



Universidad del
Rosario

Escuela de Ciencias Humanas
Maestría en Conflicto, Memoria y Paz



KATHOLISCHE UNIVERSITÄT
EICHSTÄTT-INGOLSTADT

Master Conflict, Memory and Peace
Lehrstuhl Dr. Thomas Fischer

Master Thesis

Bi-national Master in Conflict, Memory and Peace

December 2022

A new political actor in Colombia: “Primeras Líneas”

Perspectives and opportunities for community work with this new focal group

A case study with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste in Bogotá, Colombia

Un nuevo actor político en Colombia: “Primeras Líneas”

Perspectivas y oportunidades para el trabajo comunitario con este nuevo grupo

focal. Un estudio de caso sobre la Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste en Bogotá, Colombia

Author: Eva-Maria Schatton

Universidad del Rosario Bogotá / Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

Eva-Maria.Schatton@urosario.edu.co / Eva-Maria.Schatton@KU.de

Supervisors:

Dr. Carolina Galindo (Universidad del Rosario)

Prof. Dr. Thomas Fischer (Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt)



„The world exists for everyone, because all of us were born with the same dignity. Differences of colour, religion, talent, place of birth or residence, and so many others, cannot be used to justify the privileges of some over the rights of all. As a community, we have an obligation to ensure that every person lives with dignity and has sufficient opportunities for his or her integral development.” (Pope Francis, 2020)

Overview

Abstract	5
Acknowledgement	6
1. Introduction	9
2. The concept of social movements, Colombia's recent past and present social mobilizations and the new collectivity “Primeras Líneas”	16
2.1 The concept of social movements and collective action	17
2.2 Colombia’s recent past and present of Social Movements (1991-2021)	29
2.3 The Paro Nacional 2021 and the development of Primeras Líneas in Colombia	38
3. Actors, responsibilities and starting point for the exemplary community project with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito	48
3.1 Church and NGO: The institution “Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social” / Cáritas Colombiana (SNPS / CC) and its philosophy	48
3.2 Actors, context, and structure of the project: “Nada para las PL, sin las PL”	54
4. Case Study – Systematization of the project experiences with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste - August to December 2021	60
4.1. Analysis of the execution of the training	60
4.1.1. Time management and contents	62
4.1.2. Human and material resources	68
4.1.3. Group dynamics and leadership	74
4.2 Individual highlights and lowlights of the project for the persons involved	80
4.3 General vision on Primeras Líneas of the interviewed persons	85

5. Lessons Learned / Impact of the Project	88
5.1. Identification of obstacles, perspectives, and opportunities for the community work with Primeras Líneas or other political youth groups in Colombia	88
5.2. Ideas on the potential of social movements as a special place to learn	92
5.3. Ideas on PAR and the Do-No-Harm / Acción sin Daño approach for community work in peacebuilding contexts with Primeras Líneas	93
6. Conclusion	96
References	100

Declaration of Authorship

I affirm that I wrote this Master's thesis without any unauthorized third-party support. I indicated all used references and resources. I referenced all quotes and citations properly. I have not previously presented this work to another examination board and I have not yet published it.

Afirmo que he escrito esta tesis de máster sin apoyo de terceros no autorizados. He indicado todas las referencias y recursos utilizados. He referenciado correctamente todas las citas y menciones. No he presentado este trabajo anteriormente a ningún otro tribunal académico y aún no lo he publicado.

Schatton Eva-Maria

Eva-Maria Schatton

Eichstätt, 12.12.2022

Abstract

English

Colombia, marked by armed conflict, poverty and social injustice for decades, experienced in 2021 a fierce wave of social protests, concentrated around the general lack of opportunities for the young population and the extreme socioeconomic inequality faced in the country. Many social sectors identified with the motives of the protest, thus escalating this social outburst throughout the country. These protest activities were repressed by state forces with disproportionate police brutality in many cases. In the course of these events, a social movement called "Primeras Líneas" emerged, formed mainly by young people, most of whom were willing to sacrifice even their own lives by marching as a "protective wall" for the protesting population, i.e., in "first line" against the state forces. This phenomenon rapidly acquired unexpected, often very violent dimensions throughout the country. In August 2021, Caritas Colombia, together with Monserrate University, arranged a first project focused on the deradicalization as well as education and political peace work with a violent Primera Línea in Patio Bonito, in the south of Bogotá. This comprehensive work analysis and systematizes the project's experiences and highlights the lessons learned, as well as perspectives for future interventions of this type, i.e., with Primeras Líneas or other radical youth groups as new political actors in Colombia.

Spanish

Colombia, país marcado por un largo conflicto armado, pobreza y injusticia social desde hace décadas, vivió en 2021 una feroz oleada de protestas sociales, concentradas en torno a la falta general de oportunidades para la población joven y la extrema desigualdad socioeconómica afrontada en el país. Muchos sectores sociales se identificaron con los motivos de la protesta, escalando así este estallido social a todo el país, el cual fue en muchos casos reprimido por las fuerzas estatales con una brutalidad policial desproporcionada. En el curso de estos acontecimientos surgió un movimiento social llamado "Primeras Líneas", conformado principalmente por grupos de jóvenes, que en su mayoría estaban dispuestos a sacrificar hasta sus propias vidas marchando como un "muro protector" de la población manifestante; es decir, en la "primera línea" contra las fuerzas del Estado. Este fenómeno adquirió rápidamente desarrollos inesperados, a menudo muy violentos, en todo el país. En agosto 2021, Cáritas Colombia, junto con la Fundación Universitaria Monserrate (Uni Monserrate), concertaron un primer proyecto centrado en la desradicalización y el trabajo de educación y paz política con una Primera Línea violenta en Patio Bonito, en el sur de Bogotá. Este trabajo analiza y sistematiza las experiencias del proyecto y pone de manifiesto las lecciones aprendidas, así como las perspectivas para futuras intervenciones de este tipo, es decir con Primeras Líneas u otros grupos juveniles radicales como nuevos actores políticos en Colombia.

Acknowledgement

This thesis represents the culmination of my studies in Conflict, Memory and Peace, that, only three years ago, I had not even dared to dream of. Starting my academic career as social worker late, in my 30's, I never envisioned completing a bi-national master's degree, finishing an internship in Colombia and learning so much more about myself, about life and this fascinating country with its interesting people.

But one thing I know for sure now: Life always turns out differently than you think.

There were many ups and downs, such as Covid-19 prolonging my studies for over one year, the many bureaucratic processes and hurdles to finally get to Colombia, the cultural and moral shocks, tears and frustration about the injustices of this world, but above all it was a thick bundle of love, friendship and hope, that has marked my very special CMP master studies.

I want to give my deepest thanks to some very special people in Colombia, Germany, Italy and the United States, who supported me on my way:

Lisa, my best friend. Without her I would not even have started the master's degree, not to mention the incredible moral, mental and real-life support and love she and her kids have given to me ever since.

My parents, Helga and Wolfgang, who always believed in me and supported me unconditionally with a lot of love, a lot of food and also financially, no matter how crazy my ideas seemed to them.

To my love, Giovanni, unexpected, unconditional and inevitable, my greatest gift, from that intensely emotional time in Colombia.

Nidia Doris Zuluaga, the best mentor, work supervisor and friend I could have found in Colombia. Te tengo en mi corazón.

Katharina and Emily, we started as fellow students, but soon became very close friends and shared many touching experiences, good talks, and a lot of great food together. The studies would not have been the same without you two.

Sarai, Claudia, Ingrid, Kempes, Rosa, Poncho y Caracas. Thanks for the great time in Patio Bonito and all the help and dedication when realizing the interviews for this thesis.

Brigitte Kidd, I am very grateful for her help with the linguistic corrections of this thesis.

Carolina Galindo Hernandez, the best supervisor for the thesis I could have wished for, she supported the whole process and always gave excellent advice, although it took me far longer than expected to finish this paper. I appreciate your support a lot!

List of abbreviations

ASD	Acción sin Daño	Action without harm / No harm
AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia	United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular	Center for Research and Popular Education
CNMH	Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica	National Center of Historical Memory
COP	Peso Colombiano	Colombian Peso
CUT	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores Colombia	United Workers Unit Colombia
DANE	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas	National Administrative Department of Statistics
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional	National Liberation Army
ESMAD	Esquadrón Movil Antidisturbios	Mobile Anti-Riot Squad
FARC -EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army
FICONPAZ	Fundación Instituto para la Construcción de la Paz	Foundation institute for peace construction
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit	German Agency for International Development Assistance
HCHR		High Commissioner for Human Rights (United Nations)
IAP	Investigación Acción Participativa	See PAR
INDEPAZ	Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz	Institute for Development and Peace Studies
JEP	Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz	Special Jurisdiction for Peace
MANE	Mesa Ampla Nacional Estudiantil	National Student Board
PAR	See IAP	Participatory Action Research

Perspectives for the work with Primeras Líneas in Colombia

PDET	Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial	Development Programs with a Territorial Approach
PL	Primera Línea	First Line (of Protest)
PLPBR	Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste	
PR	Puerto Resistencia	
SENA	Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje	National Service for Education
SIAP	Agencia de Aduanas Profesional	Professional Customs Agency
SNPS	Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social	National Secretariat for Social Pastoral Work
UNEES	Unión Nacional de Estudiantes de la Educación Superior	National Union of Higher Education Students
VJRNR	Verdad, Justicia, Reconciliación, No-Repetición	Truth, Justice, Reconciliation, No-Repetition

1. Introduction

Inequality and social injustice in Colombia have increased significantly in recent years and are affecting many people in multiple dimensions. According to the World Bank, Colombia ranks with a GINI Index of 51.3 points among the ten most unequal countries in the world (World Bank, 2022). The national monetary poverty index¹ actually amounts to over 40 % of persons living below the poverty line (DANE Colombia, 2021). As a result, discontent has been simmering in society for some time, and social pressure has been felt in many areas of everyday life, especially as the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic made the economic and social situation in the country deteriorate even more.

Looking at Colombia's recent history, the country has been marked by various social movements of different actors in society such as indigenous people, workers' unions, women or other marginalized groups, demanding dignified living and working conditions, although there was never an uprising in the society as a whole. Since the beginning of Iván Duque's administration in 2018, more and more occasional social protests and mobilizations against his politics could be observed, peaking in November 2019 with large pacific protests in order to demand new social politics. One significant event during these strikes was the death of young Dylan Cruz, an 18-year-old demonstrator, who was wounded by a pellet, fired by a policeman, and died two days later in the hospital. He became the symbol of social protest and police violence in Colombia (Hernández Mora, 2019). In March 2020, when the protests in Bogotá had been growing stronger and stronger, the COVID-19 pandemic spread and with it a complete repression of the social movement, accompanied by confinements and a ban on demonstrations.

On April 28th 2021, an unexpectedly strong and quite spontaneous revival of social protests throughout the whole country occurred, triggered by a proposal of a planned tax reform, which would have mainly affected the lower-middle and middle classes of society through a VAT increase. "Many Colombians viewed the plan as an attack on their already difficult existences" (Turkewitz, 2021). This announcement provoked a huge social outburst never seen before in Colombia, with thousands of demonstrations of all sectors of society (students, teachers, workers, mothers, pensioners, etc), followed by very difficult weeks and months with brutally

¹ The monetary poverty index is the indicator that refers to the standard of living of the population, it reflects the capacity of a household to meet the minimum requirements for living (Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá, 2022).

repressed mobilizations by police and army, as well as vandalism, road blockades and intense violence (Alonso, 2021).

Although the mobilizations were formed by many participants from different sectors and milieus of society, the young generation was and continues to be the protagonist of this social movement throughout Colombia. One phenomenon “borrowed” from the events of social protest in Chile in 2019, also occurred in Colombia during the demonstrations, when many young men and women came together on the streets and formed resistance groups against the manhandling of state officials, especially the ESMAD² (Mobile Anti-Riot Squad). They are called “Primeras Líneas” (PLs), the first lines of protest.³

Although the movement started mainly among university students, soon there were Primeras Líneas collectivities with members coming from different, more difficult backgrounds. Many of these new PLs emerged from highly vulnerable and marginalized contexts all over the country and had little or no policy knowledge. It was often precisely in these groups, that an increased level of aggression and violence toward state authorities could be observed (Loaiza 2021).

This suggests that dialogue and political training with these groups is of particular importance in minimizing their further radicalization and propensity to violence. Support is urgently needed to ensure that a process of empowerment and political education takes place, including basic knowledge of citizenship and human rights, knowledge of nonviolent communication and peaceful articulation of basic needs.

The Catholic Church in Colombia with its executive organization “Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social / Caritas Colombia” (National Secretariat of Social Pastoral Work– SNPS /CC) having worked for decades on peace-building processes in Colombia (and also in the context of the Paro Nacional 2021), was asked to enter as a neutral peace mediator between protest groups and state institutions. The institution immediately developed a comprehensive intervention plan based on “Social Dialogue” and implemented different emergency projects.

² ESMAD = Escuadrón Móvil Antidisturbios – Special Police Unit called Mobile Anti-Riot Squad

³ See video Deutsche Welle (2021a): *Los jóvenes de la Primera Línea en Colombia*, 2021. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/es/los-j%C3%B3venes-de-la-primera-l%C3%ADnea-en-colombia/av-57500333>.

In the case of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste (PLPBR)⁴, who set themselves up in an unregistered camp in the south of Bogota - a specifically vulnerable environment - two professors of Social Work from the Universidad Monserrate, were able to establish trust with the members of this group⁵ and asked the SNPS for assistance in working with the young people of this PL.

In August 2021, professionals from two SNPS teams and the two Social Work lecturers took on the project and developed an action plan with the intention to enter into dialogue, preempt radicalization and propose a transformation of violent behavior towards a more pacifist articulation. Together with the leader of the PL, it was agreed to create a training agenda called “Nada para las PL, sin las PL” (nothing for the PL, without the PL) covering different political topics and training contents for the participants. This period exactly overlapped with my arrival in Colombia and the start of my Master's internship at the SNPS in early August. As an intern of the team "*Fortalecimiento de Capacidades Comunitarias para la Convivencia y Reconciliación*" (Community Capacity Building for Coexistence and Reconciliation) within the SNPS, I was invited to participate in the whole process of preparation and training, as an equal member of the professional team. I experienced the challenges of working with this focus group and learned a lot about Colombia's social problems and the personal backgrounds and needs of these young men and women. By the time of the "graduation" of the young people in December 2021, various problems had occurred within the group, the conditions in the camp had deteriorated and finally, the group had split up into two different PLs.

The experience I was able to gain as foreign CMP student during this project is priceless and directly relevant to the entire master's program. The work with the young people not only highlighted the structural problems that prevail in the country but also showed a direct link to the conflict in the country and the "learned" and daily experienced propensity to violence within certain population groups. In retrospect, our short-term and quickly implemented project may not have been as sustainable as hoped, but very good approaches were evident and it may well be recognized as a peacemaking measure. The focus on local peace work, with small steps, a

⁴ Their official name when we began the training was “Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste”, as the group changed and split up, the name was changed, too. For reasons of simplicity the author uses mainly Primera Línea Patio Bonito, without the *resiste*, always referring to the group that we worked with until December.

⁵ One of the main characteristics and unifying commonality of most Primeras Líneas (and other manifestants in the Paro Nacional) that could be observed, was their great distrust against state authorities and other organizations. They would only appear and interact with hood and covered face, in order to not be recognized by state authorities.

lot of patience and the possibility to actually change the lives of a few, were, despite many throwbacks, a glimmer of hope for me as a student of the Master Conflict, Memory and Peace.

This thesis is supposed to support future projects in this area of community work, by means of a systematization of the project experiences of this first SNPS project with a Primera Línea, giving an insight into difficulties, opportunities and perspectives of this special project and the lessons learned.

The theoretical framework presented in chapter two shall provide an insight into the most important features of a social movement, among them the different repertoires of actions, especially the use of violence and emotions that may play a role in a social movement. Furthermore, in order to create a better understanding of the Colombian context for the reader, some important historical facts and the most noteworthy events of social protests and movements of the last 30 years in Colombia will be highlighted, ending with the recent events of the National Strike in 2021 and the emergence of the phenomenon of the “Primeras Líneas”.

In chapter three, the involved actors in the training program and project with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito will be described. The SNPS, the University Monserrate and FICONPAZ shared the responsibility and the staff for the project. Some information on their philosophy and programs shall be of interest to the reader.

Chapter four includes the systematization of the project experiences with the Primera Línea in Patio Bonito, Bogotá. Many direct quotes from several persons involved in the project shall create a holistic and almost ethnological picture of the intervention, including the ups and downs of the project and the impact that was created. Time management and the training content, the professional backgrounds of the team members, material resources and the group dynamics will be analyzed in detail. The chapter will give an insight into the personal experiences of the involved persons and how they see the future of Primeras Líneas in Colombia.

The lessons learned from the project will be outlined in chapter five with the conclusion that ideas and recommendations on how to improve future interventions of this kind, have to take into account that a social movement is a special place to learn and empower people who have no access to education and thus might be prone to engage in violence. Furthermore, it is of interest for projects of this kind to follow the adapted version of the Do-no-harm approach (with a handbook for the Colombian context called ASD - “Acción sin Daño”) and to consider the

Participatory Action Research (PAR) concept, which was pioneered by the Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda in the 1970s in several projects with poor and oppressed people.

Methodology

For the theoretical part of the thesis in chapter two, classic works on social movement theories and social protests were significant for the analyses. For the topic of violence in social movements, the standard works of Tilly and Tarrow, as well as current German and French sociological literature were considered. It soon became apparent, however, that there is still a void regarding the Colombian context and the emergence of the Primeras Líneas, where detailed theoretical knowledge is largely lacking. The increased propensity to violence and the use of violence on the part of the youth groups is particularly interesting. For this, literature and theoretical references from the sociology of violence are consulted and linked with the theoretical findings on the subject of emotions in social movements. My theory is, that the issue of emotions plays a major role in the emergence of large social protests, and that the readiness to use violence increases sharply, the greater the "felt" injustice, coupled with the feeling of having nothing left to lose, is. Violence in social movements is often considered as political violence or contentious politics; however, my empirical findings prove that in Colombia it was more of a "cry for help". Since especially low-status Primeras Líneas with difficult and violent backgrounds, often do not have basic political knowledge and do not entirely understand the political situation that is ongoing.

A fact, that also impacted the practical work with the youth group in Patio Bonito. Despite of having a meticulous methodological plan on political education in advance, the professionals had to follow a different approach than planned several times. The context was very special and nobody had previous experiences with the phenomenon, the profiles of the young people were different than assumed and the whole situation was challenging and new for all involved persons.

During the project phase, the author was able to use the method of participatory observation due to her personal and direct involvement in all workshops and training sessions with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito and her relationships with the professional team. Valuable personal conversations with many of the PL members enriched the observations and created a better understanding of the context. During long taxi rides back to downtown Bogotá, one of the few opportunities of reflection with the entire team of professionals, the impressions of the training

were processed and assessed together. These discussions may be considered as our follow-ups to the sessions and were very helpful for my analysis. The experiences in Patio Bonito were highly impressive and lasting for all team members. Some unexpected elements, that might not have occurred in any other educational setting, such as extreme weather conditions that resulted in several sunburns or getting soaked by the rain, self-cooked shared meals in the camp in Patio Bonito, shared activities such as a Halloween Party, emotional talks to other professionals of the SNPS, etc., joined us even more as a team. In total, the author spent a little more than two months in this “emergency project” packed with ups and downs, emotions and events.

On December 3rd 2021 the graduation day of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito, large bags filled with food and basic products for the Christmas holidays were handed out to each group member, to guarantee a sufficient supply over the holidays. For several weeks there was little contact with the PL members. In February 2022 the lecturers of Uni Monserrate could establish new contact and made an attempt to offer a new group program for the remaining members together with the FICONPAZ Escuela del Diálogo Social (Social Dialogue School) and a psychologist from SNPS. Two meetings with a little group of participants took place, but it turned out to be too difficult for the remaining members to continue, as further internal problems had broken the remaining team spirit and the motivation to go on as a Primera Línea.

In the months between February and May 2022, seven⁶ semi-structured interviews were conducted in Colombia for this thesis. This timing allowed more distance from the project and also some time to reflect the experiences. Emotions had cooled down notably.

The central aim and focus of the interviews, was to get an assessment of the experiences in the project, to gather more background information on the development of the project, and also, on the personal involvement of the participants and the professionals. The questions for the specialists were intended to elicit information regarding their professional careers, their experience with projects of this kind and their role in the PL project in order to analyze the staffing of the on-site educational team. Furthermore, it was of interest, how they would define the main objective of the intervention and if, in their opinion, it was fulfilled or not. They were also asked what their personal experiences with the project looked like.

⁶ One additional interview on PLs in general, but without reference to the project with the PLPB took place virtually from Germany in September 2022.

In the interviews the professionals and the members of the PL were asked alike, what they considered the challenges of the project, and what they saw as obstacles and negative aspects, additionally, what worked out well and what were the positive aspects of the project for them.

