding collectivity as the set of people gathered or concerted for a purpose. It is for this reason that within the reintegration context, the approach of the

Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR), is the passage from vulnerability to the autonomous exercise of citizenry.

The above premise rules for any citizen, not only to demobilized citizens. The autonomous exercise of citizenry is a contribution to build a culture of peace, is a common element for all citizens and it becomes one of the vital components of Being in Time. Thinking about Being of transition implies thinking about collective and individual initiatives to consolidate protective environments of Galtung's positive peace that not only benefits a specific group of people, but contributes to make Colombian people live better, even though for the moment it will be in the midst of the internal armed conflict.

In this way, one of the fundamental contributions of reintegration to that Being, which is necessary in these times of peace-building or transition to peace, is to begin encouraging the recognition of the different actors as citizens and tend to focus that recognition in the convergences of the shared and inhabited territories and spaces. This is where reintegrating is coordinated with unveiling, which leads to recognize oneself and others, respect, repair and build, thereby becoming consequently one of several elements of non-repetition.

From this point on, it has been possible to take a next step in the contribution to the construction of Being, from that transition to peace where ACR, through its community strengthening work and individual work with people undergoing a Reintegration Process, has been able to reintegrate demobilized people in their essence, their Being, as a human being, as a citizen searching for space in the environment where he/she lives with other vulnerable populations, and that, in Heidegger's words, have consolidated the fundamental feature of dwelling which is caring and building. Caring for and building what? Taking care of the physical and emotional integrity, looking out for their families and their host communities in order to build something better through an option different from weapons as a method of rights vindication.

3. When talking about Peace-Building, what do we want to build exactly?

A Reintegration Approach

Talking about building peace refers to a cultural and structural transformation that serves as a foundation for social equity and development. Disarming an actor of the conflict, as well as arresting, reducing or eliminating him/her does not solve the contradiction causing the conflict. Paraphrasing Galtung⁵⁴: "the only thing remaining by eliminating the counterpart is the problem". Believing in peace eliminating or cancelling the other party makes reference to a negative peace concept, or in Colombian words: "tense calm".

It is then, as a consequence of the above, that the mission of the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR) does not end with the "non-recurrence" of the actors who were part of the armed conflict, but understands that work must be directed towards higher goals as constructing the autonomous exercise of citizenry and creating spaces for reconciliation. In this way, the construction of citizenry is a contribution to structural change, and the generation of reconciliation scenarios is a contribution to cultural transformation.

However, if peace is more than the absence of conflict and requires for its achievement the consolidation of a culture of peace and a state structure for peace, what implications does this involve for the institutions? What implications does it have for the citizens? How do we prepare to undertake peace by peaceful means?

The first thing required to consolidate this positive peace is a **renewed anthropology for the Colombian context**. Many years of armed conflict have had a very deep impact in the social fabric of the communities in Colombia. Moreover, after the despair caused by years of armed conflict, the clamor has been widespread for a negative peace in some sectors,

⁵⁴ Conference Alfonso Reyes Chair, July 5th, 2013. Technological Institute of Monterrey.

which derives peace hope in the annihilation of the Otherness. Consequently, the Other is set as an enemy, a threat, is totally untrustworthy.

The first challenge searching for a positive peace in Colombia is to transform that vision of the Other. According to Galtung, conflict is inherent to human beings, but not violence. Therefore, in order to build peace, people must be prepared for peace. From this renewed vision, Galtung defines men as "beings capable of peace" (Galtung and Ikeda, 2007). This perspective enables the approach to the actors in conflict from the basic assumption that although there is incompatibility of objectives, which apparently separates, a same nature is shared, the human nature (besides our Colombian identity) that joins. Recognizing this reality helps re-humanize the conflict and therefore those who are part of it. The anthropological view assumed therefore by ACR, understands the different post-conflict actors as persons capable of peace who are in a vulnerable situation. No actor escapes this vulnerability because risk is high in a stage of conflict transformation.

It is then upon these anthropological minimum concepts that a commitment is assumed, not for "former combatants who have to be adapted to society to keep them from going back to delinquency", but for "Colombians with social and political capabilities that are able to contribute to peace-building from the territories". Likewise, the institutional commitment is not for "passive communities that must receive the former combatants" but for "dynamic communities capable of empowering and able to manage their differences". Based on these assumptions, work is being done with people through the Reintegration Route in order to enhance that autonomous exercise of citizenship, and with the communities, a community intervention model has been developed that promotes cooperation, trust building and decision-making.

It is also important to quote that inside Galtung's theoretical proposal, a constant emphasis is made on the fact that human complexity requires also complex answers (Galtung, 1998), as well as deep respect for the needs of the human being. Responding to

this demand, The ACR has developed an attention model with a multidimensional approach that allows it to make a truly integral intervention with people undergoing a Reintegration Process, their families and host communities. Nevertheless, is a renewed anthropological understanding enough to prepare us for peace?

It is a necessary but insufficient condition to begin understanding Colombians as people able of building peace. Among others, we also need to understand that **peace is a reality that may be rationalized and theorized and therefore taught and learned.** Peace as something ethereal and intangible, made of plenitude (non-human), does not help much to channel the efforts of all sectors.

The reintegration of former combatants has been one of the main challenges for the post-conflict societies worldwide. The arduous and slow transition process between a cessation of hostilities, or designated by Galtung as negative peace to an ideal state of cooperation and development or positive peace, has had one of its major stumbling blocks in reintegration due to its implication in terms of security, coexistence and reconciliation for the communities affected by the armed conflict who do not stop asking: is peace-building possible with people undergoing a Reintegration Process? In Colombia, this task, which is already difficult, has had to face an additional obstacle: the fact that in our country reintegration has been given in the midst of conflict and not from a peace agreement between the parties. Taking this into account, the challenges created by a process of this magnitude for a country where violence and conflict seem to be one more fiber of the social fabric, are immense and create certain ghosts, doubts and despair in our daily life.

Galtung comes to meet these ghosts and offers us a light to dispel them when he pedagogically explains how the so much desired peace is an intrinsically human concept. In his words, such humanity is unveiled, at first for the fact that peace may be rationalized and theorized, and secondly taught and learned. By exploring its conceptualization, we can

see that peace is a perfectly compatible concept with our reason. It is a state we can understand, grasp with our mind, since it appeals to the depths of our being as rational and social animals. If it is so human, why is it necessary to rationalize, teach and learn it? The reason is that the conditions that encourage violence are also very human, conditions emerging from daily human interaction. But, this is precisely a more human act: choosing the conditions that lead us to a state of coexistence in harmony and progress. Then, peace is not a horizon we aim to reach, but a *modus operandi*, a way we choose as a lifestyle, that we could better understand in Galtung's words: "instead of looking at peace as the distant goal, we have to act so that every step in its direction represents peace" (Galtung and Ikeda, 2007). This idea is also supported by one of the peacemakers par excellence, Mohandas Gandhi, who argues that, means and ends to peace achieving, should always match and be subject to the same ethical principles.

This is another important institutional commitment. Besides understanding people as capable of peace, peace must be understood as something real and human: "human beings capable of peace and peace capable of being human". Understanding peace as the way, as a day-to-day thing, enables the personal, social and institutional efforts to go directly to build peace in every action. It makes possible moving forward as a society and having a structural and cultural transformation, with motivation that stems from the conviction of a possible peace. Otherwise, waiting for peace to be imposed or granted will always result in negative peace.

The reintegration process in Colombia is then by definition and action, an alternative to build peace by peaceful means in a country that longs for peace. Meanwhile, beyond the understanding of the former combatant as a person, and peace as the means, what can be done with the conditions that originated the conflict? How should they be handled?

For this task, Galtung proposes **conflict transformation through creativity**. This author says that trying to solve a conflict is a very high expectation and hard to accomplish. Instead, transforming it involves mobilizing forces into something more functional that would allow avoiding violent alternatives. This is how, for example, reintegrating a former combatant of the armed conflict in Colombia may not mean to split his/her political nature. On the contrary, a Reintegration Process must channel that energy creatively and seek spaces to enhance it in favor of the communities' quality of life. Likewise, working with communities, for example, may not impose forgiveness as a condition, but must search for creative alternatives that allow to generate processes for rebuilding trust.

Therefore, this is the great challenge for the community, local governments and national government. The determined path to build a positive peace must start with recognizing the reason and capabilities of all parties, and based on this, find creative alternatives for transformation. While the national government must guide the policies to be developed, land appropriation will be crucial in this process, since for sure every region will have to find creative ways to transform the conflict according to their characteristics.

Bibliografía

Adams, D. (2014). *Cultura de Paz: Una utopía posible*. Mexico D.F. Herder.

Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992). *An Agenda for Peace*. New York : United Nations.

- Galtung, J. (1967). *Theories of Peace: A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute.
- Galtung, J. (1998). *Tras la violencia, 3R: reconstrucción, reconciliación, resolución. Afrontando los efectos visibles e invisibles de la guerra y la violencia*, Bilbao, Gernika Gogoratuz
- Galtung, J. (2003) *Paz por medios pacíficos. Paz y conflicto, desarrollo y civilización*, Bilbao, Gernika Gogoratuz.
- Galtung, J. (2003b) *Trascender y transformar. Una introducción al trabajo de conflictos*, México, Transcend –Quimera, introducción.
- Galtung, J. e Ikeda, Daisaku (2007a) *Scegliere la pace*, Milano, Esperia, p. 26.
- Heidegger, M. (1971). *Tiempo y Ser*. ECO revista de la cultura de occidente, 345-376.
- Heidegger, M. (2012). *El ser y el tiempo*, en la traducción de José Gaos (1951). Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes.
- Jaramillo, S. (16 de octubre de 2013). *Intervención Sergio Jaramillo, Alto Comisionado para la Paz, en el Congreso Latinoamericano de Ciencia Política*. Recovered on January, 2014. Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la Paz: http://www.altocomisionadoparalapaz.gov.co/herramientas/discursos/Documents/Intervencion_Sergio_Jaramillo_Congreso_de_ciencia_politica_16_de_octubre.pdf
- Miller, D. (1999). *Principles of Social Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Moncayo, V. M. (2015). *Relatoría: Hacia la verdad del conflicto insurgencia guerrillera y orden social vigente*. Bogotá: Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y sus Víctimas.
- Pardo, R. (2004). *Historia de las Guerras*. Bogota: Ediciones B.
- Pizarro Leongómez, E. (2015). *Relatoría: Una lectura múltiple y pluralista de la historia*. Bogota: Comisión de Historia del Conflicto y sus Víctimas.
- United Nations. (1999). *Res. 53/243 Declaración y Programa de Acción sobre una Cultura de Paz*. New York: United Nations.
- UNDP. (March 4, 2015). *Reportes de Desarrollo Humano*. Recovered on July 8, 2015. ¿Qué es el desarrollo humano?: <http://hdr.undp.org/es/content/%C2%BFqu%C3%A9-es-el-desarrollo-humano>

"...Women's position in the armed conflict has been anti-militarist and feminist towards violence and wars. We talk about resolution through negotiation, from everyday conflicts, since the ability to solve conflicts makes a politically and ethically developed society..." Marina Gallego⁵⁵

Participation of Demobilized Women in Peace-Building in Colombia

Juliana Rodríguez López

Introduction

The armed conflict in Colombia has become a source of mobilization of women. The dispossession of land, massacres, rape, mass displacement, forced recruitment and disappearance of relatives are, among others, the main reasons for women to join and fight together for the recognition and protection of their rights.

Currently, these mobilizations have transcended and become forces of resistance, fight and peace-building which, recognizing the patriarchal and male dominance of war, seek the dismantlement of military, macho and warmongering logics, besides positioning female voices against violence and in favor of peace in the different economic, cultural, social and political scenarios of the country (Poveda, 2010).

The purpose of this article is to analyze the relevance of the participation of demobilized women in peace-building in Colombia in the light of Resolution 1325 of

2000, whose guidelines promote the political participation of women as an alternative for achieving spaces in the social agenda and advocating for the solution of the armed conflict in the country.

This document is divided into six sections, the first of which is this introduction. The second is an analysis of the Resolution 1325 as an instrument that advocates for the women's involvement in peace-building. The third one studies the political participation of demobilized women through feminist movements. The fourth section explains the importance of demobilized woman participation in peace-building. The fifth part introduces the way in which ACR can promote such participation. Finally, the sixth section registers the conclusions consolidating the main findings of the proposed topic.

Women and Peace-Building (UN Resolution 1325).

The topic of integrating the gender dimension in peace processes has been in the international agenda for peace and security for more than ten years. Nevertheless, most of peace processes remain without fully integrating this perspective. Therein lies the importance

⁵⁵ Coordinator of the Peaceful Path of Women (La Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres).

of analyzing UN Resolution 1325, which advocates for the women's participation in peace-building, and highlights the contributions that can be made, taking into account the disproportionate and direct impacts they have suffered due to war and violence in certain moments of their lives.

The adoption of Resolution 1324 of the United Nations Security Council in 2000 introduced a series of spaces for women, victims of the armed conflict, to contribute to peace-building with their experiences and stories anywhere worldwide. This is an opportunity to participate in designing instruments that allow negotiated solutions to armed conflicts. Thus, the experiences of women have turned into an input for building tools that, based on contextual information, contribute to negotiated processes that consider the specific needs of the community and the type of existing conflict.

In this regard, the initiative has been considered a milestone recognizing women's role in the spaces of negotiation, decision making and peace-building, recognizing the importance of visualizing the differentiated impact of conflicts on their lives (UNDP, 2009). In order to bring this to reality, the document has emphasized three important issues that the UN has called "the four P's" as follows:

Participation by ensuring political participation of women in parliaments, ministerial positions, elections, and candidacies, and in this sense, promoting their inclusion as voters and candidates. For the specific case of Colombia, it is necessary to promote the peace process accompaniment between the national government and FARC, thereby ensuring the rights of women leaders and members of the political and social processes in the country.

Prevention by taking action in order to prevent sexual violence and protect human rights of women and girls, thereby taking into account the regulatory frameworks of national security.

Protection means protecting the physical and economic security of women and girls, as well as important aspects such as their physical and mental health. This

should be accompanied by their direct participation in the sectors of security, justice and foreign affairs.

Processing of those attacking women and violating their fundamental rights.

As a matter of fact, it has been evidenced that women have an essential role when developing initiatives that contribute to conflict prevention and resolution, and to peace and security consolidation. Due to the above, resolution is one of the most important international mandates to protect the women and children victims of war, in whom the differential impact of conflicts and the importance of taking into account their specific needs in prevention, protection and participation is highlighted (UNDP, 2009).

15 years after implementing this resolution, it must be said that even if there is much work to be done, women's participation and inclusion in peace-building issues has been increasingly effective. Their participation in peace missions has been essential in gaining the confidence of the communities and adjusting operations in order to better respond to the protection needs of the most vulnerable populations (UN, 2015).

Women and Political Participation

Currently, women's organizations have become very important actors within the peace-building processes. These are groups of women that have lived near the conflict and stand for reparation and incidence in decision-making. Currently, the political participation of women in the framework of peace process in Colombia includes the creation of movements promoting a negotiated solution to the conflicts, and the participation in community spaces for the purpose of working in the relationship between victims and former combatants.

Under this consideration, the initiatives undertaken by women in Colombia have been reinforced and have implemented social mobilization as a cultural and political impact strategy. Through mobilizations they have demanded the protection of their rights, and have placed some of their demands in the public agenda. Today, there is a greater visibility of their needs and

therefore a much broader recognition of the crucial role women's organizations play in the promotion of peace.

Currently, the effects of the armed conflict, peace-building, social, economic and political exclusion, corruption, fair and sustainable development with equal opportunities for women, and sexual violence, are among others, the issues on which women's organizations work in Colombia. The commitment is to help build an inclusive democratic society that guarantees defense, exercise and protection of the human rights of women as full citizens, the promotion of peace alternatives to deal with every day and socio-political conflicts, promotion of new development paradigms and wealth distribution (Restrepo, 97).

Under these guidelines, the value of the movements of women in Colombia lies in the capacity they have to develop participatory methodologies that enable the flow of ideas and the development of proposals that defend fundamental rights. This is a particularly noticeable characteristic in the environment of the armed conflict. Today, women in the country have created actions of resistance towards the violence generated by the conflict and have managed to visualize war implications in their lives (Restrepo, 95).

Nowadays these movements talk about the kind of reparation they want, the kind of truth they claim, why they seek to influence decision-making, why justice should also look at and sanction those who have raped a women's body, and why the State should give them special treatment. Given this, Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council, has been clear regarding the importance of the political participation of women from the social movements as a mechanism to incorporate gender issues on negotiation tables and reconstruction processes in Colombia (UNDP, 06).