In order to receive comparable information on some general categories of the project, the interviewed persons were asked to qualify the following indicators between 1 and 10, with 1 equaling very bad and 10 equaling outstanding. The categories **time management and contents of the classes** as well as **human and material resources** including staff, material, financing and educational space, could be rated rather easily, however the third category **group dynamics and leadership** was difficult to quantify with a “grade”, although almost all interviewed persons provided feedback on how they experienced this point. For future interviews, the questionnaire should be altered when referring to this category.

The last three questions of the interview focused on the outcome of the project, asking if the persons thought that the goals of the project were fulfilled, if they would repeat their work with a Primera Línea or for the members of the PL if they would join such a project again if offered. And finally, in the case that they would repeat the project, which of the lessons learned were crucial to take to future projects.

In some cases, when the situation during the interview allowed it, one general question was added, namely, how the person sees the development of the Primeras Líneas in Colombia and what does she or he think of the persistence and success of PLs as political actor.

In total, 8 interviews were conducted, with all four “on-site teachers” (two from Uni Monserate, one from the SNPS, one from FICONPAZ) and two members or by then already ex-members of the PLPBR. Taking into account the security situation and the complex context, the information gathered from these interviews will be anonymized or published with the nicknames of the PL members and the surnames of the professionals. Furthermore, I interviewed the responsible SNPS Program Director Rosa Inés Floriano, who approved the intervention officially and had the most complete general vision of the work of the SNPS and the projects with the Primeras Líneas. The last interview, which was held during the investigation phase virtually, was with Gareth Sella, ex-member of the Primera Línea “Escudos Azules” in Bogotá, who lost an eye after the attack of the ESMAD in February 2021, two months before the Paro Nacional 2021 even had started. It was interesting to get a different perspective and additional

assessment of the general situation from an (ex-)member of another, much more politically active and student-influenced PL.⁷

For the transcription and analysis of the interviews, the program MAXQDA 2022 was used, and color coding facilitated the classification of the answers into different categories. In chapter four, fragments from the interviews, i.e., direct quotes from the interviewees are used to transmit the experiences on a more personal, almost ethnographical level. For better comprehensibility these quotes are translated into English, a corresponding footnote indicates where to find the original Spanish quotation in the interview's transcription. All transcripts will be submitted along with the thesis in an additional document for the supervisors or can be consulted when contacting the author.

2. The concept of social movements, Colombia's recent past and present social mobilizations and the new collectivity “Primeras Líneas”

Social movements and collective political action in society that focus on the struggle for rights or resisting injustices are not a phenomenon of recent years, and not only typical in Latin America - they have become a permanent feature in many countries worldwide. In modern-societies a broad range of social insurgencies can be observed, such as events of resistance against the state and its policies or towards other societal opponents. The sheer number of current examples make it impossible to name them all, however some well-known movements of the last years have been the #BlackLivesMatter movement against racist police violence in the USA, the anti-government protests in Hong Kong against Mainland China and its restrictive policies, as well as the fierce social protests in Chile in 2019 that demanded a new political constitution and better social politics. The ways of resistance and protest vary, as do the reasons and contexts of the movements. Most of the collective actions are peaceful, however does violence play a role in many cases. International media coverage and social media allow outsiders to follow many of these events – in real time and on a daily basis.

This chapter will provide a general overview of the topic of social movements, namely by giving a basic definition of the concept of collective actions and, by taking a look at the actors, the range of peaceful and violent actions that can be employed by participants, as well as the role of emotions in a social movement. Using the findings of different sociologists, the use of violence in

⁷ Amnesty International Spain interviewed Gareth after his eye trauma, the article can be found here: <https://www.es.amnesty.org/en-que-estamos/blog/historia/articulo/colombia> see Cidón (2022).

social movements or, more precisely, in "political" youth groups will be examined. In my opinion, however, most of the newly formed youth groups in the Colombian National Strike, the "Primeras Líneas", though cannot be classified so easily and do not fit into the theoretical violence scheme developed so far. This opens up a theoretical void for the Colombian context.

Additionally, the chapter will offer a brief insight into the most significant protests and social movements of the last 30 years in the conflict-ridden history of Colombia, which will then serve as the basis for the analysis of the current situation, namely the escalation of the Paro Nacional in 2021 and the emergence of the Primeras Líneas in Colombia. In summary, this chapter shall provide the reader with the basic information needed to better understand the context of the following case study and systematization of the work with one of the many Primeras Líneas in Bogotá.

2.1 The concept of social movements and collective action

One can find a wide range of literature on the subject of social movements and collective action, with theories that examine the topic from different sociological or political perspectives. They either emphasize the why, how and when social movements evolve, or try to understand the identity, cohesion and sense of collective actions in depth. For the purpose of this thesis, however, an exhaustive analysis of the topic would go too far, so the chapter is limited to the findings of relevant literature and classical theorists on the following questions: How can a social movement be defined? What are the characteristics of the actors and how can the collective identity of a social movement be defined in general? Which repertoire of actions can be found in a social movement and why do protests often become violent? What role do emotions play in social movements?

Definition of a social movement

"Social movements are one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action, such as protesting in the streets, that dramatize those grievances and concerns and demand that something be done about them" (p. 3) (Snow et al., 2008).

In the contemporary literature on the phenomenon of the "mobilization of citizens" (p.2), there are basically three concepts: collective action, collective behavior and social movement. Often,

they are used as synonyms, but mostly a social movement consists of at least one kind of collective action or collective behavior. However, vice versa not every singular collective action or behavior can be defined as social movement (Revilla Blanco, 1996).

A social movement, according to Charles Tilly (2006), one of the most important theorists on the subject of contentious politics and social movements, includes three major components, in order to be considered as such. First of all, an organized form of public effort of making claims against an authority. Second, some kind of political action such as rallies, demonstrations, public statements, vigils or other forms of collective behavior within the repertoire of social protest. According to Tilly, the third element contains a concerted public representation of the participants as a group, including worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment, when it comes to the public image of the group (Tilly, 2006). In the chapter on the Paro Nacional 2021 in Colombia, there will be an analysis of these three elements, which will show that in the sense of Tilly's theory, one could speak of a social movement in this context.

Looking at theories on new social movements, Alain Touraine states that social conflict and historicity must never be considered separate, assuming that the society itself produces its conflicts. For him *“the social movement is the organized collective behavior of an actor fighting against his adversary for the social direction of historicity in a concrete collectivity. Cultural orientations and social conflict must never be separated [...]”* (p.255) (translated from Spanish) (Touraine, 2006). In the case of Colombia this means, in order to explain the current waves of social protest, that it is important to consider the whole conflictive history of the country and the culture of violence that has developed over the last centuries in the society. Looking at the social actors and the reasons for the social protests, means looking at their own historicity. A factor that seems indispensable for explaining the phenomenon in Colombia. This is why it is necessary to see the Paro Nacional in the light of armed conflict, taking into account the complex situation of a large number of political (armed) actors with different interests and a variety of ideologies, that have been influencing society since time immemorial. A chart on the most important political and social events of the last 30 years⁸ in the following sub-chapter 2.2. is intended to give a better understanding of Colombia's recent history and to show the current social order conflicts and protests in a different light.

⁸ Although Colombia's history is very interesting and the armed conflict has been raging for far longer, only the period of the last 30 years was analyzed. On the one hand, because otherwise the work would have been far too comprehensive, and on the other hand, because in 1991, exactly 30 years ago, a milestone was set with the new constitution, which fits well with the theme of social movements.

Actors and Collective Identity

Actors involved in a collective action or social movement share common features, such as the promotion of social change or the challenge of the current social order. To begin with, they have clearly identified adversaries or opponents with whom they have a politically or culturally conflictual relationship, second, they are connected through “dense informal networks” (p.20) (Della Porta and Diani, 2011) and count on some kind of organizational system. Third, they have developed a collective identity and identify with a common interest, without the need of a material incentive for their participation. That means, actors, involved in a social movement “regard themselves as elements of much larger and encompassing processes of change” (p.22) (Ibid) and do not long for any economic recompensating.

Maria Revilla Blanco, in her publication on the concept of social movements in 1996, makes an effort to analyze the actions, the identity and the sense of social movements, recognizing the phenomenon as “processes of social construction of reality” (p. 1). Her findings, including critiques on the existing theories, imply that the dynamics of a social movement include much more than the sheer sum of collective behavior, which can happen very spontaneously or isolated without the expression of a “collective identity” of the group. Blanco defines collective action as “joint action of individuals for the defense of their common interests” (p.3). *“Collective action, as opposed to collective behavior, has the characteristic that it is an action directed at others, it is more than the aggregation of individual wills: in order to speak of a collective interest and the development of expectations, it is necessary to refer to a process of identification in which a social project is articulated that gives meaning to the collective and individual preferences and expectations of individuals and organizations”* (translated from Spanish) (p. 3-4).

This common “social project”, includes a process of identification of individual needs and interests, which then are turned into collective needs and interests and are brought forward through a collective action. As a result, a “collective identity” develops, which gives certainty and security about the common expectative and the group’s values to the individuals, who are part of the group. To Blanco, in accordance with Pizzorno’s theory⁹, the spectrum of loyalty and identification with the collective body are closely intertwined, saying that a person is loyal to a group to the extent that he or she identifies with the “collective reality” of that group or in

⁹ For Pizzorno loyalty is a degree of identification with the group (see Pizzorno (1987))

other words, the more a person identifies with a group, the more loyal he or she will be to it. This applies, as long as there is still the possibility of leaving the group. Depending on the function within the group an exit of the group might change the individual's identity sustainably (p. 5) (Pizzorno, 1987; Revilla Blanco, 1996). This point will become interesting for the analysis of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste and the unconformities of the group as well as for the phenomenon of Primeras Líneas in general. Gareth Sella, university student and former member of one of the first Primeras Líneas in Bogotá for example, left the active group because he could not risk losing his second eye demonstrating on the streets, but he found other forms of resistance and to support the social movement. Obviously, his debilitating injury and his devastating experiences at an age of only 25, influenced his whole identity and intensified his individual resistance.

One of Blanco's hypothesis states that a "*social movement arises when the situation of dissonance or uncertainty between preferences and expectations places the persons in an individually experienced situation of "exclusion" with respect to the collective identities and political wills that act in a society at a given moment*" (translated from Spanish) (p. 10-11). In consideration of personal well-being and the corresponding future perspectives, various individual and collective actions seem to make sense for the person in such a moment. The individual feels the need to "challenge the social order through various forms of non-conformity" (p.13) (Della Porta and Diani, 2014) and starts to form a collectivity with others with the same problems, interests or situation of exclusion.

As the economic and social crisis in Colombia has been so multi-faceted, it seems that the sense of exclusion and the "feeling of dissatisfaction" (Della Porta and Diani, 2014, p.13), experienced by many people in society, became so intense, that they felt the urge to mobilize and express their demands for basic commodities and their fundamental rights. This is why in the beginning, the recent "estallido social" (social outburst) in Colombia was marked by a significant diversity of the mobilized sectors of society. It was not only the young generation, but mothers, pensioners, farmers, indigenous people and other vulnerable groups that marched against the Duque administration and the unequal conditions in the country (El Tiempo, 2019). The protest culminated in a further intensification of mobilization after the brutal repression of pacific protests through police and military. A "collective identity" developed, that included a high degree of identification with individual and collective interests in "better" social politics, as well as opposition against the corrupt political elites and the arbitrary police violence in Colombia towards civilians. One of the main characteristic and unifying commonality of the

manifestants that could be observed in the National Strike 2021, was their great distrust against state authorities and other organizations, which led them to form a “community of temporary solidarity” (p.49) (Hartmann, 2017) .

The above-mentioned information on actors and the identification within a collectivity, allows also different views on the mobilization or “recruiting” of participants for a social movement. In addition to the group of people who feel strongly marginalized, including very isolated and left behind members of society, who normally are never heard, there are also the groups, who, although they occupy a more favorable place in society, identify with the collective interests and are willing to support their demands in form of solidarity networks or by joining in on the protests. In Colombia, for example, many teachers and university lecturers, social workers and other professionals joined the mobilizations to solidarize with their students and the young generations. Furthermore, it is mostly personal contacts and bonds, previous experiences with collective action as well as the membership in other associations or groups that make people join a social movement (Della Porta and Diani, 2011). This might also explain why so many people supported the Paro Nacional in Colombia, as the social networks within the Colombian population are very dense and almost everybody knew somebody who participated.

The repertoire of social movements

What can a collectivity do, to express their dissatisfaction with the current situation and which possibilities do participants find to give voice to their collective interests? In the following paragraph, the diverse forms of expression and action that can be seen in social protests and movements are classified, with special emphasis on violent expressions of collective action.

Peaceful actions

Generally speaking, there is a wide range of actions of opposition and mobilization that are of pacifist manner and count within the repertoire of more or less conventional and symbolic forms of protest or response to unjust treatment, such as marches, demonstrations, petitions, vigils, manifestations and public statements.

Also boycotts, human chains and street barricades count as peaceful actions. They are considered “direct action techniques” (p.65) (Dalton, 1988), which are perceived as less conventional and more offensive. Still pacifistic, but already illegal, are for example the occupation of buildings or unauthorized strikes. In Colombia, for example, data for the last years show that most of the mobilizations were marches or street blockades (Fundación Ideas para la Paz, 2017).

Another tactic, that falls into the peaceful collective action category, is the spreading of information and going viral with one's demands and posting evidence against the opponent via the internet and social media platforms. It is a very powerful medium, that has become of major importance in the last twenty years to influence public opinion, to run online petitions, to draw (international) attention to the situation and to communicate with other participants and supporters of the movement cross-nationally and internationally (Della Porta and Diani, 2011). Also in the Colombian case, there was a viral outcry against police violence, and social media played a big role in the protest actions for different reasons such as information spreading, internal communication and security issues¹⁰.

For a social movement in general, it is the sheer numbers that count. The more participants or followers a social movement has, the more powerful it is. Marches for example, are one of the best ways to demonstrate to the (political) opponent “numerical strength behind the protest” (p. 171), as well as to draw the attention of the media and supportive organizations to the collective interests and actions while emphasizing the degree of support of the demands made (Della Porta and Diani, 2011). Additionally, the participants confirm their collective identity and reinforce their solidarity, marching together fiercely in a public space – it's the “concrete expression of the determination of a social movement” (p.183) (Tarrow, 2012).

Included in the repertoire of mobilizations, which still count as non-violent, although harmful, is the tool of strategic road blockades, in order to damage the opponent economically. This tactic was also used intensively in the Colombian context, with over 2000 road blockades in the first three weeks of the National Strike. This cost the country about 132 million COP (over 30 000 \$) each day and caused food shortages and many limitations all over the country (Reuters, 2021).

During the *Paro Nacional*, Colombian protesters found manifold ways to express their grievances and strong emotions with a genuine call for justice and peace, not only in mostly pacifistic marches and demonstrations all over the country (El Tiempo, 2019), but also with creative and moving performances and symbolic expositions as well as passive resistance. Beautiful artistic, musical, and other peaceful supportive projects were created across the whole nation¹¹ (Molano,

¹⁰ An interesting example for the influence of the reporting of general public media on the public opinion in Colombia gives Carlos Charry, when analyzing the media effect on the mobilizations around the peace agreements in 2016. See Charry Joya (2020).

¹¹ The following video gives a very good impression on the diverse artistic and peaceful actions in 2021: <https://www.elespectador.com/el-magazin-cultural/paro-nacional-en-colombia-el-arte-y-la-cultura-como-forma-de-protesta/?outputType=amp> (see Molano (2021)).

2021). But unfortunately, there was also a lot of damage and outrage. According to Tarrow (2012), there are so many forms of violence that the term “violent actions”¹² is just a broad generalization. However, certainly violence in the context of social protest and collective action is always one of the most visible indicators, both for media coverage and the historical records. Furthermore, one often can find tactics of violent and non-violent action within the same movement (p.189-190). This can be confirmed for the Colombian case; next to uncountable peaceful actions and events, escalating acts of violence were observed.

Violent collective actions

All over the world, even in so-called “modern” societies and violence-averse democracies, one can observe a stunning number of violent social protests and terrifying bloody clashes between the actors – which leave the outsiders perplexed, as these excesses in violence seem to have no explanation¹³. Charles Tilly (2003) states that all episodes of collective violence are a kind of social interaction, which have in common that they immediately inflict “*physical damage on persons and/or objects (“damage” includes forcible seizure of persons or objects over restraint or resistance)*”, they involve “*at least two perpetrators of damage*” and those damaging interactions result “*at least in part from coordination among persons who perform the damaging acts*” (p.3) (Tilly, 2003)¹⁴.

Jürgen Mackert (2013) offers from a sociological perspective, an attempt to explain the phenomenon of uprising violence in social order conflicts as a rather rational medium of the actors, in order to enforce and promote the desired changes. In his words the violent outbreaks always have to do with “controversial social orders, which are questioned and challenged, and which are confronted with alternative ideas and possibly brought to failure” (translated from German) (p. 104). Although it seems distracting, the role of violence in social conflicts may well be seen as tactics of collectives and transformational group dynamics that allow and justify the use of

¹² A profound systematization of violent collective actions can be found in Charles Tilly’s “*The Politics of Collective Violence*” (2004) where he classifies collective violence into seven different categories according to the degree of damage done and the level of coordination between the violent actors.

¹³ It is interesting to note here Popitz's anthropological assumption, that there is apparently no particular type of person who is prone to use violence. Every human being is capable to use violence or even to kill, in every situation, without needing to present a psychological disorder or any other precondition to do so. In our nature as human beings, thus we are all capable of using violence against others to hurt them and inversely therefore also live with the constant threat of being hurt or even killed by others (see Popitz, 1992 quoted by Mackert, 2013).

¹⁴ For the theoretical frame and the context of this thesis, the reduction of violence to physical damage shall be sufficient, however it is of importance to state, that there are many different forms and mechanisms of violence, that can be performed and mainly also played a role in the life stories of the participants of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito.

violence. *“Even under modern conditions, violence is a means that people can use in their social relationships to achieve their goals. Whether and when this happens depends decisively on the social contexts and not on the individuals themselves”* (p.108).

Mackert defines four phases which set the conditions for the use of violence in social order conflicts:

1. Change of the known relationships between elites and the controlled population (either by internal or external factors). Demand for a new social order.
2. The formation of collectives, that define themselves as the “people” and distance themselves from the elites.
3. The change of boundaries between the collectives. With focus on how boundaries between the government and the controlled population are changed, mobilized or challenged, so that the relation of both parties becomes conflictive and violent.
4. Processes of escalation and violent episodes that follow, with focus on the role that the different actors (military, police and protesters) play and the different “turning points” which would make violence the last medium to choose. (Mackert, 2013) (p. 109).

When the threshold of illegality in the context of collective behavior has been crossed, many violations of human rights and damages are possible which then fall into the category of violent actions. Personal injury, physical damage, destruction of property, vandalism, violent occupations, the use of firearms or other weapons such as knives, stones, sticks or any other material aimed at the opponents, must be seen as militant political violence (Della Porta and Diani, 2011). Although the use of violence is reinforced by a “lack of resources” (p. 174) (Della Porta and Diani, 2011) or the feeling that there is nothing left to lose, it has many limitations. Usually, it leads to a further escalation of the conflict and to harsher repression from the other side. Collins (2013) proposes that in most tense and threatening situations a person enters into the “emotional state of confrontational tension/fear (ct/f)” (p.135), which means that they do not cross their personal barrier to violence, leading to an overall decrease in violent actions. Those who follow other interactional patterns and do act violently, however, enter into “an altered state of violent consciousness” (p.132) also referred to as “tunnel of violence” where they lose the sense for reality (time, sound, vision, etc.). According to Collins, violence past this barrier is mostly imprecise and clumsy:

“ A conflictual confrontation also has the ingredients of an interaction ritual: close bodily presence; mutual focus – since violent threat makes everyone intensely aware of each other; and a shared emotion of anger or hostility” (Collins, 2013, p. 136).

Eddie Hartmann, a German sociologist investigated the violent riots of youth groups in France’s suburbs in 2005 and proposes in his article on “spoiled civil identity” (2017) that collective violence “only occurs when the situation is appropriate; the appropriateness of the situation, however, is not independent of the social actors, since it is determined by the actors involved and their perception and definition of the situation” (p. 42). The social milieu and the “social facts” (as results of the social relations) which the collective is confronted with, always play a crucial role for the group’s perception and definition of the situation. Depending on the corresponding “social setting”, different forms of actions are produced, but most of the violent episodes or violent collective actions can be characterized as “authority-citizen interactions” which are “triggered by police abuse or legal decisions that are perceived as highly inadequate by the violent activists” (p. 51) (Hartmann, 2017). This is very interesting and pertinent also for the Colombian context, especially for the work with the violent Primera Línea Patio Bonito, where the social facts and individual life stories played a crucial role in their collective violent (re)actions.