In the midst of this recognition, the movements of women in the country have decided to work together on building structural peace, and on the defense and promotion of the human rights of women. This work responds to the need to ensure that the State and its institutions pay adequate attention to women who have undergone the consequences of the conflict, especially

those who have been displaced, former combatants and those who have been re-victimized (Restrepo, 99).

This is about situations that have motivated this group of organizations to work on empowerment and resistance processes. In most cases, women are the ones who have suffered pain due to the destruction of their families, communities and economic environments, which have witnessed armed group confrontations, indiscriminate killings and forced disappearances that ended the tranquility of their surroundings (Restrepo, 101).

Importance of the participation of Demobilized Women in Peace-Building

As the participation of women in peace-building has earned significant importance, the role of demobilized woman is essential to the experiences and lessons learned during the conflict. While it is true that their participation in the negotiation table may be very limited, there are many initiatives of their groups that can be conducted with respect to the political, social and community aspects.

In this line, it is important to take into account that demobilization is not an easy step for combatant women due to the cultural burden it entails. Society tends to reject them in a stronger way because their participation in war is translated in the abandonment of their role as mothers; so, while insurgent men are almost heroes, combatant women are heartless (Open Truth, 2015).

In addition to the above, they are mistreated on the battlefield. From the moment they enter the group (either voluntarily or through forced recruitment), they must take roles for which their bodies are not prepared to, and many are subject to rape, abortions and physical abuse:

"I experienced all the forms of sexual abuse in FARC. Besides the commanders, male combatants can ask to spend the night with whomever they want..."
Amparo⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Demobilized woman who joined FARC through recruitment since she was 12.

“One of the hardest things about being a woman in FARC is working in nursing because one suffers with what other women are going through. I had to let teammates die, for hiding a pregnancy during the whole term, mother and baby were left to bleed out through the navel ...” Amparo

From this point, a series of discriminations and violations of basic rights began, making the demobilized women’s life both in the group and out of it turn into a sum of motivations to build social movements in favor of the defense of fundamental rights, access to justice and reparation of the damage suffered.

As stated by Resolution 1325, it is essential that demobilized population, especially women, join efforts to build spaces that enable them to stand for their needs and those of their relatives under a gender perspective. These are spaces for them to directly participate in the fight against the discrimination and mistreatment of women that has occurred throughout history in cultural, economic and political aspects (UNPD, 2009).

How can ACR promote the participation of the Demobilized Woman?

Given the circumstances, the citizen dimension adopted by ACR in its attention model offers women undergoing a Reintegration Process the possibility of preparing and acquiring skills to empower themselves by building their life projects and environments, linking the opportunities offered by the context and taking account the existence of “the other” (ACR, 2014).

At this time, demobilized women have the option to decide about their participation in organization spaces because they have tools to link themselves to public spaces recognizing that their life experiences and stories are a fundamental input in this task of consolidating peace.

Due to the above, it is necessary for women undergoing a Reintegration Process to be capable of assuming the fact that they have rights and duties because they belong to a community, and that contributing to

peace-building from different perspectives, will enable them to open formal and informal spaces within the framework of legality (ACR, 2014).

To achieve this, through the community dimension, ACR can promote the linkage of these women not only to women’s associations, but also to the following scenarios (UN, 2012):

As Observers of the compliance of agreements in terms of gender and reparation of damages caused to girls and women.

In Recommendation Forums by making suggestions regarding monitoring and verification of the agreements reached.

As References in their communities, maintaining the flow of information on the dynamics and progress of negotiations.

As Trainers in their communities, on knowledge acquired regarding negotiation and peace-building issues.

The task will be complete this way. We will have responsible citizens with their rights and duties, and with a construction of peace that requires the combined efforts to rebuild social ties. The alternative is to replicate the efforts from different scenarios in order to generate responsibilities compatible with the skills and preferences of every demobilized woman that expresses her interest in working for building peace.

Conclusions

In the context of peace and security, international law and politics have often supported the concept of specialized gender roles. Although the recognition of the differentiated effects of the conflict in men and women is increasing, the inclusion of the gender concept in the international humanitarian law and the dispositions in which the specific characteristics of gender have been considered has been problematic (Barrow, p.02).

Resolution 1325 is one of the most important guidelines at an international level in terms of women's participation in building peace. Additionally, it is a protection framework against the violation of the fundamental rights of women that are victims of any armed conflict and a platform that encourages their political participation in national, regional, and domestic decision-making spaces.

The political participation of women is not only about their inclusion in spaces like parliaments, ministerial positions, elections and nominations, but also about their performance as citizens with freedom to choose the life style they want and from

there, have the ability to act in scenarios that enable them to influence the public agendas related to the reality they intend to change.

The role of demobilized women in the peace-building scenario is essential because they have firsthand contextual information about life in and out of war, experiences of the implication of being a woman in the conflict, and have been on both sides as combatants and victims. Given the nature of this situation, their participation in peace-building scenarios grants the possibility to build effective tools to assist the structural inequalities that affect women in the exercise of their rights both, in and out of a situation of conflict.

Bibliography

ACR. (2014). Dimensiones Ruta de Reintegración.

Barrow, A. (2010). Las resoluciones 1325 y 1820 del Consejo de Seguridad: promover las cuestiones de género en los conflictos armados y en el derecho internacional humanitario. International Review of Red Cross.

ICAN. (2010). ¿Qué dicen las mujeres?

ONU . (diciembre de 2015). ONU MUJERES. Obtenido de <http://www.unwomen.org/es/news/in-focus/women-peace-security>

- ONU. (2012). Participación de las mujeres en las negociaciones de paz: relaciones entre presencia e influencia.
- PNUD. (2009). Las mujeres y la construcción de la paz.
- PNUD. (2010). Hechos del callejón. Bogotá.
- Poveda, P. M. (2010). Humanas Colombia. Recuperado el 11 de septiembre de 2014
- Restrepo, A. (2010). X Informe sobre violencia sociopolítica contra mujeres, jóvenes y niñas en Colombia. Bogotá: Ediciones Antropos.
- Verdad Abierta. (17 de diciembre de 2015). Verdad Abierta. Obtenido de <http://www.verdadabierta.com/desmovilizados/5588-testimonios-de-mujeres-exguerrilleras-que-desertaron-de-grupos-armados-ilegales>
- Vílchez, A. I. (2013). Nuevas expresiones de criminalidad contra las mujeres en America Latina y el Caribe: Un desafío del sistema de justicia en el siglo XXI. Panamá: Únete Latinoamerica.

An Unfinished Reintegration?

Jorge Mendoza

As a citizen of a free state and a member of sovereign power, despite of the weakness of my voice's influence in public affairs, the right I have to vote imposes me the duty to enlighten myself about them.

Rousseau

Introduction

One thing has been set aside in peace processes with insurgent organizations in terms of DDR is the reference to the political reintegration of individuals. This has a reason, as reintegration processes within the framework of DDR⁵⁷ are about an urgent, rapid and sustainable way out for the people in war. However, this does not mean that the political interests of organizations are not taken into account in the agreements, but on the contrary, this is one of the most important interests in negotiation, in such way that many peace processes that concluded as a result of negotiation have defined some kind of presence in the power for the group dismantled or transformed.

This duality is a matter of concern to us since citizens not only refer to new groups with political participation, but to the real possibility that former combatants have of living in a democratic framework and moving from violence to peaceful coexistence.

Therefore, approaching the topic of political reintegration involves an effort by the society in order to understand some of the root causes of the conflict. It also requires envisioning a time horizon where the differences between citizens are not violently solved, understanding

that the objective of peace is not achieved solely with an agreement, understanding that citizens are not made in the theory and finally, assuming that the past cannot be changed, but the future can be built.

The Policy for Peace

Although reintegration under the DDR framework is basically assumed as an economic and social process, it does not exclude the fact that it has deep effects for rebuilding relationships, consolidating processes of trust among citizens, consolidating environments and communities, facilitating reconciliation and strengthening democracy.

Reintegration is accompanied by other important political, social and economic measures that will enhance peace and complement the purposes of DDR: the establishment mechanisms of transitional justice, the creation of commissions of truth, reconciliation policies, human right strategies, writing a new constitution, creating new political parties, elections, establishing a new judicial system, promoting good governance, access to land and credit, reforming the security system reform, etc. Therefore, Reintegration and DDR are components of a comprehensive strategy for peace-building and human development (Fisas-2011).

With this framework, political reintegration is an input for the successful and sustainable culmination of

⁵⁷ CDDR: Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

demobilized people since it recognizes that the political dimension of the individual, which used to be expressed in a violent manner, must be considered to establish routes and actions for an effective process that makes a demobilized person transition into a citizen of peace. This is to say that a reintegration process in a conflict like the Colombian one must approach the individual's political dimension, democracy as a context for peace, and participation as the best way for the peaceful resolution of conflicts.⁵⁸

Political Reintegration in ACR

The way Colombia has assumed the challenge of the reintegration of former combatants maintains a methodological and operational distance from other programs in the world, which has opened a possibility for a more complex and timely reading of reincorporation processes into civil life of those who abandon their weapons.

ACR's comprehensive commitment to develop a multidimensional transit route to life in law breaks old schemes since it recognizes that stabilization is essential, but once the Reintegration Process is completed, the benefit for peace will be that citizens become people committed to their territories that promote democratic principles and peacefully coexist with others.

The reintegration policy is then an opportunity for the people who demobilized from armed groups to be included in peace-building, and involves recognizing the situation of conflict in which the country has been immersed during the last decades. This recognition is not an approval of violent actions, or a justification for illegality or impunity, but means understanding that war was an option for some people in certain circumstances, but yet they may have a new opportunity of life in democracy, citizenry and peace.

Nevertheless, reintegration is not achieved autonomously or in a lone manner, that is to say, in general terms reintegration proposes that every individual overcomes his or her situation of vulnerability and becomes an active citizen, which implicitly suggests that the person walking through reintegration becomes an agent of change agent for his or her immediate context.

This prospective vision of reintegration is one that provides even more evidence of the need to implement political reintegration actions in a more decisively manner, since the new citizens not only must overcome their vulnerable situation in contexts with strong accompaniment, but on the contrary must be prepared for the transition into life within a community and to assume an active role in different environments and spaces of everyday life.

For this purpose, establishing political reintegration proposes a methodological advancement that must be assumed in the route by promoting its complete binding to the daily exercise of democracy. Therefore, political reintegration may be defined as a process through which it is possible for the demobilized actors of an Organized Illegal Armed Group to come back to civil life as individuals that are subject to political rights and citizens. It not only refers to the possibility of participating in elections, but also to bringing together all the skills that are necessary to build an active citizenry and the individual's empowerment as a fundamental part of the democratic state that is responsible for his or her environment. (CONPES Team, 2013).

Principles of Political Reintegration

"In democracy... the contract expresses that everyone waives something and obtains something. The individual firstly waives his or her violent capacity and then obtains common peace." Amelia Valcarcel

Political reintegration will be successful as long as the people undergoing a Reintegration Process approach their post-conflict citizenry with same criteria as all other citizens, i.e., within the framework of peaceful resolution

⁵⁸ DDR: Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

or transformation of conflicts, acting in a participatory democracy, adhering to the law with autonomy and independence under principles of no violence and the approach of rights and duties.

For this purpose, some principles promoting democracy may be included in the Reintegration Route, thus recognizing political reintegration as transversal:

1. Democracy as a way of life in which freedom must be valued as the possibility to act individually.
2. Legality and respect for what is public.
3. Autonomy as basic principle for voluntary decision-making.
4. The principle of non-violence, because democracy is limited by the use of coercive or armed demonstrations
5. The empowerment of the individual who understands that he or she is not only subject to rights but also responsible for duties. Democracy not only works while criticizing the State, but it is also expressed in the construction and transformation of the same with the full exercise of citizenship.
6. Collective protection of fundamental rights, i.e., among the same citizens.

7. Recognition of the reintegrated person, who enjoys all the political and civil rights to take an active part in the political and social development of its territory or community.

8. The right to political, electoral, citizen and community participation based on the first 4 principles.

Formal democracy has to do with the ways, mechanisms and institutions the State has in order to function. However, it is also related to how we live and to the idea of a fair, equitable and inclusive society, where reconciliation is a way and violence is not everyday life, conflicts are peacefully solved and the right to think differently is respected.

In this sense, ACR has understood that it is not possible to talk about successful reintegration if the value of the democratic and political individual that is truly reintegrated is not recognized and when the minimum elements of his or her everyday life are resolved with arguments.

It is in this democratic citizenry framework where political reintegration can be built in a country that has gone through an armed conflict and has injuries that will take a long time to heal, recognizing the need to resolve the differences through a political path.

Bibliography.

- DDe Sousa Santos, B. (2004). Reinventar la Democracia, Reinventar el Estado . Editorial Abya Yala.
- Fisas, V. (2011). Introducción al Desarme, desmovilización y Reintegración. Escola de Cultura de Pau.
- Fleury, S. (2004). Ciudadanías Exclusión y democracia. Nueva Sociedad(193), p. 62-75.
- Giraldo, F. (2012). Participación ciudadana en la Toma de Decisiones. En K. A. Stiftung, 20 años de la Constitución Política de Colombia (págs. 226-238). Bogota.
- Gleichmann, C., & Odenwald , M. (2004). Desarme Desmovilización y Reintegración Guia Teórico Práctica. Frankfurt.
- IDEA Instituto. (2001). Conflictos profundamente arraigados. Bogota: Tercer Mundo Editores.

A Contribution to the Understanding of Child Recruitment at the Border: Dynamics and Affectations of the Armed Conflict

Hugo Eduardo Ramírez Arcos⁵⁹

Julián David Penagos Godoy⁶⁰

"And he said: 'come, work with us, we will give you a motorcycle, a weapon, and enough to feed your mother'.

I was scared and traveled to Venezuela to live with her, but trust me, when you go through so many needs, you can't help but thinking, on occasion, what would have happened if I had accepted?

Would I be better or worse? This is something we don't know"

Testimonial of a teenager seeking for refuge. Tachira State, Venezuela, 2015.

Introducción

With the purpose of preventing the recruitment of boys, girls, teenagers and young adults (BGTY) in the zones of influence of their territorial groups and to contribute to end the cycle of violence of the armed conflict that has affected the country during the last decades, the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR), has been implementing a strategy called 'Mambro is not going to war: this is another story' since 2010. The objective of

Mambro is to contribute to strengthen the protection capabilities of local institutions, communities, and the families of BGTY⁶¹.

Today, this is one of the Colombian government's main institutional commitments, which focuses on strengthening the protective environments of BGTY in different territories of the country. On year 2016, Mambro was implemented for the third time through the Temporary Union for Boys and Girls of Colombia. On this occasion, the strategy was implemented in 36 municipalities within 24 departments and by working on a micro focalized zone in each municipality that could be a neighborhood, a locality or a commune defined according to the content analysis done by each Territorial Group.

⁵⁹ Political Scientist, Master's Degree in Psychology from the National University, Masters in Sociology from the National University and Doctoral Student in Political and International Studies at El Rosario University. Professor of Political Science, Government and International Relations and Professor of the Human Science School at the same University. Director of the Border Social Building Nursery. Consultant of ACR's "Mambro is not going to War, this is another story" strategy.

⁶⁰ Political Science and Government student at El Rosario University. Member of the Border Social Building Nursery.

⁶¹ We are thankful for the contributions related to the Mambro initiatives in 2016 by Gabriela Triana Cardona, student of Political Science and Government at Rosario University and Project Intern during the strategy's implementation.

In these zones, 30 local youth initiatives are taking place, and other 8 initiatives that had been previously established in previous Mambro editions are being re-strengthened. This adds up to a total of 38 interventions with a different youth initiative in each location.

Within these 38 initiatives, 3 are focused on indigenous communities: Jiri-Jiri in Puerto Leguizamo, Arahuaco Town in Magdalena's Snowy Mountains (municipality of Pueblo Bello) and the Shelter of San Andres de Psimbala at Inza. These three communities have provided a methodological learning that is very important to the implementing group, since it has allowed them to build their own interventions and is an acknowledgement to the profound affectation that the conflict has caused to the ethnic communities, even more than to other groups.

The initiatives, strengthened during this intervention, include several areas of knowledge and disciplines, focused on generating stronger community bonds and on influencing the life trajectories of project participants. Among others, the initiatives are the following: dance, music, theater, soccer, basketball, entrepreneurship, leadership, content production for media and communication, and preservation of traditional flavors.

With the purpose of covering one of the different manifestations of the BGTY recruiting phenomenon in the nation, this article intends to analyze the manifestation of this problem in the border zones and to deepen in some of the conditions that make the BGTY population more vulnerable to the child recruitment phenomenon.

This is a contribution to future focalizations of Mambro's strategy, but also to the different community initiatives that ACR undertakes in border territories.

Comprensión del reclutamiento infantil en la frontera

In more than 50 years of armed conflict in Colombia, several dynamics have been established and strengthened throughout the country's length and width. Such dynamics are associated with the internal logic of war which has not only affected the conflicting parties, but has established a complex set of practices that

are surrounded by the way they act, where direct and indirect affectations have led the great majority of the population that lives in spaces where the national state still struggles to consolidate its institutional presence.

In this context, BGTY have also been permeated by the dynamics of the conflict, being a particularly vulnerable population, mainly because despite the complex national and international network of protection, minors have become a strategic target for the actions of the actors of the conflict. Once they join their ranks, they become members that are easily manipulated and will perform tasks that no other combatants would be willing to execute.

In summary, BGTY in the country have been involved in war dynamics, not only by directly witnessing atrocities as victims of forced displacement or by losing their family members, but also by being submitted to slavery, exploitation, recruitment and servitude by the actors of the conflict. (Montoya Ruiz, 2008, pg. 39)

The affectations described have diverse intensities in the territory and are determined by a series of power geographies that transform at different scales, but at the same time contribute to the establishment of practices that differentiate the relationship that border citizens have with the governments⁶². The experience of the border is then a differentiated experience in relation to the particular contexts and to the way it acquires the presence of the State inside the community.

Under this perspective, Colombia's borders have become appropriate spaces for the development of the conflict thanks to strategic advantages that they offer to Illegal Armed Groups. In this social production of space via the

⁶² Edgar Novoa elaborates on this regard by mentioning that "the social space of production is part of the production and reproduction of the socio-geo-historic materiality. It is a multidimensional and multi-escalating process in constant transformation where some dynamics and trajectories of socio-spatial differentiation are simultaneously superposed to the unfolding of the geometry of the un-even internal and external development that seeks to produce an abstract-homogeneous/fragmented/ hierarchical space." (Novoa, 2010, pg. 19).

conflict, understood as the way of setting daily practices that give meaning to geographies, the borders most affected by conflict dynamics have been the Colombo-Ecuadorian and Colombo-Venezuelan ones, not only because they concentrate the majority of the border population, but also the main strategic fronts of human and economic resources. This makes them one of the most attractive spaces of the national territory for the development of illegal activities today (International Crisis Group, 2011).

This article aims at deepening in some characteristics that contribute to the vulnerability of BGTY to the child recruitment phenomenon in border zones. This hypothesis is supported not only by the institutional absence of the state that characterizes the national borders, but also by the weakening of BGTY's protective environments⁶³, a condition that can not only be seen as a warranty of exclusive responsibility of the State, which makes the generation of these protection spaces much more difficult in the long run.

For the development of this hypothesis, this text proposes a structure that covers three aspects: on the first place, we develop a normative context of what is understood as BGTY, emphasizing on the way the State defines the population's rights, and at the same time establishes the sense of their obligations as title holders of rights in the national territory. Second, we establish a characterization of the dynamics of the conflict and their affectations towards BGTY in border zones. Finally, we conclude with the description of how the strategy "Mamburu is not going to War, this is another story" is a contribution to the strengthening of the protective capability of institutions and communities towards BGTY in border zones where the conflict dynamic generates a greater affectation in minors.

⁶³ We took UNICEF's definition for protective environments, understood as: "layers of safety nets that inhibit the abuse of boys and girls" (UNICEF, 2016)

Boundaries to recruitment, is "Youth" just a word?

As a first approach to a conceptual definition of BGTY, it is valid to refer to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his concern regarding the "problem" of generating a comprehensive and normative definition of youth. To Bourdieu, the characterization of a population group as dissimilar is always problematic, mainly because this distinction between "young" and "old" is determined more for a matter of power (many times determined by economic and cultural capitals), which results in a division of the population in which an established order can be guaranteed through the imposition of boundaries to individuals where everyone should occupy his or her place accordingly (Bourdieu, 2004, pg. 164). Teenagers, for example, as the representation of a category that expresses early youth, symbolize imaginary subjects that traditionally should be students and not workers, or that should be isolated from social reality, or in Bourdieu's words, "socially out of the game" (Bourdieu, 2004, pg. 166). We could rather say "out of the war game".

However, it is interesting to see how this traditional way of viewing the Youth that Bourdieu criticizes, remains in force, not only in international normative guidelines (even though every time there are more reforms to the way of regulating child recruitment) but, at the same time and especially, in local speeches of public policy implementers⁶⁴.

In relation to recruitment, in line with Bourdieu, the definition given by UNICEF of a child soldier is the following:

"Every minor younger than 18 years of age who is part of any type of regular or irregular armed force, or armed group in any capacity, for example and not limited to: cooks, carriers, messengers, and anyone

⁶⁴ With this critical position regarding the regulatory guidelines, we do not seek to give a negative (or disorganized) connotation to the advances in BGTY protection, but to amplify the way we look at the population's protection challenges and the difficulties that the focalization of initiatives represents.

that accompanies these groups that is not a family member. This includes girls and boys recruited to practice sexual activities and/or to marry by force. Therefore, the definition refers not only to a boy or girl that carries or has carried a weapon” (UNICEF in Montoya Ruíz, 2008, pg. 40).

This age range will be broadened in other legal dispositions, mainly once the states pondered on the way this condition of being young was also tied to the social, cultural and economic characteristics of their environment (Montoya Ruíz , 2008, pg. 41), in a similar way to the one already developed by Bourdieu, who presented in his work the way in which the definition of the youth category as social construction did not always correspond to a determined biological age (Bourdieu, 2004, pg. 164-165). The testimonials found at the border are not far from this tension.

“At 18, you already have a wife, kids and a job here. My father had me at 17 and I had my kids at 16, and he who has a wife is the one who has to work to maintain her and not his father (...) for this reason, when they were going to take me, I told them, ‘hey, I have a family, and I’m the one who provides for them, you are not only harming me but you’re leaving an incomplete family’ (...)” (Testimonial of a refuge requestor in Venezuela, State of Mérida, 2015).

Under this logic, organizations as the UNO have proposed broadening the age limits for young combatants to the age of 24, sustaining that the fundamental characteristic of this group is that they are not children or adults, but they fall into a particular category as a result of their intermediate condition and to the experiences they went through at war. (Specht in Montoya Ruíz, 2008, pg. 41).

Retaking the national context, the Colombian government has ratified the international agreements for the protection of BGTY in reference to the conflict and has committed to not to involve the minors in any way (Montoya Ruíz, 2008, pg. 42).

The development of national regulations involves reproducing international ones⁶⁵ to ensure the rights of this population, but without stopping to recognize the complexities of thinking about it as a unit, and establishing the environments of specific projection as a function of the characteristics of the particular territories such as border spaces.

In addition, it has to be recognized how illegal armed groups have also sought to demonstrate their intention of not making this population participate in war to international communities, especially because these practices discredit their intention of becoming legitimate actors able to seek the approval of their fight, not only in the international context which has been reluctant to these practices, but also at a national level where this is one of the most questioned practices in the peace talks.

Precedents of this acknowledgement can be observed in the initiatives at different levels, such as the commitment of FARC –EP before the special representative of the general secretary of the United Nations for Children in the Armed Conflict, in June 1999 and their compromise of not recruiting BGTY younger than 15 years of age. (Montoya Ruíz, 2008, pg.46), same as the agreements signed in Mainz (Germany) in 1998 by ELN, known as ‘Door to Heaven Agreements’, in which this group committed to not to recruit minors younger than 16 years of age and abandon practices such as kidnapping to obtain their financing (Montoya Ruíz, 2008, pg. 46). This compromise was also signed by the paramilitary groups through the Nudo de Paramillo Agreement,

⁶⁵ Such as the Children’s Rights Convention (article 38); the Facultative Protocol related to the participation of children and teenagers in armed conflicts; the IV Geneva Agreement (articles 14, 17, 23, 24, 38 and 50); the II Protocol additional to the IV Geneva Agreements 182, 1999 issued by ILO in relation to the worst forms of child labor; the American Convention of human rights (article 19); the Roman Statute (article 8); the Colombian Criminal Code, Law 599, 2000 (article 162); and Law 985, 2005, with its modifications and classifications of the human trafficking criminal offense, among others (Montoya Ruíz , 2008, pg. 43).

signed on July 26, 1998, in which they committed to not to recruit minors in their army, or to utilize them in intelligence or surveillance activities (COALICO in Montoya Ruíz, 2008, pg. 46).

Despite of the fact that these compromises could be questioned against empirical evidence of recruited population until today, the recognition of international war law guidelines and the general acceptance over the need to eradicate BGTY's participation in the armed confrontation by the actors in conflict cannot be overlooked.

The questioning regarding the distance between the declarations and the daily actions of these illegal groups in the border territories is, of course, an undeniable topic. In 2002, UNHCR informed with concern about the increase in the recruitment of people younger than 18 by Colombia's armed groups in the border areas of Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela (COALICO, 2007, pg. 19). Subsequently, in 2012 and 2013 there were alerts of recruitment and utilization of BGTY in 87.5% of the country's departments, a situation that could be much more worrying knowing that not all cases are known and many times they are not even reported or recognized (Colombian Ombudsman's Office, 2014, pg. 21).

Four clues for understanding the conflict dynamics at the border

Once the complexity of thinking about BGTY at the border as a unit that responds to the same characteristics and problems has been recognized, we should focus on identifying the way in which the conflict dynamics generate different types of logic in border areas, since even if they are present in other national geography scenarios, they assume new dimensions in these zones given the conveniences that these offer to Illegal Groups.

Therefore, for the comprehension of this phenomenon, it is necessary to ponder on why these particular dynamics that constitute new factors of vulnerability for BGTY are present in border territories. This will be done based on four fields of analysis:

1. The myth of the border as a forgotten territory.

On the first place, we should recognize the way in which the historical conception of the border as a wild and forgotten terrain still prevails. In this way, the myth of the border synthesizes the group of historic titles with which these places have been conceived as uncultivated, wild and abandoned terrains, among other distinctions that legitimate a "civilized" point of view in respect to wild terrains (Serge, 2003, pg. 173).

In this order of ideas, the fact that the conflict develops in border spaces appears as something normal and that does not produce much of a scandal, factor that turns out to be beneficial for people who operate in the illegal world, as is the case of Armed Groups.

2. Different political regimes.

In second place, it is important to recognize the differences in political regimes that are in contact, especially in the Colombo-Venezuelan border.

In this regard, the weak cooperation among safety agencies in the different countries has generated a permissive environment for delinquency in the zone, which is fed at the same time by differences in prices and regulations between one country and the other.

These gaps have facilitated the blossoming of informal activities such as gas and basic food smuggling. In fact, for a long time these activities have been the main source of income generation, not only for illegal actors, but also for many border populations in Colombia who must coexist with the armed groups that have taken control of these illegal economies as a way of ensuring their survival and a basic income for their homes. The Illegal Armed Groups have taken advantage of the border to finance themselves. They have also sought for refuge from the Colombian government's military forces⁶⁶ by using the border as a strategic territory for their actions.

⁶⁶ For example, one of the most emblematic cases that shows this lack of trans-border cooperation and of the government's individual acting against the conflict actors was the Phoenix Operation

3 Presence of ethnic groups.

A third factor that offers facilities to Illegal Armed Groups and increases the vulnerability in the zone is the ethnic component present in the borders⁶⁷. In these population groups, as pointed out by the Ombudsman's Office, the indigenous and afro-Colombian BGTY community, given their ethnic condition, cultural expressions, geographic conditions and other community particularities, is more vulnerable to recruitment and other conflict dynamics (Colombian Ombudsman's Office, 2014, pg. 120). This is due to the fact that the Illegal Armed Groups infringe the protection of the ethnic territories by using them as war scenarios generating transculturation processes⁶⁸ that are experienced by towns and communities of this population that accentuate poverty and make these populations increasingly vulnerable (Colombian Ombudsman's Office, 2014, pg. 120).

These dynamics can be supported with the risk report on the situation of use and illegal recruiting in the departments of Meta, Guaviare, Guainia and Vichada sponsored by the Ombudsman's Office, where it was found that the different forms of recruiting are associated and vary according to the territory (urban, rural or ethnic) and where 92% of the risk situations correspond to the indigenous population (Colombian Ombudsman's Office, 2014, pg. 124).

in March 2008, in which the Colombian Government decided to bombard the province of Sucumbios (Colombo-Venezuelan border) in Ecuador, with a result of 20 deceased, among them Raúl Reyes, at the time, FARC's second in command (International Crisis Group, 2011, pg. 6).

⁶⁷ It is necessary to specify that at the Colombo-Venezuelan border the Hitnú, Kankuamo, Kogui, Kuiva, Nukak Maku, Sicuani, Uwa, Wayúu, Wiwa and Yuko ethnic groups, among others, are present, and that each one has at least 3,000 members, not an insignificant number, that shows the large ethnic component present at the border (UNHCR, 2011), and the need to think about differential attention approaches able to counteract the conflict affectations that this population suffers.

⁶⁸ Understood as the transit from one culture to another with a loss or uprooting character from a preceding culture (Ortiz in Colombian Ombudsman's Office, pg. 120).

Additionally, according to the report published by the Human Rights and Displacement Consulting Entity (CODHES), it is a reality that up until today, the displacement and the humanitarian crisis continues to extend across the country affecting mainly ethnic groups and particularly indigenous villages and afro-Colombian communities (Colombian Ombudsman's Office, 2014, pg. 27).

In this regard, not few have cared to include the ethnic factor as a vulnerability criteria in the conflict, such as for example, the strong accent in Socorro Ramírez piece, who claims that one of the shared components in the Colombo- Venezuelan border is the dramatic indigenous pillage and extermination (Ramírez, 2013, pg. 6). As an example, the Yukpa and Bari communities have been extinguished to the point that only 20 thousand people from this ethnic group exist despite of the enormous historic significance that they have (Ramírez, 2013, pg. 6). They are victims of the conflict only for inhabiting territories in which the absence of both states is more than accentuated in relation with a constant presence of illegal groups.

4. Border zones as strategic hallways of illicit crops.

Lastly, among the complex web of border dynamics, recognition should be given to the use of territories located in border zones for the sowing of illegal crops. In this sense, the presence of this dynamic can be proved from a historical perspective⁶⁹, with a background of marihuana crops that appeared in Perijá and Catatumbo in the seventies, and the coca and poppy crops that emerged in the eighties and nineties. With their arrival, colonization and environmental

⁶⁹ A dynamic with a long term processes scope as referred by Braudel to "structures which stability is very large in time (geographic frames, biologic realities, productivity limits, even some ideological phenomena),(...) immerse in the studies of large evolutions, not only social and economic but also in the development of biologic, geographic, and natural factors (Physical development of the human species, illnesses, raise and fall of cities, ports, pathways, etc.)" (Braudel, 1986).

degradation increased (Ramírez, 2013, pg. 7). In data from international entities, the border with Ecuador would be the most affected where it is estimated that: "The expansion of crops (coca) in year 2000 reached approximately 66,000 hectares, equivalent to 40 percent of crops in the nation since 2006, Nariño has been the main producer in the country. In 2010, Tumaco, a municipality in the pacific coast of Nariño, in the border with Ecuador, was the municipality with the largest cultivated area" (International Crisis Group, 2011, pgs. 3-4).

"The expansion of crops (coca) in year 2000 reached approximately 66,000 hectares, equivalent to 40 percent of crops in the nation since 2006, Nariño has been the main producer in the country. In 2010, Tumaco, a municipality in the pacific coast of Nariño, in the border with Ecuador, was the municipality with the largest cultivated area" (International Crisis Group, 2011, pgs. 3-4).

The fact that these spaces not only serve as point of production but also export to adjacent countries and of arrival of the necessary inputs for narcotic production and weapon trafficking through the ocean ports (International Crisis Group, 2011) must be added to this reality. All these situations end up generating environments of vulnerability for the population inhabiting the zone, which has to adapt to the rules established by the groups who control these businesses.