According to Law 38 of 1999, Article 37 of the Colombian Constitution¹⁵, peaceful protest actions such as demonstrations are allowed and must not be repressed. Although police, military and the special force ESMAD are supposed to be trained in Humans Rights and should know this legitimate and fundamental right of the citizens very well, the situation in Colombia during the Paro Nacional escalated in a way never seen before. Due to the partly very brutal approach of the state forces and the disproportionate use of force in the suppression of the protests (Amnesty International, 2021), rioting and violent actions against the armed forces among the protesters could be observed in many places. Next to the personal injuries with many deaths, injured and missing persons, also innumerable cases of property damage and vandalism took place, that still can be seen all over the country as evidence of the fierce disputes.

¹⁵ The Article 37 of the Political Constitution states that *“Any part of the people may assemble and demonstrate publicly and peacefully. Only the law may expressly establish the cases in which the exercise of this right may be limited”*(translated into English) see Decreto 003 del 5 de enero de 2021.

The role of emotions in social movements

Considering different theoretical strains, there are varying ways of seeing the mobilization aspect within a social movement, and in particular how and when parts of that mobilization become violent. On the one hand, there are theories that see social protests as a form of “normal political action” with conscious, rational and strategic tactics of (peaceful or violent) intervention, and with participants that calculate the costs and benefits of their participation in the collective action (Della Porta and Diani, 2011)). In other words, it is a “rational” approach, by which the collective interest is demanded “consciously” (Tilly 1978). On the other hand, social uprisings can be looked at from a quite different perspective: taking a mobilization as emotional and irrational driver of collective feelings, which in turn favor the use of violence and might be seen as an important trigger for violent collective actions.

“Emotion like culture generally, is a dimension of all social action” (p.425) (Goodwin et al., 2008). Looking at the emotional repertoire in social movements and the range of emotional displays in social protest, highlights the key issues and illuminates the studies on movements. Taking up this key message of the authors Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta (2011), the following paragraph will be dedicated to the role of emotions in social movements and may help to analyze the Paro Nacional and the formation of Primeras Líneas in Colombia from a different viewpoint.

In his publication on emotions and social movements (2011), Jasper states that social movement theory in the past decades underestimated the role of emotions or rather fell into the “trap” of considering emotions solely as the cause of irrational collective behavior, responsible for over-reactions. In the field at the time “rationality and emotionality were sharply contrasted” (p.415) (Goodwin et al., 2008). Only from the 1980s onwards, there were attempts from several scholars to focus more on emotions in social movement theory, however these claims did not have a profound influence on general research. When social sciences a few years later opened towards a more cultural approach, emotions started to be seen as mechanisms of the different social movement models and thus could be considered as variable in the explanation of social movements and not as irrational, reflexive answer to an event (although most investigations still don't consider them at all) (Goodwin et al., 2008). From a psychological viewpoint, anger (along with contempt) is considered one of the most probable emotional drivers and predictors of political action responding to social injustices (Tausch et al., 2011).

In order to be able to provide a better analysis of the emotions involved in social movements and not to run the risk of over- or underestimating certain reactions that they cause; Jasper divides the world of emotions into four different categories.

Reflex emotions – are six immediate and non-cognitive reactions to events- namely fear, joy, anger, surprise, disgust and sadness. These emotions are presented pretty similarly across cultures, however the causes for those reflex emotions are culturally different – that means what is frightening to members of one culture, might not cause fear to members of a different culture (Goodwin et al., 2008). In Germany for example, the presence of armed civil persons may cause surprise, one could even say fear. In the USA or Colombia seeing a person with a weapon might not cause such a strong expression of reflex emotion, as this is a more common sight for people in these countries. Reflex emotions do play a role in social movements, like the quick anger or the sudden joy of victory that can arise and thus energize the group and the action. However, there are other categories that are stronger connected to cognition and thus more interesting for the analysis of collective actions (Goodwin et al., 2008; Jasper, 2011).

Affective commitments – are long-term, relatively stable and more cognitively developed emotional concepts such as love, respect or trust and their counterparts such as hatred, distrust, and disrespect. These bonds develop and persist over a longer period of time. We show them towards people, places, things and ideas. “*Our affects [...] are the reason we bother to participate in movements at all [...]. We do not simply organize to pursue our material interests, but to help those we love and punish those we hate*” (p.418) (Jasper, 2011). The affective bonds are also about loyalty and therefore about the collective identity in the group, the trust the members have in each other and in the leadership of the organization and vice versa the distrust they feel against the opponent (Goodwin et al., 2008; Jasper, 2011). This fact seems interesting in the context of the Primeras Líneas in Colombia. These collectivities see themselves as a kind of family, with strong bonds. They share their pronounced hatred and mistrust against the Duque government, armed forces and state organizations, which makes them mobilize and protest. In contrast to the violent youth in France, who act violently and destroy due to their frustration over poverty, social exclusion and racism in their suburbs, the Primeras Líneas in Colombia wanted to do something “useful” for the rest of the protesting population, saving and protecting them from the violent attacks of the military. The resulting emotions are reflected in the often-escalating spiral of violence, which leads to the partial radicalization of the groups.

Moods – can be transported from one situation to another, not focused on a direct object. The category includes feelings such as hope, determination, optimism or resistance. Leaders of organizations do often play with those emotions, in order to motivate or to spur participants, spreading optimism or trying to create a feeling of unity with messages like “we need to go on, if not for ourselves, for our children” (p.421), “we don’t give up, no matter what happens”, most of the time not even knowing if the movement is going to be successful or not. These moods within the movement also determine who feels attracted to participate (Goodwin et al., 2008). When the mood is optimistic or strongly determined to make a change, and the leadership argues convincingly and stands up for the cause, more participants feel attracted to join the movement. For many Colombians who went to strike and demonstrated in 2021, the motto was very determined: “There is nothing left to lose, but the own life” (p.106) (Pietro Ameglio Patella et al., 2021).

Moral Emotions - are feelings of approval or disapproval and moral awareness as well as judgment for oneself and also others - in a complex cognitive construction including cultural variations and the influence of moral institutions. Compassion, indignation, outrage, shame or guilt, for instance, are part of this group (Goodwin et al., 2008; Jasper, 2011). The component of moral shock is often responsible, for an individual’s decision to participate in a social movement. “*Indignation at one’s own government can be especially moving, as it involves a sense of betrayal. At the extreme, violent repression of peaceful protest is a frequent source of moral shock*” (p.293) (Jasper, 2011, p. 293). In the case of Colombia’s recent protest waves, one of the motives that mobilized more and more people was likely due to “moral shock” when the government repressed pacific demonstrations in a brutal and unjustified way. This led to even more protest waves that received broad support within the society and to the escalation of the protest repertoire to violent actions and vandalism.

Analyzing the dynamics of the Paro Nacional and the development of PLs in Colombia in the following chapters, taking into account Jasper’s typology of emotions, can thus shed light on different aspects of decision-making, actors and identification processes within this social movement.

2.2 Colombia's recent past and present of Social Movements (1991-2021)

Important general aspects and political timeline Colombia¹⁶

As it is indispensable for the further analysis of Colombia's current protests to have in mind the most important political and social events in Colombia's history, which conditioned social movements of the past and in wide parts today's social protests as well, the following chronology, shall give a brief overview on some general historical aspects and the presidencies of the last thirty years.

1990 – 1994 Presidency of liberal César Gaviria

1991 Enactment of new Constitution (2nd July) with an expansion of rights for indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombian communities and for more social justice and recognized diversity in Colombia. In total it has 380 articles.¹⁷

1992 Violent repression of protests of indigenous people, who were criticizing the 500th anniversary of the “discovery” of America

1994-1998 Presidency of liberal Ernesto Samper Pizano, whose electoral campaign was financed with money from the drug cartel in Cali.

1997 Foundation of the paramilitary union “*Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*” (AUC), mainly financed by drug and illegal raw material business and extortion of protection money or kidnapping

1998 – 2002 Presidency of conservative Andrés Pastrana Arango

1999 First peace negotiations with the FARC, which failed in 2002 - the guerilla group by then had become military as powerful as never before

2001 “Plan Colombia”: Intensive anti-drug policies in Colombia, in cooperation with the United States

2002 – 2010 Presidency of Álvaro Uribe Veléz (known for very intensive politics against guerilla groups and paramilitaries, called in his own words politics of “Democratic Security” (Seguridad Democrática)). His way of governing divided society. His followers are called “uribistas”. Still has a lot of influence in the country.

¹⁶ This selection of important background information and historical events does not claim to be exhaustive; it is merely a subjective selection by the author in order to generate a deeper understanding of the current situation for the readers. I am aware that for Colombians and people with an in-depth knowledge of Colombia, many facts will be missing.

¹⁷ In annex 5 one can find an exemplary (non-exhaustive) overview of some of the most important new laws for more equality and diversity and an inclusion of the disadvantaged groups of the population that were named.

- 2006 Many political scandals, abuses, and human rights violations are discovered (e.g., “falsos positivos”¹⁸ or paramilitary politics) and shake the foundation of the democracy in Colombia
- 2010 – 2018** Presidency of Juan Manuel Santos Calderón (who came to the presidency with Uribe’s support, but then distanced himself from his predecessor’s politics)
- 2011 Important nationwide student movements called 2011 National University Strike, organized by a National Student Committee known as MANE. The movement was successful, demanding education as a right (Rodríguez, 2012)
- 2012 Peace negotiations between the government and the FARC-EP in Cuba begin
- 2015 Negotiators agree on the formation of a truth commission, which shall begin to work after the signing of the peace treaty
- 2016 Protests against Santos' economic policies and against peace negotiations with the FARC, as well as cab drivers' strike against Uber platform (Lafuente, 2016)
- President Santos signs the peace agreement for the Colombian government and the guerrilla leader alias "Timochenko" (Rodrigo Londoño) for the FARC, on 26th September.
- In October a referendum was held, which revealed (to international astonishment) that a slim majority (50,2%) of voting Colombians refused to approve the peace agreement.
- The final “Agreement to end the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace” was renegotiated and finally (without further referendum) approved by parliament in November. It entered into force on 1st December 2016.
- 2017 In February, the government began peace negotiations with the guerilla group ELN, in Ecuador. The group had become stronger and stronger and infiltrated many parts of the country that were formerly FARC regions.
- The country by then had to face an alarming number of murders of social leaders especially of indigenous and afro-descendant communities, human rights defenders and trade unionists. The official number of victims of the violent conflict exceeded 8.5 million and the registrations of displaced persons in the country peaked at over 7.5 million in July 2017.
- (Hoth, 2017; Miethke, 2018; The University of Edinburgh, 2016)
- 2018 – 2022** Presidency of right-wing conservative Iván Duque Márquez (who is a confidant of Uribe and a critic of the peace agreement of 2016).

¹⁸ “Falsos Positivos” is the name of a political scandal, where “at least 6,402 people were killed illegitimately [by Colombian military] to be presented as combat casualties throughout the national territory between 2002 and 2008”. JEP - Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz (2021).

- 2018 - 2022 FARC dissident groups, the ELN, criminal drug gangs and other armed actors are still threatening the population in many parts of the country, committing many human rights violations and crimes such as murder, forced displacements etc. of civilians, activists and social leaders of ethnic groups.
- 2019 In November 2019, multiple human rights violations and abuses by the National Police, against demonstrators who protested in the streets were reported. The state forces reacted arbitrarily and violently towards the mobilizations against various issues such as the killing of social leaders and human rights defenders or planned tax reforms (Human Rights Watch, 2021). One significant event in the course of these strikes was the death of young Dylan Cruz, an 18-year-old protester, who was wounded by a pellet, fired by a policeman, and died two days later in hospital. He became symbol of social protest and police violence in Colombia (Hernández Mora, 2019).
- 2020 As of March, the Covid-19 pandemic and its economic and social effects struck Colombia very hard. In April, the first of over five months of total lockdown, the national unemployment rate reached almost 20 %, the poverty rates increased dramatically due to the confinement and many Colombians were starving, only eating once per day (Jofré, 2020; López Bermúdez, 2021).
- In September, Javier Ordoñez, a law student, who according to officials did not follow the COVID-19 regulations, died due to police brutality as he was repeatedly shocked with a stun gun. His death caused protests in the streets of Bogotá and nationwide with hundreds of Colombians, demonstrating mainly pacifistically against police violence and Duque's politics. "Police responded with force that often appeared excessive, leaving 13 dead and hundreds injured" (Human Rights Watch, 2021).
- 2021 President Duque announced a new tax reform, which would go along with the increase of the VAT and aggravate the already strained financial situation of many Colombians due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This provoked a social outburst on 28th April, known as Paro Nacional (National Strike) all over the country (Alonso, 2021). According to the High Presidential Advisor's Office for Human Rights and International Affairs, from April 28th to July 16th 2021, 7872 rallies, 2543 marches and 44 assemblies were registered in 860 municipalities in all departments of the country (Alta Consejería Presidencial para los Derechos Humanos y Asuntos Internacionales, 2021).
- 2022 The year of the presidential elections brought along many uncertainties for Colombia's political future, especially for the regions under the influence of illegal and armed actors, such as the Clan del Golfo in the northwestern parts of the country, where an increase of violent attacks was registered (Pardo, 2022).
- Although during the election campaign there was a focus on the mobilization of young voter groups (especially in the context of last year's Paro Nacional), the final voter turnout of the congressional elections on March 13th was only at 45.9 percent (Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung, 2022). After the presidential elections on May 29th there was a second ballot on June 19th between left-wing candidate Gustavo Petro and right-wing candidate Rodolfo Hernandez. Petro (with his party alliance Pacto Histórico) and his female afro-descendant vice president

Francia Márquez, won with a razor-thin margin of 50,44 %. This victory represents a unique historic event. Never before did a left-wing president come to power in Colombia. Big parts of society hope for sustainable political changes. The protests that were feared before the election did not materialize (Reith, 2022).

Social movements in Colombia (1991 – 2021)

Considering the historical developments within Colombia during the last thirty years, as well as the political abuses and human rights violations of armed left-wing and right-wing actors (including state actors) towards many groups of society, such as ethnic groups and social leaders, farmers, women and workers, the high degree of dissatisfaction and the growing and increasing number of grievances were clearly the inevitable consequences of these events.

This constituted a very difficult security situation (Human Rights Watch, 2021) which the state machinery apparently cannot get under control, along with economic policies that further fuel inequality in the country rather than alleviate it (WID - World Inequality Database, 2022), not to mention the allegations of corruption among the high ranks of politics, entrepreneurs and large landowners (GAN Integrity, 2020).

The territory issues and unjust land ownership, that the country has been struggling with for a long time and which the peace agreement should have settled, are still not satisfactorily resolved. The huge illegal industry of coca cultivation and drug business in Colombia as well as other illicit operations such as the exploitation of raw materials, not only increase the risk of forced displacement and other life-threatening dangers for the population living in those “grey zones”, but also have severe effects on the environment and the rich biodiversity of Colombia. In other words, for many decades, people and nature have been at risk in Colombia.

Despite the new constitution of 1991 and the broader range of participative tools, there is an apparent lack of effective mechanisms to draw attention to the demands of Colombians, as a result, mobilizations have become a (more or less) powerful tool to express grievances and to demand rights (p.20.) (Fundación Ideas para la Paz, 2017).

In the following paragraphs, the most important social movements since 1991, along with their main actors and reasons for mobilization, will be presented. In the comprehensive collection of the Center for Research and Popular Education (CINEP) one can find a summary of all necessary information about social protests in Colombia from 1975 onwards.

Between 1991 and 2000, after the introduction of the new Colombian Constitution, the social movements and protest actions were mainly motivated by breaches of treaties, demands for fundamental rights, and calls for the implementation of different policies, in accordance with the new political constitution of 1991. For the first time it included a far-reaching expansion of rights, especially for the indigenous population and disadvantaged ethnic groups such as Afro-Colombian communities. The new constitution was based on a different understanding of the state, as article one expresses:

“Colombia is a social state governed by the rule of law, organized as a unitary, decentralized, democratic, participatory and pluralistic Republic, founded on respect for human dignity, on the work and solidarity of the people who comprise it and on the prevalence of the general interest” (República de Colombia, Constitución Política de 1991)

This new constitution was intended to provide the Colombian citizens with more mechanisms to claim their rights and to participate in the political system. For this reason, the implementation of a modernized understanding of democracy and the guarantee of fundamental rights for the people, increased expectations towards fairer conditions (Vega Díaz, 2017).

As the expected changes did not materialize in the 1990s, social movements in order to claim the promised rights developed in areas, where workers, urban settlers, students and victims of the armed conflict were the main actors who raised their voices (CINEP/ Programa por la Paz, 2022). The security situation in the country was very tense and the decade was marked by fierce violent confrontations between different illegal and legal armed actors, with the civil population becoming victimized, displaced or even “collateral damage” of many violent attacks and military actions. *“Urban dwellers were the most active in their demands [...] and more than a third of their struggles originated from the persistent violation of civil and political rights: kidnappings, massacres and threats against social and political leaders, perpetrated by illegal armed agents, the presence and actions of the guerrillas and paramilitaries, the inclusion of civilians in the armed confrontation, the neglect of displaced persons, and the actions of ‘social cleansing’”* (p. 163) (García Velandia, 2004).

In the years between 2001 and 2005 the number of movements increased to almost 2700 registered events of social protest. What can be observed in reference to the actors, is that the number of protests led by workers and urban settlers still outrank the other groups. One exemplary worker’s mobilization within this five-year period was the (as illegally declared) strike of the

workers at Ecopetrol, the largest oil company in Colombia, in 2004, which “forced the company to develop a contingency plan to guarantee fuel supply throughout the country” (Tiempo, 2004) and was triggered by a decree of the government and its new oil politics (CINEP/ Programa por la Paz, 2022). As well the number of protests led by students, women, farmers and ethnic groups had grown during this period. The predominant motives for the resistance were “politics” and the guarantee of “rights”. In addition, “*social services, including education, public safety, child-care, the elderly, the indigent, and health care, [...] [were also] claimed as the rights of the entire population*” (p.162) (translated from Spanish) (García Velandia, 2004). Environmental issues were not that present yet but mobilized several affected groups as well.

According to the information of the CINEP, the highest number of social protests, namely 1014 mobilizations were registered in 2007 (see table on history of social protest in annex 1). In the whole period between 2006 and 2010, more than 3800 collective protest actions, again mainly led by the urban population and workers had taken place all over Colombia. This happened along with a considerable rise of student movements, mobilizations of victims of forced displacement, ethnic groups (indigenous and afro-descendants) and the protests of farmers, for example protesting for the implementation of promised but never realized politics such as programs to replace illegal coca cultivations. Although the number of movements of minority groups in Colombia in general, has been lower, these actors should be mentioned here as well: members of the LGTBQ+ community and female collectives, demobilized combatants and inmates did mobilize too, in order to claim their demands. Still, it was the call for the recognition and protection of fundamental rights and better politics that drove the people to mobilize in these years (ibid).

In the following years, the number of student mobilizations had rose significantly. In 2011 in the context of the Paro Nacional Universitario for the first time “*university students, high school students and technical and technological institutes, accompanied by professors, workers and employees of public universities, maintained a continuous and intense mobilization whose claim was unanimous: to reject the draft reform of Law 30 of 1992 presented by the government of President Santos, which [...] [sought] to modify, in a comprehensive way, higher education in Colombia [...]*” (translated from Spanish) (García and Sánchez, 2012). They succeeded in their demands and managed to have education recognized as a right. This shows that, about ten years ago, the young generations in Colombia, mainly those with a higher level of education, started to claim their rights more steadily and with more pressure. Here we can also see that the connections between education, social movements and collective action are manifold.

“Education can be the subject of a movement or educational institutions can be the place from which protests unfold” (p.3) (Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen, 2016). This will be reconsidered in the last chapter of this thesis. What can be seen in the overview of the CINEP as well, is a rise in youth movements in general, independent of their educational background.

Between 2013 and 2016 the main actors of protest were communities, farmers, students, workers¹⁹ and persons from the transport sector, who participated in 73% of the registered events (p. 22) (Fundación Ideas para la Paz, 2017). In addition to the very same political and legal demands of the decades before, the call for social and public services was again added to the motives for mobilizations (CINEP/ Programa por la Paz, 2022).

By 2019, these facts had hardly changed and a major part of the Colombian population was unsatisfied with the unpopular president Duque and his administration. What could be observed additionally, was a significant rise in mobilizations due to the non-compliance of the peace agreement of 2016 and the rise of movements due to environmental issues and human rights violations (ibid). The frustration regarding the non-fulfillment of the peace treaty with the FARC or rather the fact, that many points of the treaty were not enforced, or had only low impact, and consequently the end of the decades-long conflict in many regions of the country failed to materialize, was (and still is) clearly felt among the population. Duque's party rejected the treaty from the beginning, and critics claim that he did not implement the treaty's intended programs aggressively enough (Turkewitz, 2021).

The mobilizations related to environmental problems, like in the decades before “were motivated by the negative impacts of the construction of megaprojects on indigenous communities and cultures, peasant economies, food security and biodiversity” (p.162) (translated from Spanish) (García Velandia, 2004). Globally, there has been a much clearer focus on environmental issues in the last few years. So, the terrible extent of environmental destruction in Colombia, which among many other problems, goes hand in hand with the destruction of indigenous habitats and their cultural heritage, through the extensive land use by multinational companies and their monocultures, the illegal cultivation of coca, as well as the illegal overexploitation of mineral resources and the contamination of water and air in large parts of the country, moved into the light of public attention and social mobilizations. The left-wing candidate Petro and his vice-president Márquez do have a strong environmental focus for Colombia's future

¹⁹ Colombia has ranked for years among the ten countries with the worst conditions for workers, and still does so today, with 22 killed work unionists in 2021 (see ITUC - International Trade Union Confederation).

development and could set the course for differentiated environmental politics for the first time in the country's history.

However, ever since it is very dangerous for social leaders, environmental activists, indigenous tribes and other defenders of fundamental rights, to protest in Colombia. Especially in the most conflicted areas, they run a high risk of being killed or silenced in other ways, if they raise their voices. These areas are not fully controlled by the Colombian government, alternative power structures of different armed actors prevail here, and are enforced violently by those. According to the records of Indepaz, in 2021, over 170 social leaders and human rights defenders were killed by illegal actors in Colombia with rising tendencies for 2022²⁰ (Indepaz – Instituto de estudios para el desarrollo y la paz, 2022).

Important to know in this context is, that for many decades the state of Colombia has used its power to apply “dirty war” tactics in order to eliminate those “who propose[d] an alternative project” or simply showed resistance to implemented politics. Betancur states that:

“Since the end of the 1970s, social protest has been criminalized, and since the beginning of the 1990s, the term “terrorist” has formed part of the official discourse that sought to justify arbitrary detentions, disappearances and extrajudicial assassinations. Entire populations that have defined resistance strategies have been persecuted and displaced from their territories, and part of their leadership has been assassinated. The objective here is not only to eliminate the opposition, but also to intimidate, instruct, and prevent new rearticulations of the movements and subjects in resistance. Here, the role of the so-called paramilitary groups has been completely functional to State policy”

(translated from Spanish) (p.180) (Betancur Betancur, 2006).

Today, resisting the government's politics in Colombia is still risky, as the fundamental rights of freedom of expression and peaceful protest, often cannot be guaranteed to the protestors without danger for life and limb, as the most recent numbers of victims of state forces during the Paro Nacional show.

²⁰ With already 59 activists and HR defenders killed in the first four months of the year 2022 (status of 24.04.22) Indepaz – Instituto de estudios para el desarrollo y la paz (2022).



Picture 1: Unequal conditions and the courage of protesting in Colombia (Misión SOS Colombia, 2021)

Foto by Julian González

Since 2018 the general dissatisfaction with the Duque government grew increasingly. The intensifying repression and police violence against the social uprisings during his administration, as already mentioned, gave further grounds for more unrest in the population. The campaign “Defender la Libertad” (Defend the Liberty) implemented an “Information System on Aggressions against Social Protest” (SIAP), as an instrument for documenting and systematizing cases of aggressions, arbitrary detentions and criminalization against social protest in Colombia since 07 August 2018 - the beginning of Duque’s administration. In the time between August 2018 and the end of January 2021, according to SIAP, 372 cases of aggressions (from state authorities) against social mobilizations, 2854 detentions, 1199 hurt persons, 27 eye injuries and 74 deaths in the context of social protest were registered (Defender la Libertad, 2018).

The unjustified deaths of several young persons caused by police or ESMAD officers in 2019 and 2020 (examples Cruz y Ordoñez see timetable) provoked a wave of protest actions against the police violence in Colombia, demanding police reform and the full exposure and punishment of the guilty officials in these cases. In November 2019, only hours before the death of Dylan Cruz, the National Strike Committee had already met up with Ivan Duque presenting a broad list of demands including “*first of all, the dissolution of the ESMAD and the purging of the National Police. On the economic front, to withdraw the tax reform bill, not to present the labor reform or the pension reform, not to privatize any public company, to fulfill the*

commitments made by the government of Juan Manuel Santos with students, indigenous people, teachers, among others [...]” (translated from Spanish) (Hernández Mora, 2019).

In March 2020, after heavy waves of social protest in Bogotá the COVID-19 pandemic spread and brought a complete repression of the social mobilizations in the streets, accompanied by confinements and a ban on demonstrations.

As already mentioned, the pandemic caused a lot of economic and social damage and led the poorest of the poor in Colombia to hang red traps “trapos rojos” out of their windows to signalize that they were in need of food and help during the quarantine (The Guardian, 2020).

Despite the presented demands, and despite (or perhaps because of) the pandemic’s special circumstances, police violence against the population did not abate in the following months and protests increased again towards the end of 2020, with more radical collective actions and the death of further innocent victims, finally culminating into the Paro Nacional in April 2021.

2.3 The Paro Nacional 2021 and the development of Primeras Líneas in Colombia²¹

The huge social outburst in 2021, in reality, was the continuation of the protests and social movements experienced in 2019 and 2020 which were paralyzed for some months, but on the other hand also “fueled” by the COVID-19 pandemic and its harsh economic and social impacts on the population. Therefore in 2021 with the crooked tax proposal, not even the risk of contagion could stop the mass mobilizations in Colombia anymore (Alonso, 2021).

Following Jasper's theory of emotions, it can be assumed that many Colombian citizens wanted to vent their long-held hatred and their dissatisfaction with the government, their frustration with the country's poor economic situation, and their deep mistrust towards the Colombian elite. Therefore, despite Corona restrictions and the risk of contagion, they showed unity and solidarity and went to the streets to demonstrate for a change of these realities and the difficult circumstances. When talking to Colombians, who participated in the protests, they confirmed this feeling of “enough is enough” or “we won’t stand this situation any longer”.

²¹ Very moving and interesting to complete the picture on the happenings, is the compilation “Voces en Primera Línea: libro que reúne relatos sobre el Paro Nacional”, including different essays and contributions of testimonies all over the country, who portray the events of the Paro Nacional 2021 and the rise of the Primeras Líneas. See: LIV Quintana and Rojas (2021).

April 28th 2021, will go down into Colombia's history as the start of the *Paro Nacional* - a national strike with thousands protesting against the proposed tax reform in the streets. Duque's "tax plan sought to keep in place new subsidies for poor people while raising taxes on many everyday goods and services" for the lower middle-class (Turkewitz, 2021). Several economists stated that fiscal restructuring indeed was necessary, but many Colombians saw the plan as deceitful attack (ibid). The announcement therefore could be seen "as the straw that broke the camel's back" and provoked the largest social outburst ever seen in Colombia in the last forty-five years. It brought about thousands of demonstrations of all society sectors, followed by very difficult weeks and months of brutally repressed mobilizations by police and army, and also vandalism, road blockades and much violence by others, that left many victims injured or worse (Alonso, 2021). According to an official report of the ministry of defense, in the period between 28.04. and 27.06.2021, in the two first months of the *Paro Nacional*, more than 14.000 protest actions (including mobilizations, blockades, assemblies, rallies and demonstrations) in all 32 regions of Colombia and the capital Bogotá were registered, which resulted in 54 killed and 1147 injured civilians as well as 2 killed and 1477 injured uniformed officers. Additionally, during this time, sexual assaults were committed, a high level of property damage was recorded, there were cases of kidnapping, and multiple road blockades led to extreme food shortages (Barrera Castro 2021). And yet, the number of unreported crimes is likely to be far higher²².

If private channels in social media and independent media coverage can be trusted, arbitrary violent attacks by state actors (police, military, ESMAD) happened in many places, leading to countless cases of violence against private individuals who still are untraceable²³. In May 2021, according to reports from 26 organizations and in consultation with the Unit for the Search of disappeared persons, there were still 379 persons missing (El Espectador - Redacción Judicial, 2021).

The excessive police violence, which was observed critically by the international community caused a deep "moral shock" within the population. Although most collective actions were of a

²² "Although a significant number of aggressions perpetrated by the security forces, paramilitaries and armed individuals dressed as civilians against demonstrators and against people who did not participate in the protests were documented, it should be noted that a large number of cases could not be collected due to time constraints and the fear of the consequences of testifying" (p.7) (translated from Spanish) see Final Report of Misión S.O.S Colombia (Misión SOS Colombia, 2021)

²³ "Desaparecidos forzados" is a sad practice in Colombian history that has been executed for a long time by different armed actors (including the state) and means "making people disappear" without any trace, not knowing if they are dead and where or if the body can be found. According to the Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, in Colombia over 80.000 persons have been disappeared forcefully within the last 45 years. See CNMH (2020).

pacifist manner, the harsh reaction of the state authorities led to a spiral of violence among demonstrators, too.

In accordance with Tilly's theory on social movements we can distinguish a broad public effort demanding not only the withdrawal of the tax proposal, but also a general demand for more social justice in the country. It was accompanied by a great variety of collective actions that expressed the population's grievances. The degree of organization among the protesting crowd however was questionable, although the manifestants managed pretty well to agree on where and when a collective action should take place. There was communication and exchange on social media platforms, they concurred where and when "ollas comunitarias"²⁴ or other offers of help should be set up, etc. Completely new and creative projects emerged from nowhere, the general solidarity in the population was clearly noticeable and there were tens of thousands of participants and supporters of the mobilizations. The third element though, in order to speak of a social movement as such, is even blurrier in my opinion. Although the participants could be seen as a united, numerous and committed group, it is difficult to speak of a "concerted public representation" as such, in my opinion, as the group of participants and actors was very heterogeneous. The protesting actors referred to themselves as "the Colombian people", however not all Colombians did support the Paro Nacional, as for example the road blockades led to menacing food shortages and the fight against the high number of corona cases at that time, was impaired by the collective actions (Turkewitz, 2021). In terms of identity, one could state that the protesting groups did develop a feeling of solidarity for each other, like a common "collective identity" with the aim to protest for a common interest: better or fairer social politics, more social justice in the Colombian population that should come hand in hand with police reform, free education, a minimum monthly basic pension or income, support for dignified living conditions and so on.

In fact, the already existing National Strike Committee (Comité Nacional de Paro), which consists of representatives of basically all big workers' associations and labor unions of the country, including the confederations of pensioners, the "Colombian Federation of Education Workers", the Truckers' Crusade, the farmer's organization "Dignidad Agropecuaria", the "Colombian Association of Student Representatives" and the "National Union of Higher Education Students" (UNEES) had originally called for the National Strike against the tax reform on April 28th and

²⁴ This term means "food gathering, preparation and free access to meals for people who are actively participating in the demonstrations" (p.8) LIV Quintana and Rojas (2021).

entered into first talks with Iván Duque in May 2021. Among the seven main petitions the core points were:

- *“Basic income of at least one legal monthly minimum wage.*
- *Zero educational enrollment fees and no to educational alternation.*
- *Non-discrimination of gender, sexual and ethnic diversity.*

(translated from Spanish) (Sánchez, 2021).

Due to the concern of many national and international organizations caused by the violent confrontations between authorities and manifestants during the protests, the committee's claims towards the Colombian government were soon extended, requesting ***“guarantees for the free execution of protests and offering tables of negotiation”*** (CUT - Central Unitaria de Trabajadores, 2021).

While some Colombians on the streets or on social media platforms stated, that they could identify with the committee's demands, others indicated that they did not feel represented by them, especially the younger generations somehow had the feeling of being “ignored” although they played a major role in these protests (Sánchez, 2021). Here it is also interesting to consider, that many Colombians are not employed legally but lead a “hand-to-mouth” existence; the rate of informal occupations is very high, with almost half of the working population in informal working conditions (men 47,6 % and women 46,1 % according to rates of November 2020 – January 2021) (DANE Colombia, 2022) , therefore a large part of the population usually does not feel represented by the workers' unions and their petitions. Additionally, over 20 % of young persons between 15 and 28 years in Colombia have been unemployed (with an increase due to the pandemic) (El Tiempo, 2022), and their demands did not fall into the committee's range of petitions.

This is one of the reasons why the young generation was and continues to be the protagonist of this social movement throughout Colombia, although the mobilizations during the National Strike were formed and supported by many participants from different sectors and milieus of society.

Primeras Líneas - The First Lines of Protest

One phenomenon “borrowed” from the events of social protest in Chile in 2019, also occurred in Colombia during the manifestations. Many young men and women came together in the streets and formed resistance groups against the manhandling of state officials, especially the

ESMAD, defending and "protecting" the other citizens who were demonstrating in the streets. These groups are the "Primeras Líneas", the first lines of protest, and with their rise, a new political actor within the Paro Nacional and in the already complex political setting of Colombia was born.

Some groups of this type had already emerged in 2019 after the death of Dylan Cruz (Loaiza, 2021), such as the "Escudos Azules". These groups were mainly made up of students from public universities and became a nationwide phenomenon in 2021. At first Primeras Líneas emerged in Cali, where the protests were worst and most violent, but then quickly spread throughout the country. Initially, they were mostly students who, in addition to their "protection mission," gave voice to their own demands for fair and free access to education, dignified working conditions and other basic social needs (Droguett Fernández, 2019). However, other young people from more difficult backgrounds, with lower levels of education and no real prospects for the future quickly joined the Primeras Líneas or created their own local Primera Línea in order to put forward their "demands" (Loaiza, 2021) or simply to "use their body" as a symbol to show their resistance. Most of them could be summarized in the category of "ninis" (ni estudian, ni trabajan – neither studying nor working)²⁵ – therefore an important part of these collectives might also be considered as "low-status groups" (Scheepers 2006). As one of the teachers of the Uni Monserrate puts it: *"Here the Primera Línea is taken as a process of resistance but with bodies. That is to say, a resistance with bodies, with shields made of tin and cardboard, and helmets"*²⁶.

The SNPS Program Director finds frank words to describe her concept of the Primeras Líneas, especially those of the kind that we worked with: *"Well, for me a definition of the Primera Línea is literal, their labor is being the meat for others, that is to say these are people who have not had anything to lose and as they have nothing to lose, they offer their life and put their chest and skin to the fire to achieve something, this is what makes most sense [for them]. And that is for a reason, let's say they have received [violence] all their lives, in all forms, from their family to the structural model of the system that we have. They have been violated. So, it is a conjugation of the opportunity to externalize all this anger with life, with the world, to get some justice from it through violence, because it is the only way they have been treated. Thus, they have*

²⁵ "Nini" comes from the English acronym NEET – not in education, employment or training and was first employed 1999 in Great Britain. In February 2022 there was an official number of the Veeduría Distrital of over 665.000 young persons between 18 and 28 years, that were registered as "ninis" only in the district capital of Colombia, Bogotá (El Espectador - Redacción Bogotá 2022).

²⁶ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, page 8, item 78.

nothing to lose, as they have nothing. And the little they had, for some reason, in the middle of the pandemic, all this went to hell”²⁷.

Gareth Sella, ex-member of the Escudos Azules, from his student and political activist viewpoint, when asked for a definition said: *“I never really thought about it, but I would define a Primera Línea like a group of people that are full of a lot of love, enough of it to sacrifice themselves, in order to not see dying others.”*²⁸

Identity and Public Image

In Chile, where the PLs came into being about two years earlier, they had reached a socially entirely positive image among the Chilean population. There, the citizens have been “recognizing in the Primera Línea a fair and legitimate way of defending themselves, materially and symbolically, against police violence, while at the same time its participants were established as subjects valued for their bravery and commitment to the social movement” without being condemned for the violence they used (Droguett Fernández, 2019). Similar to the Chilean case, in the beginning, the Primeras Líneas in Colombia acquired a space of “social recognition” and also appreciation for defending the demonstrating population - even violently. Luisa Luna, a protesting civilian stated: *“To see people taking on roles in which they take care of the protesting people is something very good, especially because panic and fear were assumed (and transmitted) from the State, and to be able to see these replicas of Chilean actions and thoughts in Colombia, seems to me full of energy”* (translated from Spanish) (Mena, 2021). Many of the PL participants, whose voices never had been heard before, became visible in the media and as part of society. They used the mobilizations as platforms to get in contact with other young persons from the same backgrounds and with similar life stories. These young people are the “product” of the social problems and political shortcomings of the last decades (Droguett Fernández, 2019). They are the “nobodies” of society, they cannot count on any backing, neither by their families nor by anybody else, not to mention any governmental support. And those who had the least or rather “nothing to lose”, resisted even more.

According to one Venezuelan member of the PL Patio Bonito Resiste, there were also bonds of solidarity among many Venezuelan migrants in Colombia who joined the movement of the PLs, hoping that the outcomes of the strike and the collective actions would improve their own difficult situation in the country and that they could learn from the movement in order to copy it.

²⁷ Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022). See transcript of interview, page 6, item 45.

²⁸ Direct quote Ex-PL member of Escudos Azules Gareth Sella (2022) See transcript of interview, page 3, item 27.

He referred to it as “the hope to make a replication” of the movement in their home country (PL member 1 Caracas, 2022b).

In Colombia, different factors influenced the development of the PLs as new actors within the social movement, which resulted in a drastic change of their image in the media. The media painted the PLs as violent youth groups comprised of overly aggressive delinquents or vandals, destroying public and personal goods, stealing and consuming drugs. The groups were also said to be infiltrated, coordinated and financed by members of drug cartels, guerilla groups and other illegal armed actors and used the Paro Nacional as a platform solely to do harm. Media and politics drew an alarming picture of an uprising, new but well-trained armed actor in Colombia (Semana, 2021). For the PLs themselves this also meant a high degree of insecurity, not knowing who can be trusted and which collaborations or contacts might present a security issue for them. Some of the PL members described it as “feeling of paranoia”, that developed within the different groups.

One of the lecturers also mentioned the blaming and shaming in the interview, describing the difficult discourse, also for the professionals working with Primeras Líneas: *“And even more so when there is a social, institutional and state bombardment, where they tell you ‘this young man who is there, marching or throwing stones or graffitiing the wall, is not a nonconformist or is not a transgressor, but is a terrorist’. When you are labeled as a terrorist, you are already a social marginal”*²⁹.

An official report of the United Nations, that analyzed the situation during the National Strike between 28.04 and 31.07.2021, states: *“Also of concern is the degree of criminalization and stigmatization of the protesters, including by the media, linking them to acts of vandalism or even alleging acts of terrorism”* (HCHR Colombia, 2021). Due to this stigmatization and the violence used by the official state actors, one can suppose that the situation became even more violent, as the PL members would also resort to violent means to defend themselves and the other demonstrators or to make their discontent and hatred even more obvious.

On the other hand, there were some very radical Primeras Líneas, such as the PL Resistencia del Portal América in Bogotá with its notorious leader alias “19”. He was detained due to vandalism, torture and aggression against public forces in July 2021, but somehow managed several

²⁹ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, page 2, item 17.

times in the following months to make live broadcasts from the prison, to motivate the members of the Primeras Líneas to engage in further protest actions and attacks against the ESMAD (Semana, 2022). This, of course, suggests that he has had connections to higher circles among criminals or bribe-taking officials. He was also said to be part of the network of paramilitaries. According to the theoretical approach of Mackert and his explanations for the use of violence as collective action, the four phases of his approach became evident in the case of the above mentioned radical Primeras Líneas ready to use violence as a tactic. The population, including the young generation demanded a radical change of the social order, not accepting the behaviour of the elites towards the “normal” population any longer. As a result, the Primera Línea collectives came into being and formed the body and voice for the “people” of Colombia. When the military and state forces answered their outcries with harsh brutality, the boundaries between government and controlled population were even more challenged, more people were mobilized and the general setting became conflictive and violent. In the fourth phase, following Mackert’s theory, there was an escalation of violent episodes between the different actors with violence evolving into a justified means of protest.

For their own safety, the participants of PLs generally mobilized hooded or masked, equipped with shields, sticks and sometimes helmets to defend themselves against the police or in order to attack their opponents. Usually, they would not use firearms or other weapons such as knives in the confrontations.

Talking to members of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito, they stated that they tried to take yogurt or other dairy products to the “combat” scenery, to help alleviate the irritations caused by gas attacks from the ESMAD. According to the group, there are different irritant gases that cause e.g., nausea and vomiting, cough and respiratory problems, visual problems and dizziness and are used against the demonstrators in order to put them “out of action”. They stated that one could distinguish the gases by their different colors (Conversation with Barranquilla, ex-member of PLPBR - October 2021).³⁰

The members of the Primeras Líneas would take care not to reveal too many personal details or their true identities, always using nicknames, as most of them had been (and probably still are) officially registered. The most prominent members were searched for and hunted down to be

³⁰ Interestingly enough the new left-wing Petro government seems to use a different, less harmful type of gases against demonstrators, as actual PL members stated recently. They said it smelled almost as “sugar cotton” (see interview with Ex-PL member of Escudos Azules Gareth Sella (2022))

detained or according to them “to be simply disappeared”. As the final report of Misión SOS Colombia³¹ shows, many members of Primeras Líneas did have reason to hide their identities, as they ran a high risk of being threatened, detained, hurt or even killed by the National Police in the course of the Paro Nacional (Misión SOS Colombia, 2021). The Instagrammer and photographer @Jahfrann documented the happenings during the Paro Nacional in Cali and shared the terrifying pictures on different social media channels. His recordings went viral, when he streamed himself being attacked by two policemen. He was able to escape without injuries but had to leave the city for security reasons for several weeks (Deutsche Welle 2021b). Also, the two teachers from Uni Monserrate as well as the program director from the SNPS confirmed that they lived in constant fear of police assaults and arbitrary arrests of the PL members, which several times required unconventional interventions by the professionals to assure the young people’s safety.