The impact of BGTY at the border

Once described some of the main dynamics of the conflict in the border zones, it could be concluded that these aggravate the violation of BGTY rights and their risk of recruitment by Illegal Groups. We will continue then to develop some of the affectations on the border community and particularly on BGTY.

One first affectation that breaks the established logic on the role that BGTY must play in the community is the transgression of the school as a protective and value-generating environment. Therefore, the direct impact of the armed actors has been registered in border territories. In fact, school representatives of the

teacher's school of the state of Táchira reported that members of the National Liberation Army (ELN) have distributed the "Antorcha" magazine in educational institutes, which contains information about this Illicit group's activities (SJR, 2013, pg. 32). It has been pointed out that the booklets are distributed in state and national schools of the border municipalities Rafael Urdaneta, Pedro María Ureña, Junín y Bolívar, all in the border zone adjacent to the Colombian department of Norte de Santander (SJR, 2013, pg. 32), thereby erasing the border in the same way as the dynamics derived from the internal conflict.

Aligned to the abovementioned, the complaint points out that the printed material contains texts that are allegoric to the armed group and inherent activities, as well as children games like drawing, completing words missing in insurgent songs among others (SJR, 2013, pg. 32). Situations like this, added to the origin and history of many family fathers and mothers that run away from the conflict in Colombia have generated a constant fear that their children could be recruited and/or influenced by these groups. This has resulted in constant changes of educational centers and even residency, and in extreme decisions such as not sending children to class due to fear of their involvement with these armed groups (COALICO, 2007, pg. 23). Propagandistic actions do not only stay on the other side of the border, as they have also been recorded in Colombian schools adjacent to border territories.

This situation turns into an even more complex one, especially with the records of schools that have been occupied by conflict actors of the conflict, where it is evident that schools are used as: zones for armed groups to camp, rest and transit; for the performance of sports activities; for supply sourcing; and even as refuge to protect themselves from other armed groups (Colombian Ombudsman's Office, 2014, pg. 46).

The examples mentioned above, demonstrate not only the direct impact that Armed Groups have in educational centers, but also the anxiety they can produce. In this sense, both factors transgress the

traditional conception of educational spaces and put an end to the notion of the school as a protective environment for childhood.

A second affectation of conflict dynamics has to do with the way in which the actions of Illegal Groups generate weak and informal economies and hinder the access to capital to a significant part of the population, which ends up in reaffirming the lack of legal income generating opportunities available in the border zones. Therefore, studies in zones such as Arauca, indicate that in many cases, the recruitment of BGTY does not occur in a coerced way but, on the contrary, the armed groups use convincing tactics which turn out to be very effective due to the lack of opportunities offered in the region (FIP, 2014, pg. 59).

In this scenario, they offer money to young people in exchange of their affiliation to the armed groups and as an alternative to generate income in the region (FIP, 2014, pages 59-60). In this sense, as Philippe Bourgois pictures it, in spaces where both the wellbeing of the State and capitalist dynamics fail, survival possibilities continue to be a series of "underground economies" (Bourgois, 2010), in which given the absence of opportunities, it is the illegality of actions what allows the subsistence of individuals. Children and young adults are being forced to learn how to move in risky and self-destructive spaces with the main objective of not starving and to generate income and recognition in their homes. This situation should lead to think about not stigmatizing poverty, but recognizing alternative ways of income generation (Bourgois, 2010) that BGTY can find in the borders.

In fact, reports from national and international organizations have revealed that BGTY not only join Illegal Armed Groups through the use of force but also, and this is even more worrying, they are influenced by their conditions of poverty, domestic violence,

unemployment, social insecurity, and fear to lose their life, among others (Montoya Ruíz, 2008, pg. 41)⁷⁰. With this reality, the risk of employment associated with marginality is developed⁷¹. In this way, alternative options for survival can be found in the illegal world when contact with armed groups is established (COALICO, 2007, pg. 23).

The different types of employment derived from these alternative forms of income generation and the existence of illegal economies in border zones, result in an increased risk of youth recruitment, given that they are more susceptible while involved in this work (COALICO, 2007, pg. 23). In many cases, when minors are recruited, illegally armed actors implement strategies to distance them from their protective environments, such as taking them to another department with the objective of eliminating resistances from surrounding social ties to guarantee their linkage to their ranks (FIP, 2014, pg.59).

One last affectation refers to the different degrees of State absence and/or presence in border territories that leads to generate conditions of feasibility for the existence of forced recruitment of BGTY. This idea of the absence and presence of the State cannot be thought of in absolute terms, but should lead to think about the way in which some spaces of the State are occupied by the control of illegal armed groups in some border zones.

Therefore, as suggested by different reports of international organizations present in the zone: "given the absence of a strong presence of the State and its effective services, social control by the guerilla has been a reality for a long time for rural communities in places like Arauca and the Catatumbo zone" (Crisis Group, 2011, pg. 22). Actually, it has been informed that guerrilla groups have the practice of performing censuses for the control and exit of civil population (SJR, 2013, pg. 29) in the different border territories.

⁷⁰ Legally, all BGTY recruitment is forced, even if it responds to a voluntary decision like escaping from poverty or the lack of opportunities.

⁷¹ For example, in Norte de Santander, the gasoline smuggling business that prevails in spite of the State control, as an

attractive and lucrative business, is today administered by Illicit Armed Groups, who dispute the control of this activity through a violent war that has left many costs in the region.

Using this control, Illegal Armed Groups can incur in practices like the “quota of children for the revolution”, a costume in which families that inhabit the territories with a strong illicit group presence are forced to allow at least one of their children to serve in the ranks of these groups (FIP, 2014, pg. 59). In general, within the mechanisms for BGTY’s forced recruitment, are the use of force or violence, threats to BGTY or their close relatives (mainly family) (Colombian Ombudsman’s Office, 2014, pgs. 22-23) and the generation of dependency to psychoactive substances for a subsequent manipulation. However, they take advantage of the absence of the State through different seduction mechanisms (employment promises, development of recreational activities, convincing by other BGTY members, delivery of food, clothes, cellphones, among others).

Taking into account all these affectations, the relevance of the objectives ACR has raised through the implementation of the strategy ‘Mambro does not go to war, this is another story’ in these territories is increasingly evident.

The strategy “Mambro is not going to war, this is another story” in border zones

Currently, the strategy is being implemented in 6 territories, which are part of the municipalities of Cúcuta, Puerto Carreño, Puerto Leguízamo, Puerto Asís and Tumaco. In all of them, the first phase referring to the zone diagnosis has been executed and the second phase of socialization and experience exchange is in progress with a series of activities directed towards sensitizing the community actors, BGTY and institutions about the problems and risks of recruiting identified in the diagnosis.

In the municipality of Cúcuta, the focalized zone is the Cormoranes Neighborhood, where the foundation “Mi Fundación” is working with 108 BGTY through soccer and basketball initiatives. From the activities developed in the diagnosis phase, risk factors have been identified such as un-schooling of BGTY, the consumption of psychoactive substances, the lack of

spaces for participation in sports, the existence of a culture of easy money in the interior of their homes and lack of discipline and accompaniment by parents and dysfunctional family units, topics that will be treated in the socialization phase and will be extensive to the activities to strengthen the initiative.

In Puerto Carreño we are working in a coordinated manner on an initiative that seeks to take care of three problems identified during the phase of diagnosis and that affect 100 BGTY that are part of the strategy in La Esperanza neighborhood: the absence of sports activities, the stoppage of activities of the community eatery and the high level of consumption of psychoactive substances. The poor economic conditions of families and parental lack of care have caused BGTY’s health and food needs to be unattended and turn into one of the initiative’s priorities.

Regarding the municipality of Puerto Leguízamo, we are developing an initiative focused on the indigenous population. The focalized zone is the Jiri Jiri shelter, where activities within the framework of the Guardians of People’s territories Múruí-Muina project are being performed. This initiative seeks to involve the youngest under the guidance of the Council of Traditional Elders and from other community authorities in an exercise of control, knowledge and recovery of the territory. This idea started as an answer to the disappearance of some of the community’s young adults and to the presence of FARC in the zone, an aspect that was identified as one of the main risk factors of BGTY recruitment in this territory.

There are two focalized zones in the municipality of Puerto Asís. The first is the Villa Victoria pathway where the environment strengthening revolves around the condition improvement of the community library at Educational Institution Villa Victoria. This seeks to benefit 33 BGTY that participate in the strategy, offer them different occupation options for their free time and have different tools available for them that could contribute to a good development of their educational process. In the same way, we expect to reduce the effect of some risk factors and threats like the lack of communal recreational areas and the closeness to Illegal Groups present in the

zone. Added to this, we are performing activities geared towards strengthening some of the shortfalls identified during the diagnosis phase associated with the values, the protection routes, and BGTY rights.

The second focalized zone is La Palmera pathway, where the initiative is to strengthen the cultural booth that represents the only didactic and artistic space that 20 BGTY have in this sector. The objective of this initiative is to forge community ties and to integrate the families around decreasing risk factors identified in the diagnosis phase such as low schooling due to lack of institutional and educational opportunities, the lack of basic utilities and the inadequate occupation of BGTY's time in the zone.

Finally, in the municipality of Tumaco the focalized zone is the Once de Noviembre Neighborhood from the 5th commune. Here the work is done with 77 BGTY from El Esfuerzo soccer school, an initiative that seeks to face three of the most relevant problems found during the diagnosis phase: the utilization of BGTY in work activities where they are involved from a very early age in violent contexts, the low offer of sports and recreational activities and family dysfunctions mainly related to the fact that parents must be absent for long journeys leaving young adults and adolescents in charge of younger siblings. These problems represent risk factors that will be worked on, as far as strengthening the initiative and in the phase of strategy socialization.

Despite the fact that the objective causes of recruitment are diverse, initiatives like this are a commitment to construction, protection, fostering of protective environments that will allow the child recruitment phenomenon in the armed conflict to be less and less frequent.

Conclusions

Three conclusions are derived from the analysis presented above.

The first and most general one highlights the vulnerability conditions of the border territories (recognized in some State actions) as presented on CONPES 3805 (Border document), as a consequence of the absence of a State group of institutions in these territories – generating a power gap that is frequently disputed by illegal actors.

The second conclusion points out that the presence of illegal groups and their strategic use of these territories operates in function of the State's difficulty in understanding that phenomena like child recruitment and the violation of BGTY rights go beyond the boundaries. These situations must be presented as shared phenomena that require a cross-border institutional coordination geared towards understanding the border not as a division, but as a zone with particular dynamics in which interventions can only be deep and effective if both countries unify their efforts.

The third conclusion points out that one of the successes of 'Mambro is not going to war, this is another story' has to do with the importance of generating protective environments. In this sense, the context described leads us to highlight the importance of addressing the recruitment problems at the border in a comprehensive way, where attention should not only be drawn to BGTY but also to guide actions that benefit the community as a whole, since it plays a crucial role in the formation of protective environments.

Bibliography

- ACNUR. (2011). Comunidades Indígenas . UNHCR/ACNUR.
- Bourdieu, P. (2004). La "juventud" no es más que una palabra. . At: P. Bourdieu, Sociología y Cultura (págs. 163-173). Grijalbo, Conaculta.
- Bourgois, P. (2010). En busca de respeto. Argentina: Siglo XXI Editores. BRAUDEL , F. (1970). La historia y las ciencias sociales. España: Alianza .
- COALICO. (2007). Informe Conflicto Armado en Colombia: FRONTERAS LA INFANCIA EN EL LIMITE. Coalición contra la vinculación de niños, niñas y jóvenes al conflicto armado en Colombia/ COALITION TO STOP THE USE OF CHILD SOLDIERS.
- CRISIS GROUP. (2011). Más allá de las ganancias fáciles: las fronteras de Colombia. Bogota/Brussels .
- Defensoría del pueblo Colombia. (2014). Informe defensorial prevención del reclutamiento de niñas, niños y adolescentes. Analisis de política pública con enfoque étnico. Bogota: Defensoría del Pueblo.
- Escobar, A. (2007). La invención del Tercer Mundo. Caracas: Fundación editorial el perro y la rana .
- FIP. (2014). Dinámicas del conflicto armado en arauca y su impacto humanitario . Fundación ideas para la paz.
- International crisis group. (2011). Más allá de las ganancias fáciles: las fronteras de Colombia. Bogota/brussels: icg.
- Montoya Ruíz , A. M. (2008). Niños y jóvenes en la guerra en Colombia, aproximación a su reclutamiento y vinculación. Opinión Jurídica, 37-51. Recovered on April 02, 2016.
- Novoa, E. (2010). La metamorfosis de la cuestión espacial en Colombia. Bogota: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Instituto de investigaciones jurídicos sociales Gerardo Molina.
- Ramírez, S. (2013). La fluctuante relación colombo-venezolana. I Asamblea de la Región Apostólica Interprovincial en la frontera colombo-venezolana en marzo de 2013.
- Serge, M. (2003). Fronteras carcelarias Violencia y civilización en los territorios salvajes y tierras de nadie en Colombia. En C. I. García, Froteras, Territorios y Metáforas (pgs. 189-197). Medellín: Hombre Nuevo Editores .
- SJR. (2013). REGIÓN FRONTERIZA VENEZUELA-COLOMBIA "Niños, niñas, adolescentes y jóvenes: el futuro exige un mejor presente" - Volumen III . Bogota, Colombia : SJR.
- UNICEF. (2016). Entornos protectores y resguardo a la infancia. Recovered on 06/04/ 2016 at [http:// www.unicef.org/guatemala/spanish/childhood_protection_1520.htm](http://www.unicef.org/guatemala/spanish/childhood_protection_1520.htm)

Illegal Recruitment in Colombia: a Characterization of Disengaged and Demobilized Population Recruited during Childhood

Natalia Mahecha

Introduction

The heterogeneous nature of the Colombian armed conflict can be represented not only in its development, differentiated in time and the territories, but also in the involvement and affectation it has had over very diverse actors. In the case of Boys, Girls and Teenagers (BGT) this involvement has been marked by high violence indexes that have derived in important violations to the human rights and infringement of the International Humanitarian Law (IHL). Among the most important vulnerations to this population group in the frame of the conflict, the Observatory of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Processes (ODDR) has identified the following: Víctimas de violencia política.

- Victims of political violence
- Victims of the crime of forced recruitment
- Victims of the worse forms of child labor
- Victims of sexual offenses to the protected person
- Victims of infringement to the right to receive protection against wars and internal armed conflicts and against the use and recruitment by the Armed Groups Organized outside the Law (ODDR, 2014a, p. 8).

Of this set of vulnerations, recruitment of BGT has drawn the attention of several national and international spheres as it is a phenomenon that seriously and disproportionately affects minors. As mentioned by the general secretary of the United Nations, recruitment of BGT is a “Generalized and systematic practice that is adapted to the conditions, changes and demands of the armed conflict, exposing childhood and adolescence to degrading effects that affect them for the rest of their lives, affectations to their fundamental rights and particular exposure of their life and integrity to direct risk factors (...)” (UN, 2012, paragraph 14, quoted in Ombudsman’s Office, 2014, p. 17; UN, 2012, p. 4).

Since this feature is not exclusive of the Colombian conflict, the international scenario has developed different tools with the purpose of proscribing its occurrence. These provisions begin with the Convention on the Child’s Rights (1989) where, for the first time, the involvement and use of children under fifteen years old by the armed groups is forbidden (COALICO and CCJ, 2014, p. 15). With the issuance of new guidelines such as the Empowering Protocol of the Convention on the Child’s Rights related to the participation of children in the armed conflicts (2002) and the Principles of Paris (2007), this protection extends to all minors under 18 years old and commits States to develop actions geared towards the prevention, attention and reintegration of minors victims of recruitment (COALICO and CCJ, 2014, p. 16, 34-35).

The Colombian legal ordainment has incorporated these international guidelines, and at the same time has produced its own legislation on the topic. "Illicit recruitment of people under eighteen years was typified as a crime for the first time in Article 14 of Law 418, 1997" (COALICO and CCJ, 2014, p. 39) and is currently provided for in Article 162 of the standing Criminal Code (Law 599, 2000) which states the following: Anyone who, with occasion and as a result of the armed conflict, recruits persons under eighteen (18) years of age, or forces them to directly or indirectly participate in the hostilities or armed actions, shall incur in prison of ninety six (96) to one hundred eighty (180) months and a fine of eight hundred (800) to fifteen hundred (1500) standing monthly minimum legal salaries" (Law 599, 2000, Art. 162).