Degree of organization and demands

In his essay from May 2021 the columnist Julio César Londoño offers a fairly complete picture of those who were marching “at the front” in the beginning of the Paro Nacional, especially in the bigger cities such as Cali, Medellín and Bogotá. He divides the manifestants of the Paro Nacional into “civilians” expressing symbolic resistance and “fighters”, such as the Primeras Líneas. According to him four further Líneas next to the PL could be found. He recognizes L1 as “defensive and poetic”, protecting the civilians and the other Líneas with television antennas, transmitting messages and signals. L2 he considers the crash and punch line, throwing stones, flinging back cylinders with tear gas and so on. The engineers of L3, as he calls them, construct barricades and distract the attackers to offer cover for L2. Then he sees the nurses and doctors as part of L4 as they follow to help the injured and finally people in L5 who provide materials such as “antigas-masks” - made up of fabric soaked in vinegar, and containers filled with milk or sodium solution to alleviate gas burns. *“There is no hierarchy in the Linea’s structure, but there are leaders who command the operations because they used to be fire fighters, soldiers, private security agents, students of the SENA or of the compensation funds”* (Londoño, 2021). This is an example of an utterly well organized and structured part of the movement.

³¹ Misión SOS Colombia is an “International Observation Mission for the Guarantees of Social Protest and Against Impunity in Colombia [and] met between July 3 and 12, 2021, with 41 commissioners from 14 countries (United States, Canada, Catalonia, Basque Country, Spain, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Mexico, Ecuador, Chile, Belgium, Guatemala and Vatican City), from human rights organizations and groups, jurists, churches, academia and journalists linked to human rights and peace issues” (Misión SOS Colombia, 2021).

In accordance with the experiences of the specialists, most of the “low-status” Primeras Líneas, did not know exactly why and what they were fighting for or rather did not have a constructive focus, and mainly wanted to express their disgust. The political education and the level of education in general among those protesters was very low. They presented with many shortcomings in terms of general knowledge on Colombia’s history and the political developments of the country, as will be seen in the case study in chapter 4.

In an interview with CNN Spain, a member of a Primera Línea in Bogota states that the PLs do not feel represented by the National Strike Committee “because they [the Committee] have “political interests” (in view of the elections), while in Primera Línea they do not have party lines, nor do they obey the guidelines of recognized political leaders, as some have pointed out” (Loaiza, 2021).

In July 2021 however, some representatives of different politically active Primeras Líneas, presented a list of demands in which, among other, “they ask to be recognized as political actors”; that the State and the media apologize for, according to them, “stigmatizing the demonstrators as violent actors”; that the investigation processes be accelerated in cases of “forced disappearance and detainees”, furthermore they asked “to provide health care to people who have been injured in the context of the demonstrations by the public forces and a round table of discussion with the government of Bogota” (ibid).

When analyzing the confusing situation of the Paro Nacional and the appearance of the hundreds of Primeras Líneas all over the country, it becomes clear, that it is not possible to define the phenomenon and to generalize all groups. The range within the PLs is enormous, including their backgrounds, their intentions and their form of expression. The extent of collective action and political formation among the Primeras Líneas is different in each territory of Colombia and needs a different focus. One could even state that they do not have a clear common political denominator. There are some radicalized groups such as the PL Resistencia Portal Américas in Bogotá, and there are politically active groups like the “Escudos Azules” or various PLs in the Eje Cafetero (Coffee Zone) mainly formed by pacifist students or the Union de Resistencia (UCR) in Cali, looking for dialogue and cultural or social projects. In addition, there are those groups, that use the label “Primera Línea” to do illegal business such as some PLs in the North of the Valle, where the situation in general is marked by a lot of violence and illicit drug business. Despite their differences all these groups came into existence in the context of the national strike and the social protests.

It is apparent that something had to be done, to calm the situation, to attend to the demands of the many protesting civilians, including the Primeras Líneas.

On May 10th 2021, in the context of the Paro Nacional the National Government and the National Strike Committee entered into a process of dialogue. On the request of both sides, the United Nations Verification Mission of Colombia and the Catholic Church were included in the dialogue as mediators. According to the United Nations, a clear reduction of tensions could be observed, when authorities started to open up to dialogue and negotiated with the manifestants, the church and human rights defenders (HCHR Colombia, 2021).

In the following chapter, the Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social, the executive NGO of the Catholic Church in Colombia, its role as mediator in the negotiations during the Paro Nacional 2021 and its most pertinent projects for peace construction and social dialogue, as well as other important organizations, that were part of the formation process with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito, will be described.

3. Actors, responsibilities and starting point for the exemplary community project with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito

3.1 Church and NGO: The institution “Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social” / Cáritas Colombiana (SNPS / CC) and its philosophy

For the general presentation of the institution SNPS / CC, it will be referred to their own official description on the homepage and information from internal documents that the organization shared with the author.

“[T]he National Secretariat of Social Pastoral /Caritas Colombiana, [is] a non-profit ecclesial organism, dependent on the Episcopal Conference that seeks truth, reconciliation, justice and charity in the basic relationships and structures of our society. Our actions and work are always enlightened by the Gospel and the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. In this way we consolidate an efficient and just work in favor of different communities of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions throughout the national territory” (Cáritas Colombiana - SNPS, 2016).

In general, the organization develops its projects and programs in close coordination with the jurisdictions in the territories and according to their necessities. The projects are mainly

financed through other Caritas organizations such as Caritas Norway, Caritas Germany or Caritas Switzerland.

Philosophy and basics of the organization's work

The common denominator of the interventions of the organization are “extreme situations”, but according to the SNPS's intervention strategy it is also important to identify and understand the socially constructed factors and facts that lead to the crisis in order to react differentiated to the consequences.

The beginning of each intervention, as an exercise of charity, is based on the parable of the **Good Samaritan**³², who helps the one who most needs it. Caritas describes this as their call to service, love and compassion for those who suffer, no matter which religion, origin or mindset they have. The parable seems especially suitable for the Colombian context, where several generations have been living the armed conflict and where violence has been taking place among the own population, such as in the parable - among “neighbors”.

The general aim of the SNPS's work with communities is to promote and restore human dignity, the common good, subsidiarity, the dignifying value of work, care for creation, solidarity, participation and integral human development in solidarity.

According to the institutional intervention strategy, the following strategic objectives of the work should be mentioned:

Social Impact:

- Encourage a social evangelization, transforming the social relations
- Contribute to the construction of solidarity in Colombia's population, resulting in a fair and fraternal country

Operational Performance:

- Generate and transfer management models with high social impact
- Influence policies and public opinion
- Implement an effective communication and information system

³² The Parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37) is used to explain that “people should love everyone, including their enemies. It is easy to love friends and family, but it is much more difficult to love those who you may not get along with, or even those who may harm or hurt you. To show love to your enemies is to truly love as Christ did” (BBC Bitesize (n.d.)). Entire Parable see annex 2.

As central strategy and key factor for all interventions, the SNPS recognizes **social transformation**, by which the organization understands processes aimed at changing relationships and realities that violate the life, dignity, rights and territories of people.

Within its community work in the territories, the SNPS / CC puts the focus on two further parables, as action of the Gospel and "experience of transformation": first, the parable of the mustard seed (Mark 4: 30–32), which despite being very small, becomes a large tree where birds take refuge and which is very important for many beings, as well as the second, related to yeast (Matthew 13:33), where a minimal measure is enough to ferment the whole dough.

The strategy takes into account the following elements in order to establish expected changes:

- 1) different **levels of transformation**: personal, relational, organizational and structural;
- 2) moments or stages ranging from solidarity response in crisis, reconstruction of the social fabric, projection and stabilization (for a closer explanation of the stages, see annex 3)
- 3) the realization of the exercise of the **desired future**³³.

Components to achieve these changes are: formation, research, psychosocial intervention, humanitarian assistance, legal assistance, communication exercises and political advocacy (SNPS / Caritas Colombiana, 2011).

According to Program Director Rosa Inés Floriano, the SNPS uses a mixture of the most important and useful approaches of academy and practice for their peacebuilding missions and social projects. Those include among others the Participatory Action Research approach, which is called IAP (Investigación Acción Participativa) in Spanish and is based on a collaborative and participative research model pioneered by the Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda. It focuses on the inclusion of the researched group or community into the research- and problem solution process, looking for individual and creative solutions for their respective problems. PAR *“aims to be active co-research, by and for those to be helped”* and *“tries to be a genuinely democratic or noncoercive process whereby those to be helped, determine the purposes and outcomes of their own inquiry. Paradoxically it is quite close to a common-sense way of ‘learning by doing’.* But at the same time it is very hard to achieve the ideal conditions for putting it

³³ This is a profound exercise or rather process when working with peace initiatives or other collectives, when they are starting to dream towards a desired future and formulate it- this includes what challenges and changes the members of the group want to accomplish within a certain period of time, in order to reach the desired future. The exercise was also realized with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito.

fully into practice” (Wadsworth, 1998). There will be a closer look into the opportunities of PAR for community work with Primeras Líneas in chapter 5.

The SNPS as mediator in the National Strike and its peacebuilding projects involved in the intervention with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito

The Secretariado Nacional, above all its head Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao Gaviria, was very engaged in developing fast, unbureaucratic offers of help and trying to set up programs and spaces for social dialogue in order to intervene as neutral actor in the already very tense situation of the Paro Nacional. Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao, himself, as trusted member of the Catholic Church was asked to participate in the peace negotiations between the National Government and the Strike Committee, so he and his team were “at the pulse of time” and could therefore react to all current circumstances with their support programs simultaneously.

“So, when the mayor [of Bogotá] called, we already had the two extremes, let's say the National Strike Committee and the assemblies, but there was this empty middle which was the people who didn't even know why they were really fighting. As you know, really many of them have been manipulated, there were a lot of false promises and so on. So, the mayor's office asks the universities, the United Nations and the Archdiocese of Bogotá to please help them to generate conditions of dialogue to dismantle the Primeras Líneas”³⁴.

According to an official document the SNPS states that “[o]ne of the main challenges in the context of the social crisis that the country [...] [has been] going through, [was] to generate actions to avoid the escalation of violence, to make an effort of articulation and not of division between the promoters of the strike and the social mobilizations in such a way that the plurality of political agendas and social demands of the communities [were] taken into account”. Hence, for the SNPS it was essential “to provide a response from the pastoral work that allow[ed] strengthening spaces for dialogue and reconciliation” (SNPS / Caritas Colombiana, 2021a).

One of the projects that emerged in the course of the Paro Nacional and ended on March 31st of 2022, was the project on social dialogue.

³⁴ Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022) See transcript of interview, page 3, item 18.

Project “Diálogo Social”

The project, which mainly has been based on the contents of the encyclic letter of holy Pope Francis, “Fratelli Tutti” (2020) proposed dialogue as an alternative to finding solutions in the midst of indignation and violence. The main objectives were to provide insights from the Magisterium of Pope Francis writings to guide the criterion of judgment and action of the particular Churches in order to lend their good offices to the service of peace in Colombia. Furthermore, methodological guidelines were to provide to make Pope Francis' message in Fratelli Tutti “operative” and to promote the practice of dialogue and social friendship as a positive alternative “to address conflicts from a conciliatory point of view that remedies strong polarization” (SNPS / Caritas Colombiana, 2021h).

„Approaching, speaking, listening, looking at, coming to know and understand one another, and to find common ground: all these things are summed up in the one word “dialogue”. If we want to encounter and help one another, we have to dialogue” (Pope Francis, 2020).

The official SNPS working document for the project, set up by three high-ranking church members and experts in the Colombian peace construction work, indicates that for a sincere eye-to-eye dialogue and a sustainable peace treaty between the hostile parties, six fundamental steps need to be gone through, each with several sub-steps:

- I. **Enrollment** (realizing a context analysis, delegitimizing violence and legitimizing dialogue as a transformative path, giving protection and help to the most vulnerable, i.e., victims of the conflictive situation).
- II. **Pre-Dialogue** (start talks with the leaders of the antagonistic groups to see their willingness to talk, warming-up for the dialogue (setting agenda, etc); creating a warm and fraternal atmosphere)
- III. **Social Dialogue** (Reflection of happenings with the groups (intra-group and inter-group dialogue)
- IV. **Seeding the Dialogue** (defining agreements e.g., on mechanisms, verification and monitoring as well as the articulation of instances)
- V. **Fertilize the Dialogue** (putting into practice the social friendship by developing common projects that benefit both sides, reaching a social contract including a treaty for life and peace on community level)

VI. Maintaining the Social Friendship (following the accorded treaty and giving sustainability to the social bonds through the passing time)

(SNPS / Caritas Colombiana, 2021h)

The communication basics of this project are essential for peace building and for the construction of any democratic and inclusive society, and do not only apply to the context of the *Paro Nacional*. They are an important reference for the CMP Master's degree.

Two specialists of the team “Diálogo Social” were invited to the camp of the *Primera Línea* in *Patio Bonito* to hold one of the classes and to give insight on their project. They also participated in the organization of some classes and helped with the communication and media production of the final video that was presented at the graduation ceremony to the members of the *Primera Línea* in December 2021 (see video link annex 4 for a good impression on the intervention).

Project “Refortalecimiento de Capacidades Comunitarias para la Convivencia y Reconciliación” (PAZ)

The project, which “hosted” the emergency project with the *Primera Línea* *Patio Bonito* officially (despite the collaboration of different other organizations and programs) was the one that I realized my internship in. The project's official title can be translated as “Colombian Peace Program: Construction of Peace and Reconciliation processes in Colombia” and is financed by Caritas Norway³⁵. For the sake of comprehensibility, it is titled as project PAZ within the SNPS. Overall, project PAZ introduces and conducts peacebuilding activities in 29 different communities all over the territory of Colombia. The project's duration is three years (2020-2023). For 2021 / 2022 the focus is set mainly on the work towards peaceful coexistence and reintegrational community processes between former FARC-combatants and victim communities in the mainly socio-economically problematic and insecure departments of Arauca, Huila, Cauca, Tolima, Caquetá, Nariño and Putumayo.

The program aims at “three indispensable changes” in order to achieve a sustainable peacebuilding impact:

“1) That local communities **transform conflicts and strengthen their coexistence** to be able to work together in the development of their communities.

³⁵ The SNPS has been working together with Caritas Norway since 1998 and already established various peacebuilding projects together.

2) That communities can **participate actively and safely in public spaces in decision-making** at the local or national level without fearing for their lives and those of their families.

3) That the communities **have the knowledge and tools to continue their advocacy work for peace building** in the implementation of the PDET³⁶ and the VJNR³⁷ system and improve the protection of social leaders and human rights and environmental defenders” (SNPS / Caritas Norway, 2020).

The main program activities within PAZ are specified in annex 6.

The team works, according to the institutional strategy, with a broad range of tools and exercises in the communities, including those already mentioned such as the “futuro deseado” or community life plans, called “plan de vidas”. These can be defined as “collective, differential and integral strategic planning instruments of a community, village or grassroots community organization. The team members start with a reflection on their reality and history to determine the vision of the future and the development they wish to achieve, and also define strategies, actions and the timeframe to achieve it” (ibid).

The PAZ project work frame allowed the spontaneous inclusion of the educational process with the Primera Línea in Patio Bonito, however the special working plan was set up in collaboration with different actors.

3.2 Actors, context, and structure of the project: “Nada para las PL, sin las PL”

Actors involved in the project

Before systematizing the project experiences during the formation process with the PL Patio Bonito Resiste, it shall be important to understand the structure of the project, the different actors that participated in the process and the context, that the project was realized in.

³⁶ **PDET** = Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial. “*The Territorially Focused Development Programs aim to stabilize and transform the territories most affected by violence, poverty, illicit economies and institutional weakness, and thus achieve the rural development required by these 170 municipalities*” (translated from Spanish) Gobierno de Colombia (2021).

³⁷ **VJNR** = Sistema integral de justicia, reconciliación y no repetición. The comprehensive system of Truth, Justice and Non-Repetition, “*is a system composed of different judicial and extra-judicial mechanisms that will be implemented in a coordinated manner in order to achieve the greatest possible satisfaction of the rights of the victims of the armed conflict, ensure accountability for what happened, guarantee the legal security of those who participate in the Integral System and contribute to guaranteeing coexistence, reconciliation and non-repetition of the conflict and thus ensure the transition from armed conflict to peace*” (translated from Spanish) Departamento Administrativo de la Función Pública (2022).

Uni Monserrate

The Monserrate University Foundation – UNI MONSERRATE- is a private Catholic Higher Education Institution governed by the Archdiocese of Bogotá (Fundación Universitaria Monserrate, n.d.). In its management report of 2020 one can find the following details: in the first semester of 2020 there were 1836 existing and new students registered, with about 80 % of the students female and with almost all students from estrato 1, 2 and 3, the lowest socioeconomic classes in Colombia³⁸ (Fundación Universitaria Monserrate). In 2021 the university ranked on place 151 of the country's ranking list (Uni Rank, 2021) , which shows that it is not one of the higher ranked universities of Colombia, but rather considered by students from low and middle class families. It is however still a private university that charges considerable student fees. A social work degree for example costs around 800 USD per semester, taking into account that a degree takes at least 7 semesters plus the additional fees for the inscription and the graduation, etc. This means the high level of expenses, often does result into a long-term debt for the average Colombian student and his or her family³⁹.

During the marches of the Paro Nacional, two Social Work lecturers from this university, established an unplanned first contact with the young people of the PL Patio Bonito. They recognized the complex situation of these adolescents and developed a plan to offer political education and support, in order to enable them to bring their demands forward and to develop a better understanding of the general political context. One of the teachers explained the beginnings like this:

“By then the idea arose to locate an initial group of people with whom we could talk, and what we saw at first was that there was a lot of resistance and the young people were more into direct action rather than reflection. So, let's say that this opened up our stage to reflect with some young people, especially those from Patio Bonito. There we began to see that there were many gaps in terms of understanding the reasons why they were outraged. Well, they knew that they were outraged and they knew “the why” on a daily basis, but they did not understand in structural terms what had happened, that is, why all the things they were upset about had happened”⁴⁰.

³⁸ In Colombia there are 6 “estratos”, which can be equated with income classes and reflect the socioeconomic situations of the housing sector. The higher the number, the better the living conditions; the lower the number, the worse the living conditions. The middle class in Colombia therefore usually ranges between 3 and 4.

³⁹ For reference, the minimum wage in Colombia equals around 200 USD per month.

⁴⁰ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) See transcript of interview, page 2, item 2.

The lecturers needed cooperation partners for a project of this kind, so they used the strong bonds within the Archdiocese of Bogotá, which the Uni Monserrate also belongs to, and presented the project idea and the necessity to help to the SNPS. Rosa Inés, the Program Director stated:

“And that is where I said to them, we have all the disposition to support the Primeras Líneas, but as you are the ones who already have contact and have established trust with them, make the approach and propose, because on our part there is interest, desire and offer to help, but we are absolutely not going to force anything. We already knew that the matter was not easy, that those young people were not really educated, that they were not so clear about what they wanted. [...]. This process that I wanted to do with Patio Bonito, seemed to me most likely to be somehow adopted by the PAZ program. And this is the reason why it directly became included into the PAZ program. Yes, but it was clearly along this way, that the dialogue with Uni Monserrate, with the profes Kempes and Ingrid began”⁴¹.

FICONPAZ

The “Fundación Instituto para la Construcción de la Paz” - FICONPAZ - is an organization of the Archdiocese of Bogotá, created “with the objective of contributing to the construction of a culture of peace in Colombia”. The foundation was founded in 1996 and is headed and legally represented by Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao Gaviria.

The mission of FICONPAZ, according to their own statements, is “to train, to promote and to accompany citizens so that they develop the capacities to lead social and political transformation processes within the framework of a culture of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Colombia, based on the Gospel and the Social Doctrine of the Church” (FICONPAZ, 2022).

FICONPAZ develops its actions in conjunction with the National Secretariat of Social Pastoral - Caritas Colombia and with local organizations of the Catholic Church (ibid).

As the organization has had experiences in the work with youth projects and processes of political education, they also became involved in the training with the PLPB and provided a large part of the organizational resources for it. According to the Program Director Rosa Inés, FICONPAZ was “born thinking of the youth” (page 5, item 31), its programs are suitable for the

⁴¹ Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022) See transcript of interview, page 3, item 18.

work with Primeras Líneas, so FICONPAZ was the right partner for this project. Future community work with Primeras Líneas should also be organized by them (Program Director Rosa Inés, 2022).

The project with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste, proposed and supported by the Uni Monserrate and with the support of FICONPAZ came into being by the end of August 2021 and was called “Nada para las PL, sin las PL” - nothing for the PL without the PL. The name resulted from the fact, that the empowerment of the group was one of the critical preconditions for the project. That meant a committee of the Primera Línea was directly involved in the development of the working plan and the contents of the educational sessions. The program Director Rosa Inés Floriano stated in the interview, that everything was consulted with the Uni Monserrate and the PLPBR, *“this is why it’s called nothing for the PL, without the PL, it was my expression and I told them from the beginning that it had to be like this. This meant “let’s do something with them” or rather everything together with them, but they will have to respond what they want and what they are ready to do”*⁴².