The responsibility of State regarding BGT recruitment is not restricted to the "passive obligation" of its penalization, but it also requires actions intended to the protection of the rights of BGT (Carrero, 2014, p. 11). In the Colombian case, this obligation has materialized in measures such as the Specialized Attention Program to Boys, Girls and Teenagers Disengaged from the Armed Groups Organized outside the Law, of the Colombian Family Welfare Institute (Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar, ICBF), the Intersectorial Commission for the Prevention of Recruitment and Use of Boys, Girls, Teenagers and Young by the Groups Organized outside the Law, and the Policy of Prevention of Recruitment and Use of Boys, Girls and Teenagers by the Armed Groups Organized outside the Law and Organized Delinquent Groups (CONPES 3673⁷²) (ODDR, 2014a, p. 3-4; COALICO and CCJ, 2014, p. 44-45).

Despite the progress achieved in the normative and legal aspects, the persistence of the recruitment phenomenon is an undeniable reality. Evidence of this is the recent exercise of municipal prioritization developed by the Intersectorial Commission where the municipalities of the Country with greater

probability of occurrence of recruitment and/or use of BGT⁷³ were identified, besides the gradual visibilization of the recruitment of BGT by the so-called "criminal gangs" (El Tiempo, 2016). In this perspective, this article develops an approach to the phenomenon of illegal recruitment in the population that is subject to the national Social and Economic Reintegration Policy.

With this purpose, three sections are developed in this paper. The first one makes some conceptual, legal and practical precisions on illegal recruitment in Colombia. The second section shows a characterization of the population that was recruited being underage comparing variables such as age of recruitment, distribution by gender and recognition as victims in the frame of Law 1448, 2011. Finally, some conclusions regarding the most relevant findings are presented.

I. Some explanations on the phenomenon of illegal recruitment

Differences between recruitment and use.

The implication of BGT in the armed groups covers a wide spectrum of functions that range from direct participation in combats to micro traffic:

The activities carried out by minors with the armed groups include: i) maintenance and survival of the troop through tasks as cooking, taking care of ill people, land cultivation, planting or scratching cocaine and washing other people's clothes; ii) warlike actions or direct participation in hostilities, combat practices,

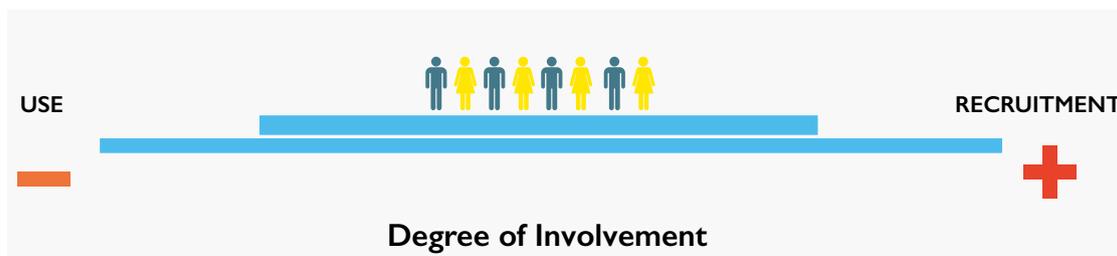
⁷² In force until year 2014

⁷³ The Inter-sectorial Committee classified the municipalities of Colombia in four groups: 1) High Superior Level: 177 municipalities with probability of recruitment and/or use greater or equal to 0.9; 2) Middle Superior Level; 291 municipalities that "combine middle probability levels, set between 0.67 (total average of probability calculus) and 0.89"; 3) Low Superior level: 198 municipalities with probability between 0.5 and 0.66; and 4) Middle level: 456 municipalities that "combine low probability and low reporting level " (SCTC, 2015, p. 24-28).

ambushes, confiscation of weapons, taking care of kidnapped people, manufacturing of explosives and their placement and putting towns in order; iii) logistic support and other activities associated to the military life such as: making guard, participating in military trainings, running errands, intelligence tasks and trenches (Galindo, 2011, p. 3).

This diversity has led to differentiate recruitment and use in spaces of academic nature, decision-making and even in some legal provisions. The main criteria to characterize them as different phenomena has to do with the “degree of involvement, participation or closeness” of BGT in the actions conducted by armed groups (Diagram 1) (STCI, 2014, p. 5).

Diagram 1. Recruitment and Use of Children and Teenagers



As an ideal type, Use is a form of engagement of a more urban nature that implies “a transitory or sporadic involvement, a temporary or partial rupture with the conventional social relations, and the performance of direct functions of support” (STCI, 2014, p. 6-13). On the other hand, recruitment refers to a mechanism more frequently used in rural spaces where “the involvement [is] permanent, a total disintegration of social ties occurs and the active participation is more common in military activities related with combat” (STCI, 2014, p. 6-13).

Regarding these two concepts, the Technical Secretary of the Intersectorial Commission considers that it is not possible to think that each ideal type perfectly adjusts to reality, as, for example, a case could happen of a recruited BGT that does not completely break the ties with his/her social environment (STCI, 2014, p. 15). Additionally, although the distinction between recruitment and use is adequate for the development of actions such as those tending to prevent the participation of BGT in the war, in legal terms both phenomena are gathered under the criminal type of illegal recruitment, since the Colombian law penalizes

“that boys, girls or teenagers serve (use) or take part in these groups (participation), regardless the tasks they perform therein, as the direct participation or use of minors in the conflict is subsumed in the concept of admission or entry of minors into the irregular armed groups (STCI, 2014, p. 15).

1.2 Types of Recruitment of BGT: forced and voluntary

To distinguish among the various forms and methods whereby a person enters an armed group, a reference is made to forced and voluntary recruitment. According to this classification, the former occurs when the entrance of an individual to the group is mediated by actions openly violent “whether through the use of weapons, the use of threats or some kind of direct violence. On the other hand, voluntary recruitment is that where the person, whether or not a minor, decides to be involved in the armed group without the mediation of a direct violent act against him/her” (Diagram 2) (Carrero, 2014, p. 6).

Diagram 2. Forced and Voluntary Recruitment of Boys, Girls and Teenagers



Although these categories can be analytically useful, when transferred to the reality of BGT in the midst of the conflict, some of its bases need to be revalued. A study conducted by the Ombudsman's Office in year 2006 on a group of disengaged BGT found that 83% of them said they had voluntarily joined the groups to which they belonged. However, when asked for the reasons that had motivated such entry—considered by them as voluntary—the reasons for joining they gave were: “i) they liked the weapons and the uniform; ii) the promises of money and the argument of economic needs; iii) factors related to domestic violence; iv) revenge, significant motivation only for children who entered the Self-Defense Movement (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, AUC)” (Galindo, 2011, p. 23).

As it can be inferred from this example, the voluntary nature of BGT recruitment should be put into question because it is produced in contexts marked by the lack of protection, the consolidation of violent orders and the establishment of illegal economies (Save the Children, 2004, p. 12). For this reason, to actors such as ICBF and ACNUR, “all types of recruitment must be considered as forced when talking about underage [...] as it is understood that in these contexts a consent free of vice can not occur” (Carrero, 2014, p. 7).

1.3 Vulnerability and affectations of recruited BGT

Even though all BGT should be subject to actions geared towards the prevention of recruitment, some conditions favor the involvement of the underaged in armed groups. If, however, many of these characteristics are not directly related with the dynamics of the armed conflict, they increase the vulnerability of the BGT who

have them. Save the Children (2004) classifies these factors in three sets of conditions that make BGT more vulnerable to recruitment:

1. Boys and girls that live in, or nearby the areas of conflict: in these territories, becoming part of an armed group is seen by the minors as a solution to the pressing economic needs. Additionally, there can be family pressure that facilitates the entry of BGT (p. 14).
2. Separate children: BGT in the condition of abandonment for whom the entry into an armed group can mean the creation of a network of support where (ties of affection can arise that make the child be identified with the group as his/her new family and be willing to fight for it” (p. 14-5)
3. Boys and girls in social disadvantage or excluded: vulnerability of BGT increases to the extent they are socially and economically poor. This situation not only translates into a difficult access to rights such as health and education, but also in “the lack of hope in the future [that] enables joining an armed group to be an attractive option for many children and teenagers” (p. 15).

The affectations caused by the passage through war on this population group increase when the victimization due to the crime of illegal recruitment is added to other infringements of their fundamental rights and “the assignment of roles that only adults should assume” (Ombudsman's Office, 2014, p. 60). For this reason among the most relevant damages we find the limitation in the development of skills to relate with others, the building of “an emotional world characterized by fear, revenge and pain” (COALICO and CCJ, 2014, p. 111-

112), and physical damages caused in many occasions by the participation in combats or due to the policies of control over the bodies of the minors.

1.4 Illicitly recruited BGT who demobilized while being of Legal Age.

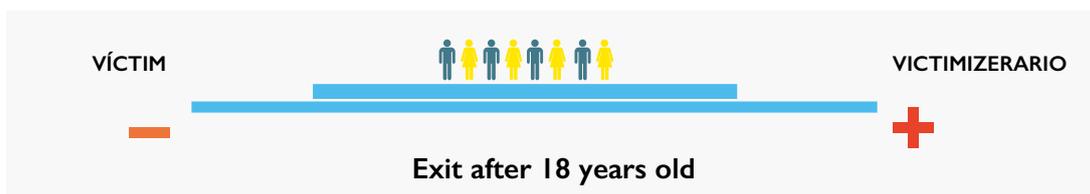
With the issuance of Law 1448, 2011, the BGT disengaged from the armed groups while being underage were recognized as victims⁷⁴ (2011, Art. 3, paragraph 2). In its time, the law was sued before the Constitutional Court as different actors considered that the provisions established in Article 3 left aside many possible victims, reason for which the law vulnerated their right to equality.

The Constitutional Court resolved this set of lawsuits through Sentence C253A, 2012. Suers specifically

attacked the disengagement requirement before eighteen years old, considering that this provision was “contrary to the duty of protection of minors and the principles of equality and non-discrimination, as it establishes an absolute exclusion that disregards the seriousness of the forced recruitment crime and the condition of victims of human rights violation and infringement to IHL that correspond to those who suffer them, going against the universal concept of victim” (Constitutional Court, 2012).

When a disengaged person is recognized as a victim, the existence of a gray area is accepted where the roles of victim and victimizer collapse (Orozco, 2005, quoted in Galindo, 2011, p. 3). However, when we are facing a case where the same victim of illegal recruitment abandons the group after reaching the adult age (18 years old) this acceptance becomes more complex (Diagram 3).

Diagram 3. Recognition of illegal recruitment according to age of exit from the group



The discussion around the constitutionality of paragraph 2, article 3 of the Law of Victims implies a situation that gains prominence at the time these victims of illegal recruitment abandon the groups and face a Reintegration Process. As mentioned by Galindo (2011), a categorical distinction in the criterion of disengagement prior to 18 years old disregards that the individual “entails the same conditions of vulnerability,

vulneration of rights and coercion that cause a disengaged minor to be deemed as a complex victim” (p. 33), and at the same time vests on the person the responsibility of “questioning his/her belonging to the group and therefore desert” (p. 34).

Finally, the Constitutional Court (2012) resolved in this ruling that the demand of disengagement prior to the adult age:

Adjusts to the international standards on the subject and constitutes a development of the demands of the superior ordainment in connection with the duty of protection of minors. When the underage limit is exceeded, circumstances change that impose a duty of special protection on the State and for such reason it becomes admissible that the law of victims establishes as limit to access the protection measures

⁷⁴ A disengaged minor is “every person under 18 years old that has been involved in war actions geared by an irregular armed group, developing activities of intelligence, logistics and combat but who abandoned the armed conflict due to some of the following reasons: voluntary disengagement, that is, he/she surrenders to, or is captured by, the authorities, he/she is surrendered by the armed group to the State or other national or international entity” (Save the Children, 2004, p. 8).

therein consecrated, the fact that demobilization has occurred while the people were underage.

However, the Court also made a fundamental acknowledgement for the population illegally recruited that demobilized being of legal age, as it considers that the fact they are not victims to the effects of Law 1448, 2011 does not mean they lose the condition of victim derived from this crime, as they can access “the remaining regular judicial mechanisms” to obtain truth, justice and reparation, at the time “they must credit this fact and access the special programs of demobilization and reinsertion where the conduct of a differential policy will be needed” (Constitutional Court, 2012).

2. Characterization of the population subject to the National Social and Economic Reintegration Policy.

To carry out this characterization, the disengaged population taken into account was the one coming from

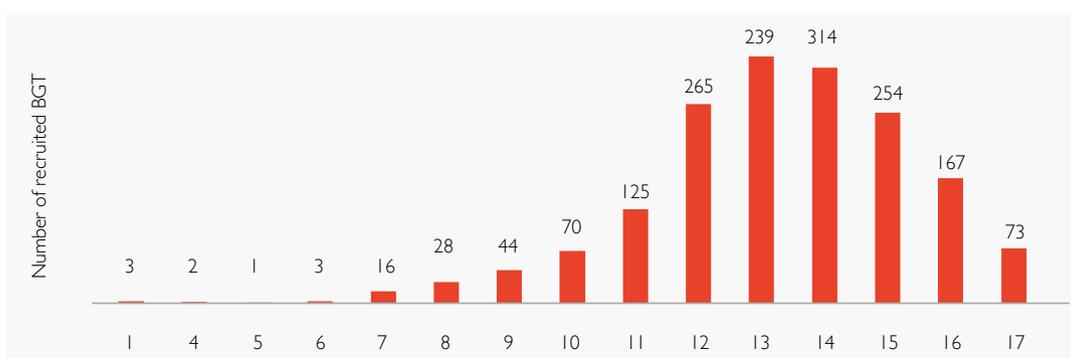
the Program of Specialized Attention to Boys, Girls and Teenagers, Disengaged from Armed Groups Organized outside the Law of ICBF, and the demobilized population that has the application of the baseline tool.⁷⁵

2.1. Edad de reclutamiento.

Aunque el delito de reclutamiento ilícito remite automáticamente a un grupo poblacional compuesto por NNA, resulta necesario conocer en detalle la composición etaria de las personas que ingresaron a los grupos, siendo menor de edad.

Of the total disengaged population, only 1694 have information on the age of recruitment. As shown in Graph 1, the majority of cases of recruitment was present in the range of age from 11 to 16 years (representing 85.8% of the cases) being 13 years old the age with larger number of children engaged (19.4%). The average age of engagement is 13.23 per year.⁷⁶

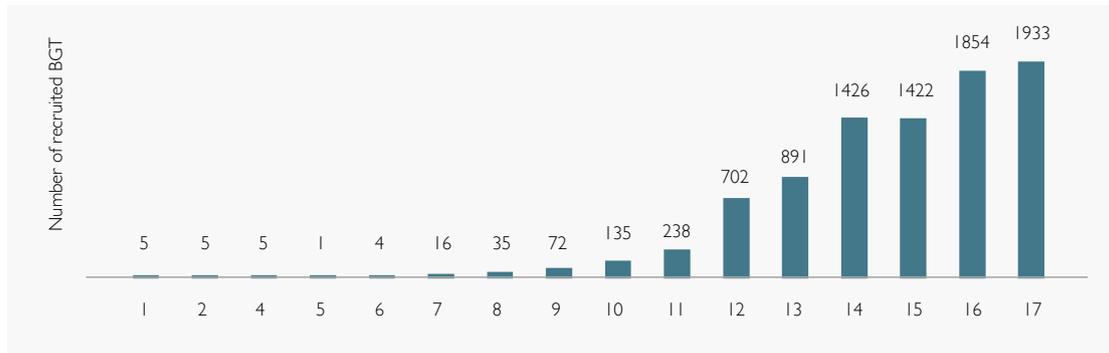
Graph 1. Disengaged Population by Ages of Entry into the Armed Group



Source: SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group Monitoring Sub-Directorate
SIR Information: March 31, 2016

⁷⁵ The baseline applies to demobilized population that enters the reintegration process during the passage through the Home of Peace of the Group of Humanitarian Attention to the Demobilized (Grupo de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado, GAHD) or if the person does not make this transit, it is applied in the offices of attention of ACR. Only this tool gathers information related to the age of recruitment.

⁷⁶ This age average is very similar to the one registered by the “Aliado de la Niñez” Social Development and Research Journalist Agency (PANDI) in a study on the disengaged population attended by ICBF during period 1999 to December 31, 2014. PANDI reported a recruitment age average of 13.9 years (La Patria, 2015).

Graph 2. Recruitment Age of the Demobilized Population Recruited as BGT

Source: SIR

Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group Monitoring Sub-Directorate
SIR Information: March 31, 2016

Regarding the demobilized population⁷⁷ it was found that 8,744 persons reported having entered the group when they were still underage. The majority of cases is focused on the range that goes from 12 to 17 years old (representing 94.1% of the cases), being 17 years old the age with larger number of children engaged (22.1%). The average age of engagement is 14.74 years old.

The difference in the averages and in the more recurrent recruitment age makes evident the main criterion that differentiates the two populations included in this characterization. While the majority of disengaged BGT entered the armed groups at an age around 13 years old, those who demobilized did it when they were near the legal age, their ages being between 14 and 17 years old.

2.2. Armed Actors recruiting BGT

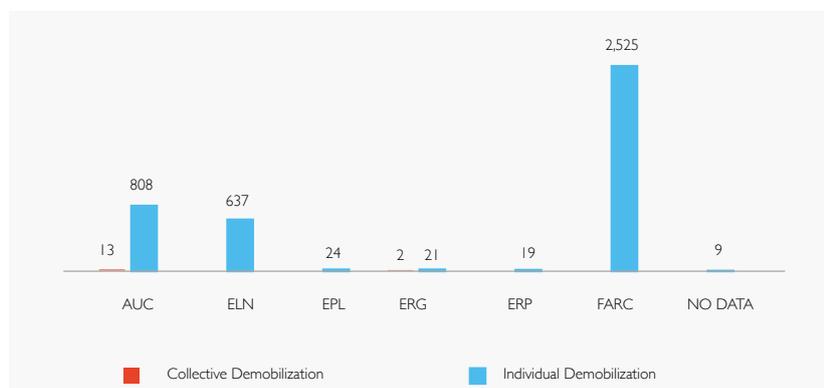
Although at different times of the conflict armed actors have, to a greater or lesser intensity, incurred in the crime of illegal recruitment, all of them have seen in BGT a sector of the population that is fundamental for the retaining of new members (see **Graph 3**).

⁷⁷ 30,292 demobilized have baseline application.

For the disengaged population we have that the main recruiters are FARC with more than half the cases (62.2%), followed by AUC (20.2%) and ELN (15.7%). Draws the attention the negligible number of collectively disengaged persons from AUC (13 cases), a figure that can be better understood if we analyze it in the light of the treatment this problematic received in its time. Although the surrender of BGT members was one of the “requisites of eligibility to access the collective demobilization”, not all the minors that comprised the lines of the various paramilitary blocks were surrendered (COALICO and CCJ, 2014, p. 46-7). Although actors such as the General Prosecutor’s Office of the Nation and International Amnesty had estimates that went from 1000 to 2200 BGT members of these groups, finally less than 400 minors surrendered (Ombudsman’s Office, 2014, p. 69-70, United Nations, 2009, p. 12). This situation was tried to be corrected with programs such as “Looking for Nemo, and through rulings that in the frame of the Law of Justice and Peace convicted paramilitary leaders for the crime of illegal recruitment.⁷⁸ (ODDR, 2011, p. 13)

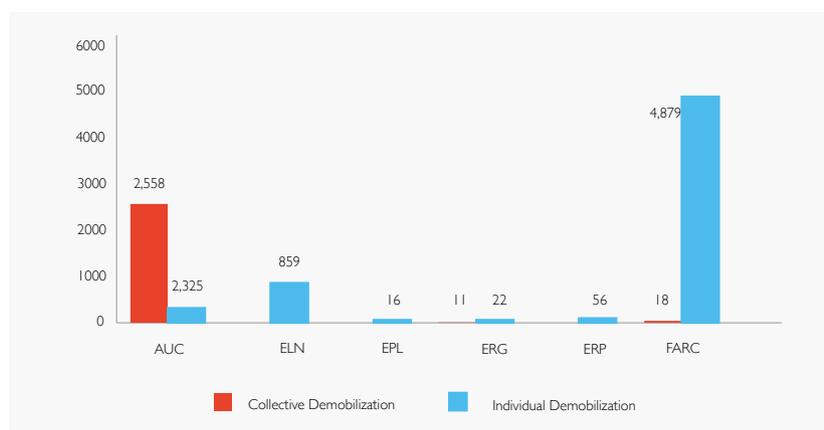
⁷⁸ In this group we find the ruling issued in December, 2011 against Freddy Rendón Herrera, alias “the German”, the ruling against Orlando Villa Zapata, alias “La Mona” in April 12 and the ruling against Hebert Velosa Garcia alias “HH” in October 2013.

Graph 3. Formerly Disengaged Groups



Source: SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group, Monitoring Sub-Directorate.
SIR Information: March 31, 2016

Graph 4. Formerly Demobilized Groups recruited while being BGT



Source: SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group, Monitoring Sub-Directorate.
SIR Information: March 31, 2016

In the case of the demobilized people that were recruited when they were BGT, we observe a repeating trend seen in the previous graph. FARC were the recruiters in 56.0% of the cases, followed by AUC (33%) and ELN (9.8%).

2.3 Recruitment by Gender:

As mentioned in Save the Children “while an image exists that relates the male gender with the war and

the use of weapons, these images are progressively being disfigured. Girls are also recruited by force or through deceit to carry out different tasks” (2004, p. 15). In this perspective, taking the gender variable into account is fundamental because girls and teenagers “suffer the effects of recruitment and usage on a differential basis and, even, in a more burdensome manner” (COALICO and CCJ, 2014, p. 25-26).

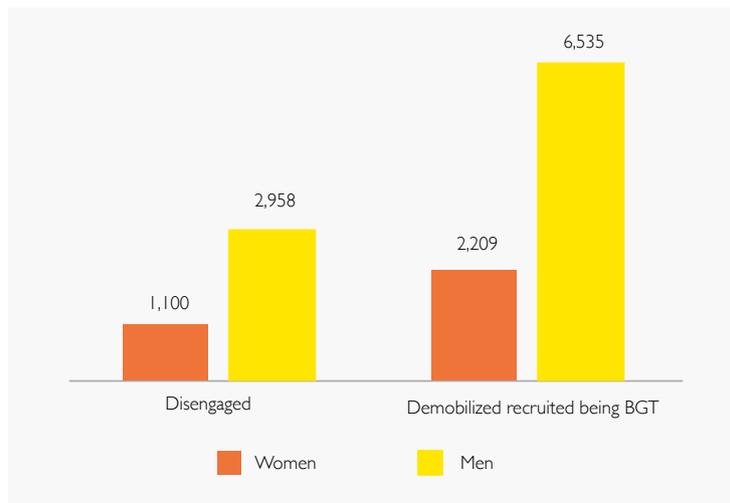
Among the affectations on the girls and teenagers are: violence and sexual exploitation, compulsory birth control practices, forced abortion and the separation of the children in case of those that are mothers (Ombudsman’s Office, 2014, p. 63).

Even though in both cases women represent less than half of the disengaged population (27.1%) and the recruited demobilized being underage (25.3%), the above-mentioned leads us to think that a particular place needs to be given to differentiation by gender beyond the proportions.

2.4 Recruitment and educational level

The view of the educational level of the population analyzed is explained by the place the access to education has among the recruitment risk factors. In many cases, BGT school dropouts act as catalyzer to the entry of minors into armed groups. In other cases, schools were seen by the armed actors as privileged spaces for the acting of their recruitment networks (UN, 2009, p. 5). Whichever the situation, the engagement of BGT has school lag as the main correlative, an aspect that many of them seek to replace through the educational dimension of the Reintegration Route.

Graph 5. Recruitment by Gender



Source: SIR
 Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group. Monitoring Sub-Directorate.
 SIR Information: March 31, 2016

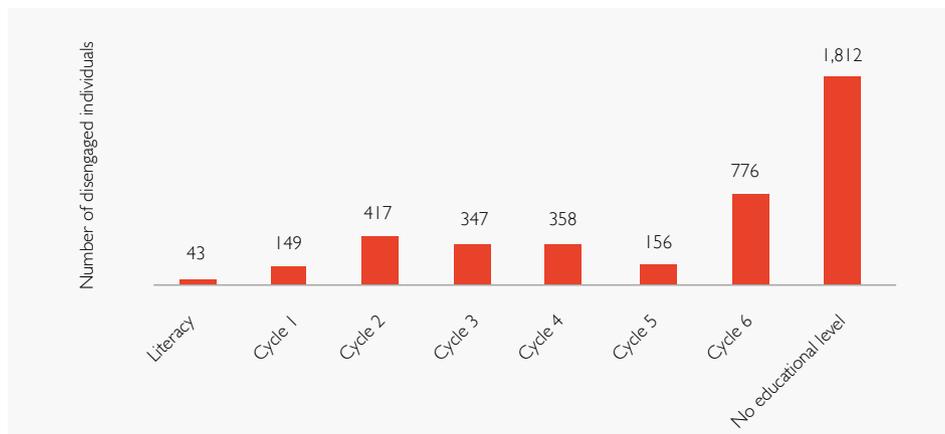
As shown in Graph 6, the majority of the disengaged population has not established its educational level in the Reintegration Process (44.7%) followed by those currently undergoing cycle 6⁷⁹ (19.1%). Even though very different proportions are presented, it is

interesting to see that the majority of the population is found in both extremes of the educational level.

In the case of the demobilized people recruited as BGT, the majority undergoes cycle 6 (31.9%) and in cycles 2, 3 and 4 (46.9%). Even though at first sight we could think that the demobilized population is in better educational conditions than the disengaged people, it is important to consider that the demobilized have a higher school lag in relation to their age.

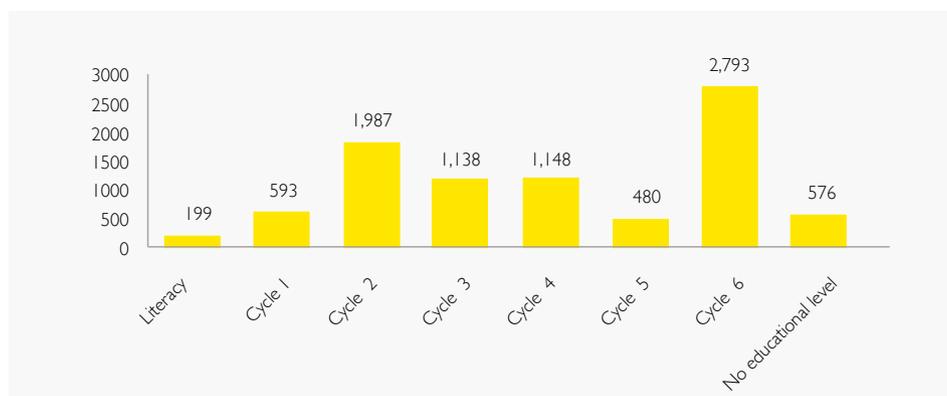
⁷⁹ Cycle 6 is equivalent to having completed last grade of middle vocational education (11th Grade)

Graph 6. Educational Level of Disengaged Population



Source: SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group Monitoring Sub-Directorate
SIR Information: March 31, 2016

Graph 7. Educational Level Demobilized Recruited being BGT



Source: SIR
Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group Monitoring Sub-Directorate
SIR Information: March 31, 2016

2.5 Illicit Recruitment and Recognition as Victims.

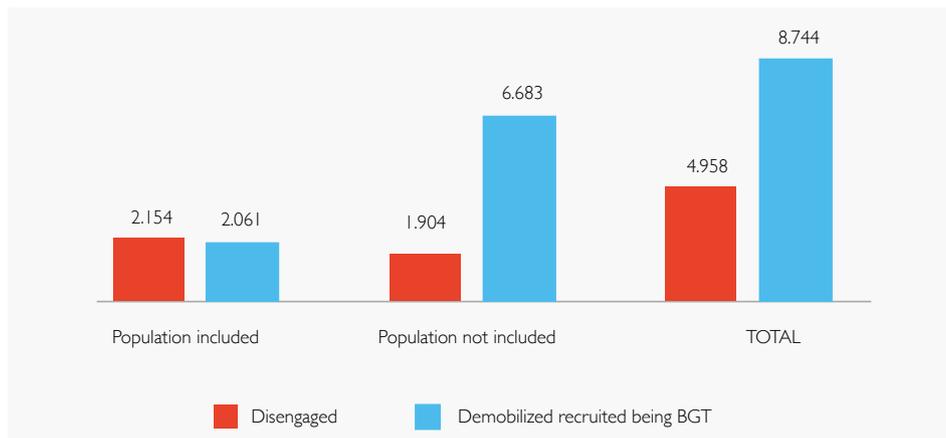
Even though Law 1448 envisages the consideration of the disengaged persons as victims of illegal recruitment

and denies such possibility to those who left the groups while being of legal age, the inclusion in the Single Registry of Victims (Registro Unico de Víctimas, RUV) can be motivated by the victimization triggered by any other crime committed in the frame of the armed conflict.

Graph 8 shows the disengaged and demobilized population recruited while being underage that have the condition of victim to the effects of Law 1448, 2011. 53.1% of the disengaged people are included in RUV and from these 31.2% has been

recognized as direct victims and 0.7% as indirect victims. 23.6% of demobilized recruited when they were BGT can be found in RUV, and 19.3% has been recognized as direct victim and 0.7% as indirect victims.

Graph 8. Disengaged and Demobilized Recruited being BGT included in RUV



Source: SIR
 Calculations: Reintegration Process Analysis Group, Monitoring Sub-Directorate.
 SIR Information: March 31, 2016

Conclusions

Even though measures have been taken at the international and national levels to forbid and prevent the participation of BGT in Organized Armed Groups outside the Law (GAOML), illegal recruitment is a phenomenon that keeps dramatically affecting this population group. This article addressed some legal and conceptual precisions with the purpose of introducing

a characterization of the population object of the reintegration policy that has been object of this crime. Data obtained are consistent with the main trends of BGT recruitment, which indicate that many of them currently preserve some of the vulnerabilities that led them to belong to these groups. The above reaffirms the important task of ACR in the Reintegration Process both of minors who make an institutional transit from ICBF and those that enter the route being of legal age.

Bibliography

Carrero Ramírez, Julián Ricardo. (2014). *El reclutamiento de menores de edad, como "zona gris" dentro del conflicto armado colombiano* (Undergrad Thesis). Los Andes University. Bogotá.

Coalición contra la vinculación de niños, niñas y jóvenes al conflicto armado en Colombia -COALICO- and Comisión Colombiana de Juristas -CCJ-. (2014). *El delito invisible. Criterios para la investigación del delito de reclutamiento ilícito de niños y niñas en Colombia*. Recovered from Website COALICO: http://www.coalico.org/images/stories/delitoinvisibleactualizado2014_web.pdf

Criminal Code. (2000).

Constitutional Court. (2012). Ruling C 253A/12

Ombudsman's Office. (2014). *Justicia transicional: Voces y oportunidades para los niños, niñas y adolescentes en la construcción de la paz en Colombia*. Recovered from the website of the Ombudsman's Office: http://www.defensoria.gov.co/public/pdf/InformeCompleto_Justiciatransicional.pdf

El Tiempo. (February 22, 2016). *"Menores desmovilizados de bandas criminales también son víctimas"*. Recovered from El Tiempo Website: <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/corte-constitucional-ordena-que-menores-reclutados-por-bandas-sean-reparados/16516953>

Galindo Villarreal, Juliana Emilia. (2011). *Zonas grises y reclutamiento ilícito de menores en Colombia. Análisis de la concepción de victimización del Proyecto de Ley de Víctimas* (Undergrad Thesis). Los Andes University. Bogotá.