Context of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste

The camp, where the group lived and where the formation had to take place was situated in Patio Bonito in the locality of Kennedy, in the south of Bogotá, one of the most difficult and insecure neighborhoods of Bogotá. Historically Patio Bonito always had belonged to the zones on the outskirts of Bogotá with most crime, murder, “social cleansing”, and other forms of social violence (Pabón Suárez, 2021). Already in the first quarter of 2021, there were 6428 thefts reported in Patio Bonito, which is the highest number of all areas belonging to the capital of Bogotá. On average there are four murders per day in Bogotá. Kennedy also ranks among the six localities that are most affected and where 64% of all homicides are committed. (El Espectador - Redacción Bogotá, 2021).

Most of the young participants of the Primera Línea in Patio Bonito, aged between 14 and 28 years, originally come from different Colombian cities such as Cali, Barranquilla, Pasto, Villavicencio or from Bogotá. Furthermore, the PL included young Venezuelan migrants. At the time of the intervention, the group lived in their self-constructed “humanitarian camp” (tents under a plastic sheeting) under precarious conditions without water or electricity. We, a team of

⁴² Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022). See transcript of interview, page 3, item 18.

three professionals from SNPS and two “profes”⁴³ from the Uni Monserrate, first visited the group on site on 31st of August 2021. During this visit we observed very hostile behavior and communication towards everyone, who was “against” them, and heard about the intentional use of violence against the state authorities directly. Due to the “radicalization” aspect, the project was also referred to as “emergency project” in order to find ways to transform these violent behaviors towards more pacifistic ways of interaction (“Proyecto de emergencia para transformar hacia lo pacífico” – Program Director SNPS - Aug 2021).

According to the SNPS, the Primera Línea’s “action has been strengthened by the process of a growing collective identity around some characteristics they share, such as being victims of the armed conflict, not having strong family networks, and making key demands for the exercise of their rights, such as guaranteed access to employment and educational opportunities” (SNPS / Caritas Colombiana, 2021g). In other words, most of the members of this PL came together basically, because they did not know where else to go. Almost all of them came from other resistance groups or Primeras Líneas which dissolved or from where they were expelled. Some of them had lived on the street, most of them did not have contact to their families, or were supported by them. The general educational level was very low and so none of them had good future prospects. We could observe that there was a lot of drug consumption, mainly cannabis and the food situation was more than precarious. They were without financial resources and often had to endure hunger.

In the beginning of the project, they still believed in the idea of the Primeras Líneas, they wanted to be heard and they wanted to have opportunities and to be included in the society. They ensured us that they felt like a family and although we could observe a hierarchy within the group (with a strong exclusive leader and one very aggressive member, responsible for the “security” of the camp) the collectivity seemed to be united and motivated to work with us. Although the circumstances were difficult a community process with this group seemed urgent and necessary.

⁴³ “Profe” is the Spanish abbreviation for professor or teacher, and very commonly used in Colombia for every kind of teacher. Basically, all professionals that participated in the project were called “profe” by the young persons, and even internally the SNPS professionals and I would call the Uni Monserrate lecturers like this.



Picture 2: Precarious camp of the PLPBR – October 2021 (own picture)

Structure of the project

After the first visit in the camp, we decided to start the educational process with the group consisting of 14 members without further delay and according to their requirements. Three SNPS experts, the two lecturers of the University of Monserrate and three members of the PL met in September to develop the working plan for the training contents. The training did not start until October, due to internal problems that strongly and negatively impacted the group spirit⁴⁴.

A summary in English of the final working document “Nada para las PL, sin las PL” is attached as annex 7. It contains all official sessions from October to December, with the 03rd of December as the last day and the date of the graduation. In total, there were 16 working sessions during those two months, however there were some alterations to the content and dates, when in November new problems within the group arose, which will be detailed later on.

It was agreed that the Uni professors would take over the teaching sessions on Friday mornings (9-12 a.m.) and that the FICONPAZ colleague and I would participate in these sessions as well.

⁴⁴ Shortly before the training was supposed to start, the group had received a considerable amount of money from the SNPS to overcome structural problems, such as the food and hygiene issues. This donation was part of the humanitarian assistance fund they manage for extreme occasions. For mobilization reasons the group bought a motorcycle from the money, but then one of the most committed members took off with the motorcycle and was never seen again.

The units on Wednesday mornings (9-12 a.m.) were carried out by the head of the PAZ project, the FICONPAZ colleague and me. As the project had developed rather spontaneously, the professionals still had their daily business and full agendas but somehow managed to implement the training process with the Primera Línea “on top” of their work.

In the following chapter on the case study, the positive and negative aspects of the project will be shown much clearer, with a systematization of all the experiences with the PL. The execution of the training will be categorized into different sub-chapters such as time management and contents of the training, human and material resources and group dynamics and leadership of the PL. The team and the working experience of all team members will be analyzed, the financial situation of the project is taken into account and there will be a closer look into the dynamics and the settings within the group of the PL Patio Bonito, and their violent collective behavior and internal group problems. Finally, it shall be shown how all persons involved perceived the project experiences on a personal and on an emotional level as well as capture their personal vision of the Primeras Líneas in Colombia in general and what future perspectives they see for them.

4. Case Study – Systematization of the project experiences with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste - August to December 2021

4.1. Analysis of the execution of the training

The officially formulated objectives of the training with the Primera Línea, as stated in the working plan, were:

- 1) to promote reflections and strategies of solution and action in the face of the concrete problems of the community,
- 2) to develop competences that facilitate the theoretical-political approach to relate with other social movements, political parties and state institutions, and
- 3) to encourage work among young people for political advocacy and local planning.

The strategic vision of the project was that the participants after the educational training should be able to replicate the training exercises; that is to say, their function should be to become replicators of the learned contents. It was planned that the young people should acquire knowledge of techniques and/or methodologies for community work; therefore, in each meeting

the plan included together with the transmission of the content, also the work on a tool from a "toolbox", which was developed as part of the specific working plan for the group and the project. Those pedagogically valid tools (also referred to as methodology), included among others, the “mapping” (**cartography**) of one’s own history and the history of the PLPBR in the first session, a **participatory timeline** of the Colombian history on social movements, a “**dream map**” to identify individual and collective wishes and how to achieve them, **actor mapping** to identify involved actors and the kind of relations with them, and the tool **sociodrama** to reflect on personal stigmatization and its effects artistically. Next to the methodology and topic of each session, the working plan would mention the objectives of the corresponding session and leave space for observations and notes for the required materials. Furthermore, the plan stated whose turn it was, or rather which organization was responsible to hold the session. The following excerpt of the plan exemplary shows one session (see working plan) (SNPS / Uni Monserrate, 2021).

DATE	Topic	Methodology (Toolbox)	Objectives	Observations	Materials	Responsible
08.10	1. Me, this PL and the other guys that are in the streets with us Individual and collective memory: From my personal history to a community project.	Cartography (Myself, We as PLPBR / Young persons)	* (Re)construct and make visible the individual stories that made the birth of the PLPBR possible. * Identifying the collective projects that emerged from the birth of the PLPBR		Flip charts Colored markers Cardboard "Bibliographic" cards Tape Scissors Colored sheets	UniM – Caritas

Table 1: Exemplary session, excerpted from the work plan and translated into English

In my opinion, the plan, which included the collection of the topics of interest from the young PL members, was comprehensive and worked out well by the professionals.

For the institution, one of the internal goals, as already mentioned, was to minimize the range of violent behaviors towards others and to encourage these young people to see dialogue as an alternative or even more as the only means to promote individual and collective changes.

In the semi-structured interviews with the persons involved (five professionals and the two PL members Poncho and Caracas⁴⁵ who participated in the training sessions), the focus was on their personal experiences during the project. Next to open questions on different aspects, e.g., their personal background, how they came to be part of the project, their expectations of the training, etc., the participants of the interviews were asked to rate some categories with grades between 1 and 10. In the following subsections, after a brief general description of the respective category, the respondents' evaluations of the topics and the reason for their grade will be highlighted.

4.1.1. Time management and contents

The considerations on the time management and the contents of the executed training project with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito, include different aspects such as time for the preparation of the classes, timeline and frequency of the classes or the time for follow-ups and evaluation of the project. The personal opinion of the interviewed persons on the contents of the classes regarding comprehensibility, progress and utility of the lessons and / or topics were also included, and where suitable, personal observations were added.

Preparation, development and follow-up of the training sessions

Time management was evaluated by the professionals and by the two interviewed members of the PL equally. Both groups gave time management intermediate grades. The professionals evaluated this category between 5 and 7 (out of ten) and the two young men with 5 and 8. The common tenor was that there was too little time for everything, starting with the preparation time for the project and the context analysis and ending with the missing time for evaluation. In total, the whole project only was set up for three months and as it started later than planned, the effective execution time and formation was reduced to hardly eight weeks.

“In this regard I felt, that we had to run, to run with all we had planned, but they never managed to process the information, one topic after the other. I think the topics were pretty wide, therefore it would have been necessary not only to touch them within one single session”⁴⁶.

One professional of the SNPS also expressed, that they underestimated the context and thus the shortage of time for the project execution: *“In fact, three months were not enough to realize*

⁴⁵ As these are pseudonyms, I was allowed to name them in this chapter. The professionals, apart from the Program Director, will only be named by their title or their abbreviated surnames in the following.

⁴⁶ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022). See transcript of interview, page 3, item 37.

this accompanying process. One thinks that within three months one is capable of teaching them things, but you need to consider their low level of education. Well, we had a lot of guys who hadn't finished school, some of them were not able to write correctly. This is why I also feel that this is one fact that limited us pretty much. Their missing ability to read and write well, at an age of 18, 20, 23, because they would only attend school until first or third grade of the primary school. Although we had all the good intentions and our methodology always was clear and easy to understand"⁴⁷.

In fact, the external circumstances and internal group dynamics did not always allow us to hold the lesson, as it was planned for that day. In some occasions the young persons were not prepared for class, were under the influence of drugs, had just gotten up or had quarreled earlier and would not speak to another or had not had breakfast or anything to eat in a while. Sometimes the weather conditions would prohibit a regular educational session, very often the sun was hitting fiercely and we all ran the risk of a heat stroke, or sometimes it was raining so heavily, that the whole crew and the educators had to seek shelter in the small camp. Once, we found most of the PL members hurt from a battle against the ESMAD, the day before, thus it was impossible to hold a session with them.

"The dynamics of the classes always varied according to the conditions of the group. One day we arrived to hold our lesson, so we went there, all together, in order to construct something with them - and I will never forget this Friday, because out of 19 guys, there were 13 injured, 12 beaten up with open wounds, not able to move"⁴⁸.

One of the young PL members recognized the distraction of the group as well: *"And most of the times, it was our fault that we could not have a full class, because of the disorder or just because we were so focused on the food issue. There was always something going on. Here I feel, that we would have needed more time*"⁴⁹.

Both members of the PL, who were interviewed independently from each other, stated that they would have wanted more extensive sessions and more often per week. According to them, they would have liked a real "school-like" formation process in order to *"learn more things, and have more lessons"*⁵⁰. Both of them mentioned the missing discipline and engagement from the PL's side, which will be examined later on in detail. *"Out of 10, I'd give 5, because I say if you at least had offered class three times per week or if we had put more hours, we would have felt more obligation for being more disciplined. Like in a real school. Do you understand? On the*

⁴⁷ Direct quote Profesional SNPS Claudia R. (2022). See transcript of interview, page 4, item 33.

⁴⁸ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, page 6, item 46.

⁴⁹ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 5, item 65.

⁵⁰ Direct quote PL member 2 Poncho (2022). See transcript of interview, page 2, item 40.

opposite we... well, the training started at 9, and we got ready at 10 or 11 o'clock. This is why we didn't do our full part"⁵¹.

Regarding the general time management, one of the professionals in the interview also was criticizing the lack of time for follow-ups on the sessions among the professionals. *"We as a team did not manage to do all the planning and evaluating, because time was really tight, sometimes. I think we did not see the necessity to do frequent evaluations of the exercises we realized in order to be able to connect all the exercises that would follow"*⁵².

As the project had been set up as "emergency process", all professionals had their daily work load to do and did the education training with the PL on top. The SNPS colleague beheaded the PAZ project with 29 peace initiatives all over the country and the FICONPAZ colleague had several other projects and communities to visit every week. On occasion the university lecturers even had to give online classes via their cell phone while we were at the camp. As a team we basically, only (on Fridays) had the car ride from the camp back to the office to talk over what had happened this week and how we perceived the dynamics and situations during the class. Mostly, we used this time slot to talk about the individuals in the group and how we perceived their personal state that day or if one of us had the opportunity to talk in private about the most recent concerns with any of them, as all of the members of the PL had lots of personal issues that needed to be solved.

The training was carried out consistently, however we always acted according to the social work principle "disorders have priority". In other words, very often apart from the teaching task, there were many other things to solve with and for the PL members.

Contents and methodology of the sessions

As already stated above, the educational team followed a working plan, which was worked out together with members of the PL before, in order to cover the topics, they had asked for. *"We pulled out the topics that they wanted to work on, such as the history of Colombia, Human Rights and we also put in a little bit of the approach on social transformation of conflicts, which is part of the Secretariat's intervention strategy and ready [was the plan]"*⁵³.

The fact that the educational plan was set up together with the group, added a lot of value to the program and was recognized in terms of empowerment and self-awareness of the Primera Línea as a political actor. As the team was very motivated and willing to transform the group's

⁵¹ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 4, item 63.

⁵² Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022). See transcript of interview, page 4, item 39.

⁵³ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022). See transcript of interview, page 2, item 21.

situation, they put a lot of effort in the implementation of the classes. One professional stated: *“Well, I think, in terms of the contents, the topics were not imposed by the organization but the topics were proposed by the collective itself and this was appreciated a lot. Because you do not get there with a recipe like pulling something out of the magic hat, saying that is the way how to do it right, no, the way was defined by them. The planning, well a “working plan” was made with the topics that should be talked about in every session and also the methodology and the expected aim of every session was very clear. Here I feel that in this part of the planning we were very compromised, in respecting the timeline of the sessions. We never were like “Well, today we cannot hold this session”, from our side there were never problems, we always were available and willing. The methodological development [of the classes] also was very good, we always had an agenda and a plan on how to “open up” the space [with a warm-up exercise], then how to work on the topic. If necessary and possible we brought helping materials such as videos or presented other things [to explain the topic]”⁵⁴.*

However, the general category of the contents was received and evaluated differently among the interviewed persons, and especially two professionals had a very critical perspective of the workshop implementation or rather on the final result of the real learnings that were taken from the sessions by the Primera Línea members. One of the teachers only gave 4 points in this category, explaining that she thinks that we were not really effective in what we did. The plan was good, but in the end, it had to be changed a lot and was not put into practice by all of those who had set it up. *“And one should have been more rigorous in terms of focusing on historical comprehension, economics, data and numbers and so on. I do think this is necessary as well. Of course, [one needs to] transmit [those contents] in an understandable way for them, as we had persons who never went to school. However, I think it would be important to bring those topics closer to these persons, too”⁵⁵.*

The other professional puts it like this: *“Yes, well the process was turning out to be a lot of education, but we did not generate anything [bigger], did we? Well, it was like, let’s do the session...but what happened after the session? This is why we were so emphatic to say that we should continue the work on designing a life plan or the desired future, as for the young persons it was so hard to have a dream, to see their future, right? But it was as if we tried a lot, but they always forgot what we had talked about and we did not manage to make progress with this. It was very difficult. Obviously, it had to do with the conditions in which they have been living in*

⁵⁴ Direct quote Profesional SNPS Claudia R. (2022) See transcript of interview, page 5, item 43.

⁵⁵ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022). See transcript of interview, page 5, item 45.

ever since. Well, yes, let's say there was an educational process, but we would have wanted to take them further, to another point where one starts to transform relations, transform conflicts and realities, as we do it normally. But I guess in that first phase a mere educational process was necessary"⁵⁶.

As one of the main goals of the project was to plan and offer an educational training to the Primera Línea on topics they were interested in and according to "Nada para las PL, sin las PL", the other interviewed persons, especially the members of the PL, considered this goal met.

So, the overall evaluation among those persons was set at 9 points out of 10. One teacher said: *"The contents in terms of the theoretical structure seemed very good to me, I would give 9 points here, however for the realization and development of the lessons I would give a 7, because it depended a lot on the group dynamics"*⁵⁷. The two young men, both commented on their favorite class, which was the one about Human Rights. It included the realization on how we ourselves often cross the border and infringe others' rights and how others infringe our innate rights in daily life, in particular during the violent clashes with the police or other actors.

The class on October 20th was called "Human Rights are the most disrespected rights"⁵⁸. After a warm-up exercise and a theoretical presentation on Human Rights, a team exercise was introduced, where all groups had to build a little puppet with balloons and every balloon had one Human Right written on it. Afterwards each of those balloons was pierced by one of the group members, who had experienced such a right infringed and was asked to talk about what had happened.

*"Yes absolutely, the whole education was cool, I really liked when we did the exercise with the balloon puppet"*⁵⁹.

What the young men and women apparently also liked very much were the warm-up exercises or so-called "ice-breakers" realized at the beginning of every session. *"I always liked the beginning of the class"*⁶⁰. They were very helpful, to create a more uniting atmosphere and to bring the group on to the same level of attention and into a "learning mood" again.

⁵⁶ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022) See transcript of interview, page 6, item 59.

⁵⁷ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, page 8, item 70.

⁵⁸ The video in annex 4 shows some scenes from this session.

⁵⁹ Direct quote PL member 2 Poncho (2022). See transcript of interview, page 3, item 50.

⁶⁰ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 4, item 55.

“The ice-breakers, those games we played were really great. Because we, before you guys arrived at the camp [...] might have fought with each other and nobody talked to each other. And with those ice-breakers all of us participated and we started to talk again. This is why I liked it a lot. I liked all activities that united us more as a group and also those competitions between two groups. For example, I really liked the exercise with the balloons”⁶¹.

According to the interviewed PL members, the content conveyed in the sessions was understandable and interesting, although, in the end they would not remember much of it – at least in the professional’s perception. Caracas stated: *“When it comes to understanding, I did understand a lot of things. In some topics I remained a little doubtful. But normally I would not ask, because I was ashamed or I felt that it’s simply not my right, not my business to ask this. However, I always felt that you guys explained everything very well, and that there was the possibility, if anybody would not understand something, to raise the hand and ask, but at least I would never ask anything”⁶².*

When asked if he had problems to understand what was taught, Poncho stated: *“No, everything they explained was easy and I understood it well”*. When asked if he was ashamed to ask, he simply said: *“Not at all, everything was clear”⁶³*. Poncho was the most attentive student of the whole group, he would not say much, but took note of everything and really tried hard to follow every exercise accurately. His fine and noble manner, despite his difficult life story has earned him a lot of respect and affection from the professionals. As he is an introverted young man and never speaks up, the interview with him also was pretty short and his answers were limited to the essential.

Although the strategic vision of the project was to use the educational process with the Primera Línea in the sense of a “train the trainer”⁶⁴ program, most of the contents were not retained by the young persons in such a way to pass it on to others. The sessions they pointed out to remember most in the interview were in addition to the Human Rights session, the one on the history of Colombia, where we worked with a timeline as well as the session on the desired future that included a matrix on how to transform personal conflicts and life plan goals.

⁶¹ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 4, item 57.

⁶² Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 6, item 81.

⁶³ Direct quotes PL member 2 Poncho (2022). See transcript of interview, page 3, item 53-55.

⁶⁴ That means, they were supposed to be able to multiply the learned information among other youth groups by means of the tools they were taught.

Caracas referred to the matrix: *“Yes, I look at what I am doing now and where I am now and how much time I will need to do this or that ... these are like tools that you can always use, keep using them in order to analyze yourself better and write it down and know with a good feeling that I managed to do this or that thing and now I have to do this or that thing”*⁶⁵.

And Poncho too confirmed that the timeline exercise was useful to him: *“Well, starting with a time line one can start to create your own time line and plan your own future to go on”*⁶⁶.

Caracas, the only Venezuelan member of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito in the training, additionally stated: *“I also learned a lot about Colombia, that I didn’t know before. [...] well, if one almost knows nothing about Venezuela, less about Colombia. I learned a lot about Colombia, it’s a cool country. Always had its own little internal war”*⁶⁷.

Concluding this section, one can see that it simply was a too short period of time for the broad selection of contents in the training phase with the Primera Línea. Many topics were really important but could not be treated in depth and in a way that the young persons would retain sustainably. Although the educational process was planned and executed with a profound and valuable theoretical framework and a carefully selected methodology, the perception of the categories in terms of time management and contents was not as positive as one would assume. The feeling arose, that in the end the project was not sustainable and the outcome was different than expected. The group dynamics, the low educational level and the individual personal problems of each PL member, were unknown before the training was started or were underestimated in the planning. A longer project duration with fewer topics would have been more suitable for this group.