La Patria. (2015). *"7.722 niños reclutados entre 1985 y 2014"*. Recovered from La Patria website: <http://www.lapatria.com/nacional/7722-ninos-reclutados-entre-1985-y-2014-174949>

Law 1448, 2011. "Whereby measures of attention, assistance and comprehensive repair to the victims of the internal armed conflict and other provisions are dictated"

Law 599, 2000. "Whereby the Criminal Code is issued"

ODDR. (2011). *Desvinculación y desmovilización en Colombia y Nariño 2002 – 2010*. Recovered from the website of the Observatory of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Processes: www.obser-vatorioddr.unal.edu.co/narino/archivo8.pdf

ODDR. (2014a). Pending

UN. (2009). *Informe del Secretario General sobre los niños y el conflicto armado en Colombia*. Recovered from the United Nations website: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2009/434&Lang=S&Area=UNDOC

UN. (2012). *Informe del Secretario General sobre los niños el conflicto armado en Colombia*. Recovered from the United Nations website: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2012/171&Lang=S&Area=UNDOC

Save the Children. (2004). *Niños, niñas y adolescentes vinculados al conflicto armado*. Recovered from the web site of the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Refugees: <http://www.acnur.org/biblioteca/pdf/7057.pdf?view=1>

Technical Secretary for the Inter-sectorial Commission for the prevention of recruitment, use and sexual violence against Girls, Boys and Teenagers by armed groups outside the law and organized delinquent groups- –STCI-. (2014). *Oportunidades, desafíos y retos de la Política Pública para la Prevención del Reclutamiento, la Utilización y la Violencia Sexual contra Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes por parte de grupos organizados al margen de la ley y grupos delictivos organizados. Bulletin 3: Retos y desafíos*. Recovered from the website of the Presidential Counseling for the Human Rights: http://www.derechoshumanos.gov.co/Observatorio/Publicaciones/Documents/SCTCI_2014/140310-web-retos-desafios.pdf

Considerations regarding Memory and Truth in the Frame of Law 1424, 2010

Mauricio Restrepo

The complexity inherent to a process of remembering has motivated diverse studies and analysis about the place that memory occupies as an input to rebuild the past. A universal query for Memory has materialized in a large variety of cultural productions, from films to literature, and art in general, that ponder about the place of Memory and its presence in all the environments where human nature becomes concrete. Therefore, a generalized concern can be noticed regarding the incapacity to remember, and at least in the West, its occurrence conjures the tragedy of loss, reason for which the way we remember or forget "arises from the anxiety and even the anguish that produces the possibility to forget" (Jelin, 2012, p. 18).

Furthermore, we can say that the acts of remembering and forgetting are individual processes built in the frame of concrete experiences and, to certain extent, are unique. People tune up the material that comprises their own memories in a singular way so that they become something impossible to transfer to others. Even so, when at times we refer to memories affected by violent acts, such memories and the load of feelings they mobilize turn into something impossible to verbalize, no matter how much time has passed from the occurrence of the facts, as in the action of remembering where two different time frames meet, "Memory is seen as the present of the past" (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 16). Thus, we can talk of a bridge that permanently communicates the painful experience lived with elements that constitute the present time.

Now, regarding the relation between suffering and memory experiences, some authors mention the existence of links between Memory, violence and identity with the objective of calling the attention with regard to power and certain authenticity that accompanies the memories associated to emblematic facts of pain. These memories, consequence of their corresponding visibility in the public space and through the unofficial communication media, have been incorporated into the social discourse appealing to the legitimacy that, regarding certain facts⁸⁰, is given to the remembrance and memory understood as an act of justice. Therefore, some official versions of the past lose their grip, as "those memories molded the trauma would be able to subvert modern forms, totalizers of historicism, more efficiently" (Klein, 2000, p. 138.c.p. Cabrera, 2006, p.2). According to the above and regarding the relation between violence and the narrations of the past, some useful theoretical perspectives can be located to dimension the complexity inherent to the production of these narrations.

The place of Memory as trigger for the presence of fear is a typical fact within the narrations of the violent past (Grimson, 2002). Hence, the challenges derived from

⁸⁰ For example the movement led by the grandmothers and mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, that of the relatives of people disappeared in the Acts of the Palace of Justice, and the one of the sons and daughters of the Victims of State Crimes in Colombia.

the processes of construction of Memory in contexts where violence associated to the armed conflict persists are tied to the possibilities of victimization. This is a latent reality in many areas of the country, both for the person that remembers, and for the organizations and the institutional parts in charge of managing Memory, in the social sphere, more even, when the threat of the armed actors or an eventual retaliation persists (CNMH, 2014), (CNMH, 2015).

On the other hand, in occasions Memory does the role of input in the building of official truths and silences regarding the existence or development of certain facts, through the legitimating of the expert discourse and its claim of truth through the scientific authority (Maeso, 2011). Through this channel, narrations of the past are instrumentalized by obeying particular political objectives and interests. In another arrangement of things, the act of remembering is not only conflictive in the social field but also in the individual, as the impacts of Memory for the person that remembers and the methodologies created to minimize damage in the victims of barbarism (National Center of Historical Memory, 2009) put in evidence the paradoxes and challenges of invoking the past in the frame of public policies which objective is the reconstruction of Memory as repairing element.

On the opposite side, other voices highlight the implications of Memory when the experience is invoked from the 'perpetrators' of violent acts. In their opinion, these narrations can favor the justification of the violent acting, by turning into a device to justify their actions alluding to the existence of social and cultural contexts that legitimated, and maybe still legitimate, their operation (G Sanchez, 2010). It is as if an unquestionable ring of truth existed that covers the voice of the victims. However, this topic can not be read in black and white. Indeed, a short look at the media outlook of recent months⁸¹ shows how some persons become deceitful by pretending to be

victims of a particular fact and thereby accessing the economic benefits and indemnifications offered within the measures of administrative repairing.

Truth, Memory and Transitional Justice

With the arising of the Transitional Justice approach during the eighties and nineties, the thought about development of building processes of Memory around violent facts gained a particular relevance, with regards to demands for justice, truth, repair and non-repetition guarantees that this model of justice turned into guiding principles for its implementation. Furthermore, these requirements, favored the construction of institutional mechanisms geared towards its compliance, besides the creation of suprapstate instances such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) and different courts of human rights in the world.

Compliance of the principle of 'truth' involves the responsibility of states to clarify the causes that permitted the commission of crimes under dictatorship regimes, or the performance of violent and/or atrocious acts against non-combatants during the exercise of the warlike confrontation. In this way, with the purpose of complying with this principle, instances of administration and management of the past were created under the name of 'Commissions of Truth', in charge of building a particular memory based on the narrative of persons affected by the violence, with a special accent on the voice of the victims and to a lesser extent on that of perpetrators.

The emerging of 'truth' in periods marked by political and social transitions (from dictatorship to democracy or from armed conflict to peace) places the uses of Memory in the core of the political and academic thought. Victims and perpetrators must give their testimonies to disentangle the complexity underlying

⁸¹ Some months ago, in Colombia, a family group of Mapiripan (Meta) was convicted to 36 months of house arrest for the crimes of procedural fraud due to false testimonies delivered to pretend being victims and receive economic measures of

repairing due to the massacre occurred in that municipality between July 15 and 20, 1997. See: <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/contenan-a-falsas-victimas-de-masacre-de-mapiripan/16562521>

their experience: some will narrate the ravages of violence in their own lives and those of persons close to them with the purpose to reinvigorate their own history. Others will offer a testimony that would reveal their direct or indirect responsibility in the acts committed. At this point, it is worth to highlight the existence of grey areas where the experience of victims and perpetrators is confusing, making it impossible to address these categories as unquestionable essences.

As a consequence, there is a reinvigoration process of multiple memories that affect the official administration of the past and the attribution of causalities and responsibilities at the time of explaining the occurrence of a particular fact or process of violence. At the same time, these voices are listened to as part of a commitment that directly affects the processes of identity building, as their demands at times give shape to the creation of social movements whose flag claims the legitimacy of alternative versions of the past with scope into the present, as "the ultimate meaning of the individual or collective identity rests on what is remembered and what is remembered is defined in turn by an identity assumed" (Cabrera, 2006, p.2).

On the other hand, the act of remembering does not occur in a historical gap, the experience is always interpreted and evoked by persons that interact appealing to shared codes within specific social and cultural contexts. This leads to think in the notion of Memory frames defined by Halbwachs, through which it is possible to state that the individual memory is always enrolled in a social framework where it acquires meaning (Halbwachs, 2004). Along the same line, for the Colombian case the contexts marked by the structuring elements of the armed conflict and the violence of the last three decades, constitute the 'frame' within which experience is evoked, regarding processes of Memory that, for the particular case, are produced on the occasion of the demobilization of the Self-Defense Groups between years 2003 and 2006.

Along the same line, the Reintegration Process into the civil life arranged for the demobilized persons from illegal armed groups has inspired a diversity of

academic works and papers of journalist type which focus on the experience of the former combatants before and in the ranks. In this way, the trajectories of entry to, and exit from, the armed organization and their experiences within the warlike conflict are recomposed within a narration, where the past in weapons is unfolded and reappears modeled by the subjectivity of whom, away from the warlike scenario, produces in the present Memory and remembers his/her passage through war.

Among the approaches of these works, the following are outstanding: on one hand, experimental exercises of directed autobiographies (Various, 2010), and also the building of vital narrations based on in-depth interviews in depth made to some former combatants (Peralta, 2008; Peralta, 2011), or texts produced as a result of drafting workshops carried out in the peace and justice pavilions of some prisons of the country (Various, 2015), whose diffusion seeks to somehow cultivate the spaces for reconciliation. However, these works being motivated by government entities and institutional programs, or made in conditions of confinement, host a kind of moralizing claim, whose result somehow makes a fable of reality and exposes, through the domestication of their narration, the experience of former combatants as an archetype of which a lesson can be learned.

Now, outside the traditional memory exercises that grant a special place to the experience narrated through the written word, such initiatives as 'The War That We Have Not Seen'⁸² record the experience of former combatants through a pictorial testimony. In the frame of a novelty project led by artist Juan Manuel Echeverria, a group of demobilized persons from different armed organizations was trained in the basic techniques of painting and drawing, to ultimately narrate in the canvas some fragments of their life in weapons. The art, or even better, the artistic expression, acts here as a vehicle to "process the impossible

⁸² <http://www.laguerraquenoheemosvisto.com/>

memories yet to be put into words" (Castro, 2009). Their paintings reflect grey areas of an experience that can not be understood in black and white, as the point of view of those who fought the war suffered and lived it in its crude every day life is "underestimated or little acknowledged in the country" (Sanchez, 2009). For such reason, when the look falls on these images it is impossible to remain harmless.

Memory and truth: the context of Law 1424, 2010

In Colombia, the government initiatives geared towards the study and extrajudicial clearing of the circumstances and facts that have surrounded the origin and development of the armed conflict began in the middle of the past century and were prolonged until our days (Marin, 2011, p. 3). In their origins, some of these projects were motivated by the urgency of building general explanations for the processes of violence⁸³. Others ventured in making diagnoses and recommendations to the Colombian State regarding a public policy addressed to the victims⁸⁴. Although there were initiatives that had an interest in investigating and reconstructing particular facts characterized by the atrocity or systematicity of the violence towards a region or specific social group⁸⁵.

During the last decade, as part of the institutionalism created in the frame of Law 975, 2005⁸⁶ the already extinct National Commission of Reparation and Reconciliation (CNRR)⁸⁷ through its Group of Historic Memory, which during the last four years has become

the National Center of Historical Memory⁸⁸ (CNMH, for its acronym in Spanish), the entity that retook its competencies, has prepared over 15 reports where processes and the violent acts occurred in the frame of the armed conflict during the last three decades are rebuilt. These documents feature special interest for the regional understanding of the scope, origin and repertoires of violence used during the boom of the paramilitary phenomenon.

Some of these studies conduct a reconstruction of emblematic cases of violence defined by the systematicity of barbarism. Others document such processes as forced displacement, the divestment of lands or the differential impact of the armed conflict in women and persons without normative sexual identities⁸⁹. In their entirety, it is possible to mention that the reports of the Historical Memory Group of CNRR and CNMH were prepared as a result of demands of truth arranged within a transitional model of justice. Therefore, the experience of the persons recognized⁹⁰ as victims of the armed conflict was widely viewed, in such a way that their voice occupied-and still occupies-a major role in large part of this documentary production, as a way to contribute to the measures arranged to comply with their rights to the truth and all-embracing reparation.

An exception to the centrality of the testimonies and experiences of the victims as main input of the ventures for Memory and clarification of the truth carried out in the country is constituted by six reports published by CNMH⁹¹. The preliminary versions of three

⁸³ National Commission named for the Research of the Causes and Situations of Violence present in the National Territory (1958), Comisión de Superación de la Violencia (1991)

⁸⁴ Commission of Studies on Violence (1987).

⁸⁵ Commission to investigate the Trujillo massacre (1994), the Commission for the search of the truth in the events of Barrancabermeja (1998).

⁸⁶ Also known as the Law of Justice and Peace.

⁸⁷ See Article 50°, Law 975, 2005.

⁸⁸ See Article 146, Law 1448, 2011 more known as 'Law of Victims'.

⁸⁹ Non-normative sexual identities refer to the construction made at the margin of the patterns imposed by the dominant heterosexuality, such as for example lesbians, bisexual, gays, transsexuals and intersexuals.

⁹⁰ That is, recognition as an authorized voice within a narration and not the formal recognition derived from its entry in an institutional database.

of these documents (CNMH, 2013; CNMH, 2014a; CNMH, 2014b), were prepared between 2010 and 2011 with the purpose of “following-up and verifying reincorporation processes” of former combatants complying with CNRR’s mandate⁹². The analysis material of two of these documents (CNMH, 2012C) (CNMH, 2012a) is based on the testimonies of some demobilized ‘candidates’⁹³ to Law 975, 2005, known as the Law of Justice and Peace, furnished during free version hearings⁹⁴ carried out in the frame of the judicial processes followed, and which finally dedicate to analyze, as a whole, the judicial scenario of Law 975 and the intervening parts (CNMH, 2012b).

A main feature of the voices taken as inputs for preparing these works is the fact that they were expressed by persons that accepted their responsibility in the commission of crimes other than “acts constituting political crimes”⁹⁵, some of them with command or influence to determine the acting of the Self-Defense structures. For such reason, these persons could not receive the legal benefits stipulated by Law

782, 2002.⁹⁶ In consequence, they became candidates for Law 975, 2005 with the purpose of accessing the alternative criminal provisions therein established.

In contrast with the process regulated by the Law of Justice and Peace, to which 4,995 candidates were catalogued as maximum responsible persons of these structures, a number of 31,089 people (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2014a), including baseline former combatants (also called ‘basic troop level’) demobilized from the Self-Defense Groups were required to deliver an “effective contribution to the truth” within the non-judicial mechanism of contribution to the truth provided for in Law 1424, 2010. Such procedure was created with the purpose of “collecting, systematizing and preserving the information arising from the agreements of contribution to historic truth and reparation and to produce any applicable reports” (Congress of the Republic, 2010, p. 1)

As it turns out, the narration required from ‘basic troop’ former combatants, as explained by CNMH, the entity in charge of implementing such mechanism, must refer to the group to which they belonged and their modes of operation with the objective of specifying “who, when, where, how and why the illegal armed group was originated and structured.” Likewise, it aims to establish “the mode of entry and role within the armed structure, the characteristics of the same, its guidelines, set of rules, policies, commands, instruction, forms of training and indoctrination [...] direct or indirect participation in military operatives, acts of violence and other actions” besides “all the information known related to acts that occurred at the interior of the illegal armed group [...] and the social actors, both political and institutional, as well as any other significant information or of impact” (National Center of Historic Memory, 2014, p. 118).

⁹¹ However, the background and inputs base of research come from the work performed by the Historical Memory Group and the area of Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration of the National Commission of Reparation and Reconciliation (CNRR).

⁹² Law 975, 2005, Article 51.

⁹³ The term ‘Candidates’ refers to “those persons engaged with armed groups organized outside the law that decide to demobilize and contribute to national reconciliation regarding delinquent acts committed during, and with occasion of, their belonging to such groups, and that can not access the legal benefits of Law 782 of 2002. These persons must be candidates of the benefits of the law and ratify their willingness to participate in the judicial process”. (Ministry of Justice, n.d.).

⁹⁴ In the frame of the free version hearings, those postulated to Law 975 deliver information regarding “the structure, members and delinquent action of the armed group organized outside the law” which they commanded or belonged to. For more information see: Proceso de Justicia y Paz, Guía para Víctimas, in: <http://www.fiscalia.gov.co/jyp/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/CARTILA-ATENCION-A-VICTIMAS.pdf>

⁹⁵ Law 782, 2002, Article 19.

⁹⁶ Law 782 grants benefits for the crimes of simple conspiracy to commit crimes; illegal use of uniforms and badges; instigation to commit crimes; as well as the manufacturing, traffic and carry weapons and ammunition

As a novelty, the narration of a challenging number⁹⁷ of former combatants will occupy the core in this new venture for Memory, where the voice of the victims will no longer be the predominant narration to clarify the facts related with the armed conflict.

Enunciation Context: the Truth under Law 1424, 2010

The spatial, temporal, social and historic circumstances, as well as the expectations and motivations of interlocutors comprise the enunciation context where communication takes place. (Yanez, 2013). In the case at hand, the relation mediated by the obligation between interviewers and those interviewed, added to the differential trajectories of structure, entrance, demobilization and transit from the armed to the civil life, configure the enunciation context within which former combatants deliver their contributions to truth under Law 1424.