4.1.2. Human and material resources

Working Background and Experiences

Before examining the results of the evaluated category “resources”, it is also interesting to have a look on the working backgrounds and experiences of the involved professionals who worked with the Primera Línea. On the one-hand there were the two lecturers of the Universidad Monserrate with an educational background as social scientist and social worker, politically very active also on a personal level and with many years of experience in teaching and working

⁶⁵ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 6, item 85.

⁶⁶ Direct quote PL member 2 Poncho (2022). See transcript of interview, page 4, item 68.

⁶⁷ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 3, item 42.

with young persons. On the other hand, there were the professionals of the Catholic Church organizations SNPS and FICONPAZ, a political scientist and a social worker with experiences in community work, social development and peace-building processes according to the intervention strategy of the SNPS and experiences from other political community projects. And there was me, a foreign intern from a different continent and culture, with social work and educational experiences in Germany and a basic insight on Colombia's structural problems but without former experience with violent youth groups. All members of the team were aged between 28 and 37 years, with several years of work experience but still with a juvenile spirit, which might be important to reconsider for the complex teaching setting.

The SNPS Program Director Rosa Inés Floriano, responsible for over 50 projects in the “area of comprehensive and solidary human development”, who in the end made the decision to realize the project and gave the final permission, counts on almost 22 years of peace-building experience and is one of the direct apprentices of John Paul Lederach⁶⁸. In the interview she explained her educational process with Lederach like this: *“He “adopted” me, we really created a very nice bond, as a student-teacher and then we have continued to build a lot of knowledge together. I, from the experience, and of course mirroring the experience and my learning with his wisdom, with all his academic knowledge. In fact, I contributed to some of the documents that he has elaborated, especially in the documentation of practices, in systematizations and well, it is because of this that I made my school with him, a more experiential school than anything else”*⁶⁹. She admitted that opening up the way to the realization of this politically delicate project from an official side, caused a lot of fear and insecurity in her, as it also involved unconventional methods. All of this could only be realized through a great deal of trust and her enormous standing within the institution. She said we walked *“in an unexplored terrain”* and that it needed *“the willingness to risk what peace demands”* that is why she dared to accept the project. *“It was really there that we had to walk and continue in the search for alternatives that could be found”*⁷⁰.

⁶⁸**John Paul Lederach** (*1955) is widely known for his pioneering work in peace building studies, conflict transformation and his reconciliation work in many different countries worldwide, he holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Colorado. The American Professor Emeritus of International Peacebuilding of the KROC Institute for International Peace Studies has published more than 20 books in this field (see <https://kroc.nd.edu/faculty-and-staff/john-paul-lederach/>).

⁶⁹ Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022). See transcript of interview, page 1, item 5.

⁷⁰ Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022) See transcript of interview, page 4, item 31.

The Team

When asking the involved persons to rate and assess the resources for the project, including the team staff, the material, financing and space, all of them rated this category pretty high.

The team was mentioned several times in a positive way by the professionals: *"We were all very committed, we "gave our all" (as we say in Colombia colloquially), or "shouldered the burden together", with a 24/7 disposition, and I would give it a 10 for this"*⁷¹. One "profe" confirmed with a little side joke on me: *"Yes, we had a great team, we even had a little foreigner with us"*⁷² and the other Uni lecturer stated that *"the knowledge that some members of the team already had, about how to build life plans, to teach how to build a life plan, I think this was a positive element"*.

*"I felt we were very much in sync. [...], really the teamwork was very good, I felt that we could talk to each other, that we could kind of express everything that was going on, we had the trust, we felt that we could rely on each other. Very good on this side"*⁷³.

Caracas and Poncho also expressed their gratitude with the involved staff, *"the truth is that all 5 were excellent, I had no disagreements with any of them. As I already mentioned in the beginning, I didn't have the confidence to talk to any of them. But then all five of them seemed to me to be super, super excellent"*⁷⁴.

Personally, I do feel that the team worked well together, however there were some differences of opinion during the project that were assessed or communicated differently by the university lecturers than by the Caritas team. This led to some disagreements among the professionals. Since I was part of the SNPS team and therefore not an entirely neutral interviewer, it is probable that only one interviewed person mentioned these discrepancies directly to me. One of the main critiques was the apparent "welfarism" (asistencialismo) that the two lecturers or in the end the whole team fell into. As the Primera Línea members had many needs, it became a habit that, in addition to the educational sessions, money was requested for various things such as for a new protective film for the camp, for medicines, for food, for mobility issues, and so on. The team found it difficult to refuse these requests, although the demands from the leader's side became bigger and bigger and at some point, seemed to be more important than the educational

⁷¹ Direct quote Profesional SNPS Claudia R. (2022). See transcript of interview, page 5, item 39.

⁷² Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, page 10, item 96.

⁷³ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022). See transcript of interview, page 9, item 86.

⁷⁴ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 5, item 77.

process. The project ran the risk of turning into a mere welfare project that was financing a (radical) Primera Línea. This was seen very critically by the Caritas and Ficonpaz colleagues and so the professionals tried to maintain a balance, giving money only for the most necessary things, but at the same time following the important principle of “helping people to help themselves” and focus on the desired empowerment approach in order to empower these young people to liberate themselves and go their own peaceful way. Interestingly enough, one of the lecturers recognized this mistake of wanting to give them everything, in order to receive their commitment in the interview, although he thought, being a social worker, that he would never fall into this trap of welfarism. *“Yes, well I think you have to take this experience with you, but also be very critical with yourself, and this self-critique in my case is, that I will be criticizing myself for the welfarism”*⁷⁵.

Another critical point in this category of team and human resources is the fact that none of the team members was a psychologist. During the project it soon became clear that we would have needed psychological assistance with and for the young persons of the Primera Línea and for the professionals. *“The psychosocial component is essential in these programs and none of us is specialized in this, thus we did it from our intuitions and surely, we have done some damage whereas the intention was to “do no harm”. I think here we have to be very critical because we asked questions and maybe we opened wounds that we could not close”*⁷⁶. The do-no-harm approach, that “profe” Ingrid mentions is a principle that understands “the impact of aid on existing conflicts and its interactions within a particular context, with the goal to limit or prevent unintended negative effects” (Oxfam, 2022). It is one of the basic principles of the SNPS’s peacebuilding work and of Social Work interactions in general.

For me too, the psychological component is an essential point that will be reflected in the lessons learned and in the recommendation for future community projects with Primeras Líneas or other political low-status groups like these.

Material resources

Within the resources category, the term material resources refers to the financing and provision of workshop materials, snacks and drinks for the sessions, as well as the training setting and learning environment, that were rated by the participants.

⁷⁵ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, page 10, item 96.

⁷⁶ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) see transcript of interview, page 5, item 43.

As the leader of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito had demanded, the training took place on site, in the camp in Patio Bonito. The PL, according to the leader's statement, only felt secure in their own environment and would not have trusted the institution, if the process had taken place somewhere else. They were concerned about their safety and did not want to risk leaving the camp unprotected for a while. So, for lack of alternatives and because it would have been difficult organizationally and financially to send the entire group across town (to the SNPS premises), the professionals agreed to holding the training sessions in the camp, although the conditions were obviously not very suitable.

In the beginning everybody was motivated and the PL members would put out old sofas and armchairs, so most of them and us could sit somehow. They had a small whiteboard that was used to write down the most important notes of the class. Session by session more materials were added by the team of professionals, some plastic chairs were organized, two foldable tables and writing materials such as notepads, pens, markers and other accessories were handed out, including a big plastic box, where they could keep their materials dry and protected until the next class. Over time, motivation and morale waned and the materials disappeared or were no longer maintained, so their condition deteriorated visibly. This lack of appreciation caused disappointment and anger among the professionals, as the young persons did not seem to care for the things that were bought or borrowed only for them.

In terms of financing those materials, the budget was covered by funds of Caritas Norway (through the PAZ project), which also included the expenses for snacks and drinks during the weekly sessions. Those snacks were much appreciated by the group, as the food situation in the camp was tense. According to the colleague who organized the food, it was important to offer high-quality, filling snacks, in order to show appreciation. She said: *"The issue of resources, let's say was good, the materials and the food, that were guaranteed to the youngsters also allowed us to improve the process. Because they also felt the appreciation. This made them feel important, right? It dignified them a little, that we gave them good material, a good space, that we were in the camp and that we brought a few tables and a few chairs, the whiteboard and the box where they could keep their materials, each one with their own notebook. And this is very good"*⁷⁷. In total she gave 9 out of 10 points, a very high ranking. Poncho and Caracas rated this point also very high, with 8 and 10 points respectively. Poncho said: *"Everything was very good. The food was of course very good, because sometimes we were there without breakfast*

⁷⁷ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022). See transcript of interview, page 9, item 87.

and this helped us to fill our stomachs. The teachers, the professionals taught us many things, they treated us well as people, the materials were good”⁷⁸ and Caracas really expressed his gratitude for the all-inclusive training: “You always brought us all the resources, you brought us the notebooks or crayons for every activity, you brought everything, and we didn't have to put anything at all. Probably if we had to put our part in there, it is likely that we would have messed it up. Everything that had to do with the studies or the activities was organized by you and we just collaborated to do the activity. For all this I give you a 10. Because you were always up to date with everything”⁷⁹.

Next to the weekly sessions, there were several secondary events, such as a Halloween Festival for the children of the neighborhood in Patio Bonito and other events of this kind, that the Primera Línea organized; however, they never had sufficient resources and so Caritas financed the major part of the required materials. In many of those cases, when it came to the organizational part of the events the team of professionals had to support them a lot, too. “Profe” Kempes puts it like this: “I’d give it a 10, [for] all the support of Caritas, [they made] the big purchases for the day of the child, the day of love and friendship, the empanadas, the refreshments, all of this counts for me. Yes, there is no doubt about it, but well we must also say that apart from these resources, getting tables, speakers and all this, implied our self-management. There is also another thing, you have to consider the space [and the distances], remember this day that we went up with all this junk in the car?”⁸⁰ On one occasion, we had to overload Kempes’ small car “Colombian Style”, with a foldable table, some chairs, a speaker, several boxes and the team of five soaking wet professionals, as we were caught in a heavy rain shower during the dismantling of the event. These extraordinary experiences during the project remain particularly strong in the memory of all involved persons.

One of the lecturers was more critical about the execution of the training and gave only 6 points in the category of resources, stating the following: “The resources were requested as they were required, but for example the availability of a space for training is essential, so that people are prepared [to study] in a different way, which was what we realized when we changed the scenery, as there was also a change of attitude. [...] Surely if we had enough time to plan, we would have used the resources differently in the operation”⁸¹.

⁷⁸ Direct quote PL member 2 Poncho (2022). See transcript of interview, page 3, item 44.

⁷⁹ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 5, item 73.

⁸⁰ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, page 7, item 56.

⁸¹ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022). See transcript of interview, page 4-5, item 41.

Here, she referred to the change of scenery in November, when the group had split up and most of them had to leave the camp. For lack of alternatives, we decided to hold the last week of the educational training on the premises of FICONPAZ or rather to take advantage of the good networks of the colleague, which allowed us to use a training room in the parish next to the FICONPAZ office for the rest of the training, in a neighborhood called Fucha, some 40 minutes away from Patio Bonito. This setting was much more adequate to hold the sessions and the remaining group managed to be there on time and participated eagerly.

In the next section there will be a closer look into the group dynamics and the general context of the Primera Línea Patio Bonito, including comments and assessments of the interviewed persons.

4.1.3. Group dynamics and leadership

During the time period between September and December 2021, we could observe several internal issues and three major “scenarios of rupture and reconfiguration” (Profesora Ingrid, 2022) of the group.

“The moment [we arrived at the camp], the group was composed of members of different Primeras Líneas, who somehow appeared and just ended up there, all of them ended up staying there. This is what we found there and what we worked with. That is where the three big ruptures arose, or we could call them four; one was not so evident, it happened when Barranquilla [...] took part of the money that was assigned for all of them, which generated a first rupture. A second rupture happened when the training process was going on, and the group breaks up. Then [there are two groups] those who are left in the camp [with the leader] and those who [have to leave] his camp. And the third, the next break occurred when the remaining group breaks up even more. On the one hand the couple of Mo and Ratona stays in one place and all the others, all the other people in another place”⁸².

It was interesting, but also emotionally intense to understand the backgrounds of each participant better, his or her motivation to join the Primera Línea and how they perceived the police and the military as their arch enemies, thus creating an image that justified the violent attacks they were eager to provoke or participate in.

⁸² Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) See transcript of interview, page 5-6, item 47.

Although they considered themselves as a collective with political demands, there was little willingness to build networks with other Primeras Líneas or seek the contact to supportive organizations or authorities. Their mistrust and missing ability to discuss and dialogue, would not allow them to reach out to bond and progress in any way. The common driver for their violent behavior, more emotional than rational was their hatred and being fed up with what they had lived with all their lives. And the reason why they stayed together as Primera Línea, was that most of them had nowhere else to go, and used this collective as a family substitute. “*So, let's say that in terms of what kept them together as a group there was basically [...] the scenario of living together and sharing this space that they had there as a camp. They all focused on this camp*”⁸³.

Some were in conditions of homelessness [before], some abandoned by their families, etc. and I also feel the fear that each one of them had of leaving this space, as in some way or another, they were provided with a roof over their heads. "A roof" in quotation marks because it was not a dignified place where a human being should be living, but they had some food, as well as some affection from other people”⁸⁴.

In theoretical terms one could see this setting as emotional driver for the collective violent actions, taking into account what Mackert says about the social milieu and the perceived social facts of the group. They have carried this life-long frustration inside, but it is only in the extreme situation of the Paro Nacional, where these young people meet by chance and realize that they all have no future perspectives and that all of them have been exposed to the same injustices in the country. This gives rise to this explosive mixture of emotions including anger, deception, inequality and hatred, which leads, together with the unjustified harshness and approach of the state forces, to the described spiral of violence, and also the “tunnel of violence” in the direct action.

Personal reasons for participating in a PL

Compared to the French youth and their violent rallies in the suburbs, the behavior of the PL's does not have the same origin, although those young people also feel the frustration and inequality of chances, however in France it is paired with racism and topics of cultural backgrounds within the French society, which is not comparable to the situation in Colombia. One essential fact is that the rise of the Primeras Líneas is a phenomenon that has been backed and supported

⁸³ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) See transcript of interview, page 6, item 47.

⁸⁴ Direct quote Profesional SNPS Claudia R. (2022) See transcript of interview, page 3, item 29.

by many people within the Colombian society, the question of why and what they were fighting for (violently), in many cases could not be answered in detail, but all of them wanted opportunities and a change – and, this is worth highlighting - not only for themselves, but for the “Colombian people”, for their mothers, their families, their friends - all those people who have been living in the same miserable conditions as themselves. In one of the essays of the compilation “Voces en Primera Línea”, the 16-year-old PL member Pipe from Cali is cited: *“I know that being in the Primera Línea means giving your life. When I was in PR (Puerta Resistencia) I saw how they murdered a friend. We tried to help him, but the ESMAD always drove us away, so we had to disperse. And when finally the ambulance arrived, the guy already was without a sign of life. It was very hard to see one of us falling. It is scaring, but I am not only doing this for myself. I do it for my mama and for my brothers and sisters”*(translated from Spanish) (p.75) (Los Perros Románticos, 2021).

For the Primera Línea Patio Bonito the reasons for participating in exactly this PL, as already mentioned, was mainly due to the “sense of belonging somewhere and to someone”, and to finally be able to find shelter and protection among people with similar life stories, who would not judge or discriminate.

The quote of “profe” Kempes, expresses this thought quite well: *“Why do they fight? Why do they endure all the time? But, if they tell you, I am staying here because I don't have anything to eat, things change. I am staying here because I have no family, and in the Primera Línea I find family. I'm staying here because I have nowhere to sleep and I don't mind sleeping under this plastic. This all happens at the expense of their bodies. I consider, that the Primera Línea in the end was an emerging family unit, a new category of family thinking, "the family of the others", of these forgotten ones, of these marginalized ones. It would be good to talk about this someday”*⁸⁵.

Collective Violence and the role of emotions

Confirming Hartmann’s observations that social facts influence and determine the groups own perception and often justify their behavior, this, in my opinion, would also count for the Primera Línea Patio Bonito and their violent episodes against authorities. The abuses conducted by the Colombian police against the demonstrators in general and the Primeras Líneas in particular triggered so many emotions, that the reactions were exceedingly violent too and the image of the enemy number one, that was built up in the group, became almost impenetrable for us. The

⁸⁵ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022) . See transcript of interview, item 84, page 9.

PL Patio Bonito Resiste “family” thought themselves better organized and prepared for the marches and the “defense of the people”. The main aim was to destroy, to be aggressive without willingness to discuss anymore. For them, it was enough of suppression and injustice, they did not see any possibility that the general situation and their own situation could get any better. Those deep moral emotions according to Jasper were leading to resignation and hopelessness and would only allow violence and destruction as a response for this group.

“At the beginning one sees them with a "romantic" idea of how they work and what they do, but in time one realizes that they are gathering around an idea, on how they want to destroy. It is not something they want to build, but rather they are very clear about what they do not want and what they want to destroy. [...] This makes their behavior and their statements very aggressive, yes, and they see others as enemies, who have to be destroyed and not as adversaries with whom they can talk”⁸⁶.

In the interviews with the professionals, the resignation or astonishment about the violence factor was apparent and also the difficulty to address and work on that topic in particular, because of the lack of insight and willingness to dialogue in the group. Our focus was set on non-violent communication, humanizing the enemy, conflict management and so on, but little did work in the end.

“And when they began to say that they liked being bullies, liked marching against the police, they liked the disorder, the violence. It gave them adrenaline. I thought they are totally out of focus. If they see a throng [a protest movement] right now, they also leave to join, that is, without being told what the march is about, they leave. Because if there is a crowd, they will be there. So, for me, these men and women are totally out of focus”⁸⁷.

One teacher explains the violence as a kind of misguided rebellion or revolution of this young generation: *“I think it is also a misunderstanding of the young person, who believes that the revolution is made without a just cause, based on a single benefit and this is not the case. So, this [thinking] is difficult, and it implies even more costs for these people when the only thing they have as an objective or as an ideal, is the direct confrontation. The body as a weapon. And this is not feasible”⁸⁸.*

⁸⁶ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) See transcript of interview, item 47, page 5.

⁸⁷ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022) See transcript of interview, item 41, page 4.

⁸⁸ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022) See transcript of interview, item 23, page 3.

In the Primera Línea Patio Bonito the general context of the group paired with an authoritarian leader allowed the use of violence as accepted or rather positively regarded and desired behavior for the group members. They encouraged and pushed each other before each violent confrontation and looked after each other after having participated in attacks during the social protest marches. Those generated and conserved emotions must not be underestimated as triggers and reinforcement for the violent collective actions.

Leadership and internal problems

There was a strict concept of authority within the PL Patio Bonito, that allowed little dissent and individual opinions and aimed at a unified external group image. Although the leader seemed open-minded and very concerned about his group, it gave cause for concern that everyone addressed him as “my leader” and that he had the final say and decision-making power in every matter.

“Then, within the dynamics [...] it also depends on the life stories, when one begins to review the individual life. These young people were going through histories of violent families, social, economic and other types of violence, which explains a little the behaviors that they have. The group ends up being configured also with an idea of authority, which is not negotiated, an imposing authority, which ignores the voices of others, which denies them the spaces of participation, denies them spaces of interlocution and then let's say in terms of dynamics this generates discomforts and a rupture in this group”⁸⁹.

This unquestioned hierarchy led to the fact that only when the accepted leader was on site and gave orders, they would be fulfilled. He would also find ways on how the group could generate money. When it came to work for the group's income however, there was little commitment or willingness to become active, only two or three members got involved and made a little money by recycling trash, doing handicrafts or helping the neighbor with his onions and potatoes. However, this commitment was not appreciated by the others, only the earned money was gladly used for the whole group and taken for granted. Therefore, tensions arose within the group. According to my notes from a conversation in November 2021 with the young people who had done the mentioned work, one could feel the frustration and defiance of not wanting to come up for everyone any longer. As in this session on 17th of November only four persons were

⁸⁹ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) . See transcript of interview, item 47, page 5.

present, and the leader was not among them, they took advantage of the situation and spoke quite frankly about the difficult situation in the camp and the internal problems to us.

Due to that frustration, they stopped to believe in the process of the Primera Línea. A professional put it like this: “[there were only] one or two who worked and all the rest benefitted from them. This became a big problem for them, because it also caused them to become divided, they did not believe in the process of the Primera Línea [any longer]. They admitted that ‘the truth is, we are here, but nobody cares about anything, nobody does anything. We are only going to benefit from one person who works’. It resulted in the fact that they didn’t believe in their own group”⁹⁰.

When they stopped to believe in their “common social project” and lost the sense of their process as Primera Línea as described in the theoretical part (see Revilla Blanco), the project began to crumble.

Only five days after this session, the already mentioned rupture of the group occurred and the leader Cesar literally threw most of the members of the PL out of the camp. He was so enraged that his cell phone was stolen in the camp (this happened in the morning hours after a get-together with others, were apparently all participants were under the influence of drugs), that he put everyone under general suspicion, yelled wild threats at them and threw 10 members out of the camp and out of the PL Patio Bonito. The only one who could stay was his “brother” who actually was his cousin.