In the first place, contributions to the truth under such law constitute an obligation, an imminent demand which default entails legal consequences⁹⁸, therefore, "it is far from being a generous act from the demobilized, or an action to which they voluntarily resort" (Observatory of Disarmament Processes, 2012, p.6) Likewise, Law 1424 conducts a unilateral change in the regulations on demobilization of the Self-Defenses with a direct impact on their criminal background,

as derived from its application, a conviction will be recorded for aggravated conspiracy to commit crimes. Regarding this situation, many demobilized feel they were "deceived by the government" (eltiempo.com, 2015). On their part, some institutional voices have already mentioned the consequences of this situation, as "if a person is convicted and a criminal background begins to appear with crimes such as the illegal possession of weapons and uniforms, causes the employer, whether the State or a private employer to begin impose restrictions" (CM&, 2015).

In this respect, during the year subsequent to the enactment of the regulation, a national campaign was carried out to convoke the demobilized people from the Self-Defense movement⁹⁹ to appear before the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR), with the objective to follow the previous procedure and benefit from Law 1424. If they failed in complying with it, they would be disabled to access the legal benefits granted by it¹⁰⁰ and, therefore would "receive convictions for until 9 years based on aggravated conspiracy" (Presidency Republic of Colombia, 2011).

On the other hand, contributions to the truth required by the law are not made before a person with whom a previous trust relationship exists that would favor his/her memory and facilitate verbalization. Attendance of demobilized persons and their contribution to the mechanism of truth is mediated by an implied obligation to avoid losing the legal benefits agreed at the time of demobilization. Likewise, despite being an extrajudicial mechanism, fears mobilized by the rumor soon appear as "confusion persists in demobilized persons between the judicial mechanism and these of non-judicial nature" (National Center of Historical Memory, 2014, p.215).

⁹⁷ Upon complying with the term established for the signing of the Single Format for the Verification of Prior Requisites, *si ne qua non* proceedings for the access to the benefits of Law 1424, a total of 24,840 prospective persons could access the legal benefits therein consigned. However, some institutional voices at that time refer to a figure that oscillates between "12 thousand and 15 thousand persons" (elespectador.com, 2013).

⁹⁸ The repeated non-attendance to the interview arranged by CN-MH-DAV or the non-effective contribution to the truth, derive in a negative certification by DAV and, consequently, it is possible for the legal benefits granted by Law 1424 to be revoked, such as "the suspension of arrest orders" and the "conditional suspension of the execution of the sentence".

⁹⁹ In particular, those persons that remained away from the institutional routes of the Reintegration Process led by ACR.

¹⁰⁰ The law envisages the possibility to access the juridical benefits of "suspension of the arrest orders" and "conditional suspension of the execution of the penalty".

Furthermore, the time that mediates between the date of demobilization and the requirement of narration, in occasions over 10 years¹⁰¹ affects the selection and the way of administering memories, specially if, in its majority, the demobilized persons from the Self-Defense Movement have undergone a Reintegration Process, whose duration varies between 9 and 12 years. Although it would be simplistic to state that the Reintegration Process is or was “geared towards oblivion” (National Center of Historic Memory, 2014, p. 219), it is fair to point out that the psychosocial intervention received by demobilized persons seeks to generate in former combatants a detachment from the current and symbolic links with their armed past. However, there are some institutional stand points that show the difficulties of conducting a reconstruction process of Memory, due to the nature of the Reintegration Process led by ACR. In their opinion, such prolonged institutional intervention affects this exercise because “the psychosocial treatment received reinforces in the demobilized population, the trend to avoid any political, juridical and moral responsibility in connection with serious conducts and acts of violence” (National Center of Historical Memory, 2014. p.219).

However, statements of this type, in their eagerness to generalize a diagnosis, disregard the development of institutional initiatives geared towards facing the challenges of the work with communities and the demands of truth in connection with the implementation of Law 1424, as is the case of the ‘Preparatory Module: Sceneries for Reconciliation’. This activity, addressed to persons undergoing a Reintegration Process and carried out during 2012 in all Service Centers¹⁰² of ACR in the country, had as its

main objective, contrary to CNMH’s statement, “that participants (i.e., the demobilized persons) understand the importance and meaning of these actions (i.e., the Social Service actions and the commitment to the truth) represent for the victims of the conflict, as well as their responsibility towards the vulneration of rights exercised by the Illegal Armed Groups (GAI) to those who belonged to them.” (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2012, p.1).

Likewise, the citizen dimension, one of the eight dimensions whereby the Reintegration Route is currently made operational, envisages, within its targets that each person undergoing Reintegration Process acknowledges “the importance and obligation it has to contribute with the mechanisms established by Transitional Justice, truth, justice and reparation (guarantees of non-repetition and measures of satisfaction)” (Colombian Agency for Reintegration, 2014b, p. 194).

Fearing the Truth

The act of remembering is conflictive, as memories operate more in the field of reconstruction than in territories where memories are immovable and unique. Memory can be understood then as an elaboration from mobile and disorganized life fragments, an aggregate of shreds or pieces of a whole, always incomplete. In the process of evoking, only that which is coated with meaning is preserved, that to which a place can be granted. The rest of the things gradually becomes oblivion material. In the end, it is not possible or desirable to remember everything (Jelin, 2012). In the tensions between remembering and forgetting experienced by former combatants in their transit towards and within the civil life, events relegated to a dark area and therefore impossible to verbalize should not be few: “There are contributions towards clarification, but there are also silences” (elespectador.com, 2015) as publicly declared by Alvaro Villarraga, National Coordinator of the Direction of Agreements of the Truth of CNMH referring to the implementation of Law 1424. A kind of paradox arises there, between the impossibility of the narration and the voice that claims the institutional mechanism.

¹⁰¹The collective demobilization of the Self-Defense Movement took place between 2003 and 2006. Law 1424 was issued on December 28, 2010 and the non-judicial mechanism began its implementation as from 2012, so that for people who demobilized in 2006 the time existing between the demobilization and the call of contribution to the truth, is 6 years as a minimum, but for those who demobilized in 2005 and are called to contribute in 2015, the period of time will be 10 years.

¹⁰²Today, known as Territorial Groups and points of attention, as established by ACR Resolution 0043, 2014.

Likewise, there is suspicion among some victims regarding the expectation that the result of the law will eventually bring for them. In their opinion, “demobilized people will not tell the truth to avoid going to jail. Many of them will not say what happened to our relatives” (Vanguardia.com, 2011). In any case, in a sense opposite to this statement, it is possible to find regions of the country where the opinion of the victims acknowledges, in different degrees, the possibility of “acquiring contributions to the truth around serious violations, by clearly stating the existing responsibilities and making clear the real dimension—that is stated as hidden, to a large extent, of the acts of paramilitarism” (National Center of Historical Memory, 2014, p.224).

The fear of the mechanism of contribution to the truth demanded by Law 1424 is fed by several factors of different nature, although complementary. On one hand, there is an institutional distrust on demobilized persons consequence of the vertical and unilateral changes in the normative supports on which demobilization was carried out and regulated the transit to the civil life of the base members of the Self-Defense Groups. In this regard, a former combatant woman says: “we demobilized with some rules that we accepted, but these rules were changed on the road” (eltiempo.com, 2015). Additionally, the persistence of the armed conflict and the increase in violence in some regions of the country can not be circumvented as risk factors identified by many of the demobilized required by the law to deliver their contribution to the truth.

This situation configures a context of risk with a potential impact on the veracity of the contributions of the demobilized persons, as strategies of protection upon eventual retaliations by their old companions or persons that from the economic, political and social environments were involved in the acting of the Self-Defense Groups. Concretely, CNMH alerted this difficulty, by stating as: “demobilized persons in the legality and that have gone through the Reintegration Route, express their fear that their contribution to the truth will be motive of attack by those that feel affected, among whom they say could be persons with economic and political power that would be ‘responsible for

paramilitary recycling’ and for the mafia and illegality networks that are evidenced in the regions” (National Center of Historical Memory, 2014, p.220).

Needless to say, the above derives in a feeling of restlessness and fear when facing situations that place them in front of procedures with judicial scope,¹⁰³ and even more if the delivery of a testimony can commit their freedom, as well as their personal security and that of their families. For this reason, the voices of the demobilized persons that are in this situation turn out to be significant and note the difficulty of talking of certain clearly compromising topics and situations.

Narrations are also seen by some demobilized persons as a weapon that in specific circumstances can be used against them. The possibility of accusations and false denouncements is latent for the persons who are subject to the law.¹⁰⁴ Even, as a mechanism to hide the truth, the existence of implicit agreements or pacts of silence between companions of a same Self-Defense structure can be noticed which appear with larger concentration in regions associated with the acting of certain Self-Defense structures. This practice is favored by the loyalty and ties of neighborhood with their old commanders, as well as the persistence that, in occasions appears to maintain the control over the people that comprised the armed group (National Center of Historic Memory, 2014, p. 218).

¹⁰³ Article 9 of Law 1424 empowers CNMH so that in the face of the eventuality of a negative certification, “it can request before the competent judicial authority the revoking of the benefits granted” (National Center of Historical Memory, 2014, p.124). Likewise, Article 4 of such law states that information arising in the frame of the Agreements for the Truth can be used in judicial processes against third parties, except for the demobilization of the same armed group, the spouse, permanent companion and the relatives between the fourth blood-degree, first civil or second affinity degrees.

¹⁰⁴ Field notes of interviews to persons who demobilized from the Self-Defense movement carried out in several municipalities of Antioquia between 2012 and 2013.

To summarize, the tensions and fears derived from the reconstruction of the historic truth in the frame of Law 1424, 2010 are a reflection of its actual scope, which limits the expectations of society regarding the results of this particular commitment to the reconstruction of Historical Memory. Challenges are not few since, to the extent contributions to the truth are delivered, the discomfort of the demobilized persons increases due to the absence of a solution to the legal difficulties and risks entailed by this exercise.

Finally, Law 1424 and the requirement of truth it contains are also present as an opportunity to inquire about the subjectivity of base former combatants required by such norm. The study of this topic in depth will permit to establish the meanings, relations, fears and interests that configure the context of their experience, as well as their impact on the production of a particular memory. A deep and detailed analysis of the complexities of this commitment to the truth will contribute with elements of interest to place scopes and paradoxes that entail the processes of Historical Memory in their fair dimension when the voice of the so-called perpetrators is convoked.

Bibliografía

- Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración. (2012). *Preparatory Module: Sceneries for Reconciliation*.
- Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración. (2014a). *Bulletin 1° Ley 1424: Characterizing Population Target Law 1424, 2.010*.
- Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración. (2014b). *Dimensiones de la Ruta de Reintegración*. Conceptualización y Logros.
- Cabrera, Martha. (2006). *Exceso y defecto de la memoria y violencia política, terror, visibilidad e invisibilidad*. Recovered from <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=53101104>
- Castro, Maria Clemencia. (2009). *Verdades de la guerra...* En tiempos de salida. En La guerra que no hemos visto. A Project of Historic Memory. Bogotá: Puntos de Encuentro Foundation.
- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, Truth Agreements Direction. (2014). *Yo Aporto a la Verdad. Acuerdos de contribución a la verdad y la memoria histórica. Mecanismo no judicial de contribución a la verdad, la memoria histórica y la reparación, Ley 1424 de 2010*. (A. Villarraga Sarmiento, Ed.). Bogotá.
- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2009). Recordar y narrar el conflicto: herramientas para reconstruir memoria histórica.

- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2014). Gallery: *Pese a las amenazas, rinden homenaje a víctimas de la masacre de Trujillo*. Recovered May 12, 2016, de <http://www.centrodememoriaHistorica.gov.co/noticias/noticias-de-otros-medios/galeria-pese-a-las-amenazas-rinden-homenaje-a-victimas-de-la-masacre-de-trujillo-valle-l-ministro-de-justicia-alfonso-gomez-mendez-y-el-director-del-centro-nacional-de-memoria->
- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2015). *No hay seguridad para los líderes de Tumaco*. Recovered May 12, 2016, from <http://www.centrodememoriaHistorica.gov.co/noticias/noticias-cmh/no-hay-seguridad-para-los-lideres-de-tumaco>
- CERLALC. (2010). *Retomo la palabra: relatos de violencia y reconciliación*. Bogotá: CERLALC.
- CM&. (2015). *Alerta por los efectos de las condenas en desmovilizados en proceso de reintegración*. Recovered from <http://www.cmi.com.co/alerta-por-los-efectos-de-las-condenas-en-desmovilizados-en-proceso-de-reintegracion>
- Congress of the Republic. Law 1424, 2010 (2010).
- Elespectador.com. (2013). *“Exparamilitares están aportando a la verdad.”* Recovered March 8, 2016, from <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/nacional/exparamilitares-estan-aportando-verdad-articulo-445141>
- Elespectador.com. (2015). *Las deudas de la desmovilización en Córdoba*. Recovered March 8, 2016, from <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/deudas-de-desmovilizacion-cordoba-articulo-603210>
- Eltiempo.com. (2015). *“Exparas” rasos afirman que fueron engañados con la desmovilización*. Recovered from <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/exparamilitares-se-sienten-enganados/16400328>
- Grimson, Alejandro. (2002). *Miedos y secretos en las memorias de la represión política*. In M. I. Villa Martínez (Ed.), *El miedo: Reflexiones sobre su dimensión social y cultural*.
- Halbwachs, M. (2004). *Los marcos sociales de la memoria*. Anthropos Publishing House.
- Histórica, C. N. de M. (2012a). *Justicia y Paz, tierras y territorios en las versiones de los paramilitares*. Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2012b). *Justicia y Paz: ¿Verdad Judicial o Verdad Histórica?* Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2012c). *Los silencios y olvidos de la verdad*.
- Histórica, C. N. de M.. (2013). *Desafíos para La Reintegración: enfoques de género, edad y étnia*. Bogota.
- Jelin, Elizabeth. (2012). *Los trabajos de la memoria (Siglo XXI)*. Madrid: IEP (Studies on Memory and Violence, 1).
- Maeso Rodriguez, Silvia. (2011). *Testimonios, discurso experto y comisiones de la verdad: el contexto de la denuncia. Política y Sociedad*.
- Marín Jaramillo, Jefferson. (2011). *Experts and Commissions Study on Violence in Colombia*, 231–258.
- Ministry of Justice (n.d.). *Ley de Justicia y Paz: respuestas a sus preguntas*. Recovered Marzo 22, 2016, de <http://www.justiciatransicional.gov.co/ABC/justiciaypaz>

- Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración. (2012). *Consideraciones sobre la aplicación de la Ley 1424 y los acuerdos de contribución a la Verdad Histórica*. Bogota.
- Peralta, Andrés. (2008). *La guerra... ¿para qué? Bogotá: Fundación para la Reconciliación*. Peralta, Andrés. (2011). *La vida no da tregua*. Bogotá: Mayor's Office of Bogota.
- Presidency Republic of Colombia. (2011). *Guide of Law 1424, 2010 and its benefits*. Recovered March 9, 2016, de http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co/Prensa/2011/Diciembre/Paginas/20111229_03.aspx
- Ricoeur, Paul. (1999). *La lectura del tiempo pasado: memoria y olvido*, translated by Gabriel Aranzueque, Arrecife, Madrid.
- Sánchez, Gonzalo. (2009). *La guerra y la mirada. En la guerra que no hemos visto*. Un proyecto de Memoria Histórica. Fundación para la Reconciliación. Recovered from http://www.laguerraquenohemosvisto.com/espanol/ensayo_sanchez.html
- Sánchez, Gonzalo. (2010). *Los victimarios ante los estrados judiciales*. Notas de presentación del libro Testimonios perturbadores: ni verdad ni reconciliación en las confesiones de crímenes de Estado. Análisis Político.
- Vanguardia.com. (2011). *Víctimas temen impunidad de desmovilizados con ley 1424*. Recovered on March 8, 2016, from <http://www.vanguardia.com/actualidad/colombia/137157-victimas-temen-impunidad-de-desmovilizados-con-ley-1424>
- Varios. (2015). *Palabras Justas II*. (J. Ortiz Zuleta, Ed.) (2nd ed.). Bogota.
- Yanez, Adolfo. (2013). *El enunciado y el contexto enunciativo: hacia la pragmática*. Revista Comunicación



procesos **digitales**

Calle 92 N° 15 - 62 Loc. 101 - 102
Tel.: (571) 7571500 - 8051520 - 6052034
www.procesosdigitales.com
Bogotá, D. C., Colombia