Since the two “profes” were in close contact with some of the members via WhatsApp, we quickly learned of the explosive situation and tried to intervene. The following day we scheduled a meeting with each side separately. However, it quickly became clear that there would be no rapprochement of any kind. The details of the talks with both groups (which in general consisted of a big blaming and shaming) will not be mentioned here, but our team was struck by the information and findings about the internal scheming of the group, that we were not aware of before. The group leader Cesar, had embezzled the official funds of Caritas and other donors during the entire period and used them largely for his own purposes, e.g., for private dinners, while the group was hungry in the camp. He also would introduce a lot of illegal ideas on how to fund the group, e.g., wanting to open up a “bazuco kitchen”⁹¹ in the camp.

⁹⁰ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022) See transcript of interview, item 61, page 6.

⁹¹ Bazuco or cocaine base is a very dangerous drug, considered as “cocaine for the poor”, which is very addictive and causes heavy damages on the consumers. As it is produced in Colombia on large scales, it is quite cheap and easy to acquire, see Semana (1983). We estimate that it also was consumed in the camp.

Interestingly enough both groups wanted to finish the training with us. We were talking it over and over in the team, but did not have the capacity to finish it with both sides. So, keeping in mind Cesar's treachery and the sheer number of people, we decided to remove all the borrowed items (like chairs, table, materials) from the camp and created a new training plan and site for the eight remaining participants.

The main problem was that we were running out of time. The sudden break-up of the group and earlier problems such as floodings of the camp had cost us valuable time so that several lessons could not be realized as planned. While the remaining group had to organize a new shelter, we had to find a training space and develop a new plan that compressed all lost hours, in order to meet the date for the planned certification ceremony on December 3rd. So, we started with a full-time education agenda from Monday 29th of November until Thursday 02nd of December, in order to prepare them for their graduation and to support the group that was deeply affected by the experienced break-up. One of the first items on our list was a conversation with Rosa Inés, who came to visit the group in the new training space, in order to talk about the conflictive situation that had occurred among them. She was pointing out the necessity to talk about everything that happened, to be transparent as group, to reestablish contacts with their networks and to define a different kind of leadership for the new group, to build a new Primera Línea with different principles, with defined roles and horizontal communication lines, as not to fall into the same traps again.

It became clear that the training process with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste, and finally with those who were left, was complex and multi-faceted. In general, one could say that for the team it was more Social Work than political education training. We underestimated the situation; we intended to establish trust and build up basic knowledge on different topics while trying to solve other problems that arose continuously. Since the experience was an immersive process for all persons involved, the following paragraphs intend to summarize the project highlights and the lowlights of those who participated, their expectations and emotions during the process and end with their personal general vision of Primeras Líneas in Colombia.

4.2 Individual highlights and lowlights of the project for the persons involved

To start with, both interviewed PL members emphasized that they felt in good hands with the team, they trusted the professionals and felt that they were treated fairly and "at eye level". When listening to them, one could feel that they never before had been listened to and never

had been treated with respect and dignity. This was one of the things that moved me most, and gave me a lot of food for thought.

*“All was organized very well and they knew what they were talking about. In every session. [...] They always educated and always taught us in a way that we could become better persons. Despite of the fact, that one could think, oh well those jerks, why should we help them anyway... They always tried to motivate us and push us to get out of there. To get more people out [of this misery]. On a personal level, in order to build better persons. And we felt that support, this is what stays, this always is going to stay with us.”*⁹² Caracas also was *“thankful to be included into the training”* and that the *“professionals didn’t care about nationalities”*.

Poncho said: *“They treated us well as persons”* and *“I know now that I have rights and nobody should violate them”*. He furthermore appreciated that he *“learned a lot in the training, what he can show to others now and how to solve problems”* and that he was able *“to graduate and receive his certificate”*.

Both appreciated also the secure food situation during the training sessions. Poncho’s highlight was, that we took them to a pizza restaurant in the last week of the training. He admitted that he had not eaten pizza in five years. This moment was really touching, and it became clear that the basic needs of those young persons have certainly not been met for a long time. The lack of love and care, paired with a difficult financial situation and violent environments, drove them to the fringe of society.

“Profe” Kempes said: *“It was a precious experience that a salary can’t pay, we planted a little seed in them, something we left in them”* and *“they learned new things and this created a kind of new identity among them”*. He thinks that for example especially Caracas has changed a lot, he is a different person now.

The FICONPAZ colleague confirms that today: *“It motivates them not only to be Primera Línea, the young persons are now on the way to wanting to be a person with rights, who has access to education, who wants to have a family, that is to say that they have been nourished by this illusion of growing as a person and that, I believe, in a short time they have grown as persons”*. Additionally, *“little by little they became more open to dialogue”*. I would confirm this point, especially after the group had split and was without a leader.

The SNPS colleague also mentioned the little seed of humanity that the team left in the youngsters: *“We fulfilled the educational objectives and we planted that little seed to go on”*. She

⁹² Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b) See transcript of interview, item 79, page 5.

liked that we established a relationship of trust and confidence with the young persons and got to know them better on an individual and personal level. Furthermore, she highlighted the good articulation with the Uni Monserrate and our methodology for the sessions.

“Profe” Ingrid also liked the positive teamwork and the profound knowledge of methodologies within the team. She emphasized the closeness to the youngsters, the equality of relationships that were built and the lack of hierarchies between professionals and students. The inclusive training plan, that was developed and worked out in collaboration with the group, was one of her highlights, *“above all starting from their needs and interests, I think this worked very well”*.

On the other hand, there were also some aspects that were rated negatively. In the interviews I was asking for the obstacles of the project.

The SNPS professional mentioned various aspects, including the time factor, as already mentioned above. Furthermore, she criticized the inconvenient training space, which was not suitable for the educational purpose and that it was not possible to use technological aids e.g., for showing videos or a presentation. She also mentioned the difficult leadership issue, which was manifested in a lack of trust and resulted in them not telling us about their internal problems. *“I feel that at the beginning this leadership was trying to be seen as positive, as encouraging for the process. But at the end of the process, we realized that this leader was not what he pretended to be in the sessions, and there I go again to the issue of trust”*.⁹³

“Profe” Ingrid also recognized, that the misguided leadership imposed the biggest obstacle on the group: *“One of the main challenges or obstacles was the leadership exercised by one of the team members there, which conditioned the assistance of the others. And a little bit also the lack of agency of the others. Yes, because [we worked] the issue of wellbeing, of space, the recognition of their own visibility [...]. Then this very imposing and authoritarian leadership together with the lack of agency of the others, became a great challenge, because basically they ended up doing what the leader said. And precisely one of our interests was, that each one decided autonomously whether to participate or not, and if they wanted to commit themselves or not”*⁹⁴.

One of the main points, that “profe” Kempes mentioned several times very critically, was the training site. The camp as classroom was a crazy experience and not suitable in the eyes of the whole team. He said: *“To be in a place where it smells of humidity, where it smells of drugs,*

⁹³ Direct quote Profesional SNPS Claudia R. (2022) See transcript of interview, item 29, page 3.

⁹⁴ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) See transcript of interview, item 34, page 4.

where it smells of shit, of mud, that is something unpleasant. Yes, it is something unpleasant, but one ends up naturalizing it. In other words, by identifying oneself with the other, one ends up identifying oneself with the space"⁹⁵.

Sarai, the FICONPAZ professional, also mentioned various points, that she considered as challenges for the project. She thought it was not helpful that the group was not willing to look further, that they only moved within their own problems, and thus there were no connections to other networks possible and wanted. The youngsters had great difficulties in thinking of a better future, of desired changes, and about what they wanted to change. They were very pessimistic and had never dared to "dream" before.

According to her, some team members did not always have the right approaches. For example, she mentioned, that she had not approved that "profe" Kempes was smoking with the group. He, however considered this an important part of the learning process or rather a means to gain their confidence. In her opinion inviting them to smoke gives a wrong impression to the young persons.

When asking Caracas and Poncho what they would see as obstacles or challenges of the project, Caracas said, they as group were the challenge. *"Dealing with us is not easy. If the challenge was not easy for you, then because we always had an excuse"* and *"the truth is, we ourselves set the obstacles"*⁹⁶.

Poncho mentioned the bad learning conditions in the camp, and said he liked it much better, when we finally had a class room for the last week of the training and could *"lock us up to understand everything better"*. Both talked about the missing commitment and motivation of the group in general and the internal problems which were caused mainly by the leader.

Experiences and personal feelings

As already stated in the introduction, the experiences with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resistente were very special for all involved persons. When asked for their most memorable experiences and their emotions during the project a wide range of feelings were mentioned.

"Profe" Kempes summarizes this quite literally: *"I think this experience changed all of us – when I'm talking to my students they tell me I'm a different person compared to one year ago"*

⁹⁵ Direct quote Profesor Kempes (2022) See transcript of interview, item 26, page 4.

⁹⁶ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b). See transcript of interview, page 3, items 44 and 46.

– *“The experience was like a rollercoaster, some days going up and some down, quite confrontative, tiring and exhausting for me, but also among the best things that I did in life.”*⁹⁷

Sarai stated: *“When we started to realize the backgrounds of their torn families and that they didn’t have any support, I also felt a strong emotional weight. The financial situation and the welfarism did bring me into conflict with myself”*⁹⁸.

Ingrid said she was feeling anguish and distress due to some external factors, the context and the group, but also moments of happiness. *“I felt all possible emotions during the project, I felt that in some moments I broke down emotionally”*⁹⁹.

All professionals talked about an emotional charge, of being afraid, frustrated, angry, tired or exhausted at some point of the project, but also of the happiness and motivation they felt, when first little changes could be seen and a relationship of trust was established. Certainly, one could notice a certain degree of pride and satisfaction, when eight young men and women finally received their certificate in an official graduation ceremony in December.

“Profe” Ingrid, made an important statement, considering her own privileges in life and how much changes, if you are born into a poor family or into a family with not-favorable conditions in Colombia. *“In personal terms, for example, I take with me the satisfaction of being able to touch the lives of other people, for their transformation and also to be touched by these people and to constantly question the issue of privilege. Of all privileges I have had in life. Because many of the things I have had, have not been because I have worked for them but simply by coincidence that I was born into a family that already had certain conditions. That gives me many privileges in personal terms”*¹⁰⁰.

Both boys were grateful for the possibility of the training, and admitted that they were not very convinced in the beginning, but in the end learned a lot. On the one hand, they had a motivation to go on and to do something for a better life, but one still could notice the gravity of life that had marked them already at their young age and would not always allow them to look forward to a bright future. To end this paragraph on the individual experiences, an interesting observation of Program Director Rosa Inés shall be shared, realizing that the work with this focal group of Primeras Líneas was really different to what Caritas professionals (and other institutions) had known before from peace-building missions. She said, during the project *“I learned a lot, I think one thing that gave me a great lesson was that with this generation you cannot enter with that [Caritas] vest, as institution, this has lost total legitimacy for them”*. Here she referred

⁹⁷ Direct quotes Profesor Kempes (2022). See transcript of interview, item 74, page 8 and item 23, page 3.

⁹⁸ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022) See transcript of interview, item 37, page 4.

⁹⁹ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) See transcript of interview, item 31-32, page 3.

¹⁰⁰ Direct quote Profesora Ingrid (2022) See transcript of interview, item 68, page 7.

to the fact that normally the institutions with their name and reputation alone have legitimacy to enter into difficult scenarios without a problem. Especially in Latin America, and Colombia in particular, the professionals often wear a vest with the organization's name, which would normally function as "entrance ticket" and is seen as the best protection from any violent attack. Rosa Inés referred to it as "armor" which has always served her very well in the last decades, even in the most violent and dangerous environments. However, with the Primeras Líneas, none of the well-known formulas have legitimacy. She said *"you legitimize yourself with them, only by doing. So, one thing I learned is that for the word to regain value, it needs proof that it can be trusted. And this speaks of how bad we as Colombian society are, and puts in front of us the great mirror of what awaits us, to rebuild the model of relationships that the war left us. That is to say, everything in the context of the war in order to survive, is not to trust. You have to distrust by nature. Besides this, there are all the corruptions and the high number of criminal economies of the institutions, each one to guarantee their impunity. This is why they are completely delegitimized and thus the institutions no longer represent anything [to the young generation]"*¹⁰¹.

4.3 General vision on Primeras Líneas of the interviewed persons

Before having a look onto the Lessons Learned and what can be drawn from the project for future community work with difficult political youth groups and participants in social movements, it was also of interest for the researcher, to get a more complete image of what the involved persons in the project think of the Primeras Líneas in Colombia in general. How do they see the future of this new political actor?

*"There are people in the PL who have a very good vision of the country and want to improve it, but there are always other people who don't...they are simply there because they want to be given a house or they want a decent job [...] They simply want you to give them money so that they can have a "decent life" [...]. So, it's like the gold comes along with the stones and the dirt. Because there are people who do have worthwhile projects, and there are people who don't ask for money and look where they can get it and make their project; but then there are also others who want everything for themselves and abuse people for their own benefits and within that all there is a big problem: micro drug business"*¹⁰² states the PL member Caracas.

¹⁰¹ Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022) See transcript of interview, page 5, item 39.

¹⁰² Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022a). See transcript of interview, page 1, item 3.

The SNPS professionals summarizes her thoughts on the PLs in Colombia like this: *“I could say that there are very different levels of Primeras Líneas, aren't there? That is to say, there are those guys, who are more educated, for example, university students, who were clearer about the sense of asking for a reinvention of their rights”,* but she wanted to stress *“that they do not only have rights but also have duties like all other citizens, too”* She also saw the following aspects as important: *“They do not feel represented by the existing institutions. Obviously, we cannot ignore what the public forces and the police, the ESMAD etc. did to them. They abused the force with these kids and obviously these young people do not respect such a type of authority, because this authority does not respect them either. Because they see them, it sounds ugly, but they see them as the “disposable”, the scum of the whole society. But here one also has to see the fact, and this is the other side of the medal, the “why” these kids are there. Often external factors are to blame and they never had many opportunities in life. In this sense, at the moment, I believe that they are going to remain in the history books, these young people, but today I have seen that we don't hear much about the Primeras Líneas here in Colombia anymore. I think they came up because of the social explosion, but on the other hand we also must recognize that within the Primeras Líneas they do not agree [with each other]. It is very difficult to generate consensus with them, in some cases. In the end, the young people in their eagerness for everything to be quick, maybe got tired, because these processes are long term [processes], there cannot be a solution for everything from one day to the next. It would be necessary that they have the consciousness about this and the willingness to keep on and follow up [on their demands]”¹⁰³.*

For Poncho, the movement of the Primera's Línea's in Colombia, at the time of the interview still had the opportunities to grow bigger and to bring changes into their lives, however he did criticize, that the movement was very splintered, and every PL fragment worked for the own sake. The struggle for a common goal and the unification of all PLs in Colombia would be, in his opinion, a goal to pursue. He said: *“we have to go on with the resistance, and put stone on stone, all together, in order to at least improve a little bit”¹⁰⁴.*

A similar tenor could be taken from Caracas statements on the PLs in Colombia in general, several times he mentioned the PL of Cali, which he saw as a positive example for good collaboration, teamwork and social service within a Primera Línea, that focused on society, engaging in social and supportive projects: *“Cali always seemed super fine to me. In spite of, what*

¹⁰³ Direct quote Profesional SNPS Claudia R. (2022) See transcript of interview, page 6, item 57.

¹⁰⁴ Direct quote PL member 2 Poncho (2022) See transcript of interview, page 4, item 70-72.

they say, that there is a lot of dangerous marches and violence going on [...]. They were not like a family but all collaborated, and if there was a project, everybody came to help. All the PLs were coming to the project. But this never happened here in Bogota”¹⁰⁵. He criticizes that in Bogotá every PL did projects on their own, not connecting to or supporting other PLs, and that people would not care what happened to the others. He also asked very sarcastically: Who are the Primeras Líneas then? those who give their lives, who get arrested because others have destroyed the country? “I mean, if they would change their mentality and stop thinking about... well, if each PL would stop thinking about itself and start thinking more about Colombia, about its territories, about its zones. If they would think more globally then they would achieve more, but in fact each PL only thinks about its projects, the Patio Bonito Line, the Renacer Line, etc.”¹⁰⁶.

The Program Director Rosa Inés stated that from her viewpoint the whole movement took the government by surprise and that therein lies a great potential for the PLs: *“I honestly believe that the great challenge that the PLs have, is to find themselves new ways of action, because let's say that the codes of violence are very clear for the public forces, for the reactive capacity of the government's public forces now. Whereas in the beginning they [the official forces] were caught by surprise and did not know how to confront the phenomenon. But as the days went by, they began to use intelligence [to spy the PLs], because they did not know how they communicated, nor how they gathered. In other words, they had them super clueless, but then the forces quickly learned to connect with these codes and they began to screw them, already judicialized, back to nothing. But let's say that this same creativity that the young people have, with which they left everybody so clueless in the beginning, is helpful and we should help them to channel it. And if they manage to channel it into a form of creativity, for example, managing not to let themselves be provoked and fall into violent behavior, then they would have many opportunities to be more creative [and successful]”¹⁰⁷.*

The FICONPAZ colleague sees the necessity too, to go on supporting these groups: *“These young people now need someone to support them, to accompany them, to guide them, to help them show that there is not only chaos in which we live, but that we ourselves can create a change”¹⁰⁸.*

¹⁰⁵ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022a) See transcript of interview, page 2, item 15.

¹⁰⁶ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022a) See transcript of interview, page 1, item 5.

¹⁰⁷ Direct quote Program Director Rosa Inés (2022). See transcript of interview, page 7, item 53.

¹⁰⁸ Direct quote Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022) See transcript of interview, page 11, item 112.

For her, an approach of intervention and action with those groups - a balanced mixture of theory and practice, would be the one to follow.

5. Lessons Learned / Impact of the Project

As the experiences of chapter four show, the execution of the training with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito and the work in general with them was not always easy. Many questions on what the work with those political youth groups should look like and what kind of projects with them will be possible in the future, came up. We asked ourselves how to create real interest, and engagement among these young persons? How can those young people be motivated to participate in workshops or trainings? How do they see the Catholic church as an institution that provides community work projects for them?

The following chapter tries to answer some of these questions, drawing the lessons learned from the educational project in Patio Bonito by highlighting the main challenges and opportunities of the work with youth groups. The aim is to use the project experiences as a guide for future projects of this kind. Furthermore, it is of interest, how the topics of political education and empowerment plays a meaningful role in social movements, but remains underestimated. Chapter 5 also takes into account the Participatory Action Research concept pioneered by Fals Borda and the Do-No-Harm Approach which was tailored and adapted for the Colombian context in 2011 by some important actors for peacebuilding work in Colombia. Two concepts that might help to open up a broader range of tools for the successful and sustainable execution of future community projects with youth groups in Colombia.

5.1. Identification of obstacles, perspectives, and opportunities for the community work with Primeras Líneas or other political youth groups in Colombia

As one could see clearly from the experiences in Patio Bonito described above, the teaching and learning space plays a crucial role in the educational setting. In the camp, with all its limitations, it was not possible to offer a clear and stringent training with and for the young persons, especially when compared to the sessions that were held in a normal classroom in the last week of the project. Therefore, the location for future training sessions must be set in a neutral, safe and inviting space, that allows holding meetings and educational sessions without interference and is not dependent on weather conditions.

Furthermore, the time factor is essential for the planning and execution of trainings of this kind. The best-case scenario would be a long-term project with enough time for preparation, including a thorough context and actor analysis, a warm-up phase for all involved persons and additional time to care about the personal problems of the participants. This point, in particular, highlights the issue of human resources, because a successful project in this quite complex context requires a multidisciplinary team that includes not only educational staff but also socio-pedagogical specialists, psychologists and lawyers, in order to address the different topics that may arise within the groups. The training plans must be individually worked out with and for the corresponding Primera Línea or youth group, taking into account their basic knowledge, their interests and their problems. The participatory action research approach seems quite suitable for the work with those communities. As already mentioned in chapter three, the SNPS's community work with elements such as the desired future is partly based on this approach. As PAR is able to open up more creative and more inclusive ways to work out solutions with the participants, it should be included more explicitly and consciously in further interventions of this kind. It may play a crucial role in particular for this focal group, who often lost faith or suffered from conditions that would not allow to believe in a change, as Wadsworth explains in her paper on PAR: *"The discussion of how to achieve these conditions of mutual involvement, participation and collaboration are very similar to the discussions about how to achieve 'community development'. For example, the more disempowered you are, the less hope you may have about either the value of participating or even the chances of something good coming out of it. If you are radically disempowered you may not even be able to envisage something better, when even a vague or indistinct vision is a prerequisite for pursuing one at all."* (page 6) (Wadsworth, 1998). Further details on the PAR concept see below.

A big challenge, however, is the financing of projects of this kind. Even more so, when it comes to long-term operations and when a final cost estimate is not predictable.

In Colombia, there is a dominant "workshop culture", which means that many institutions or organizations offer trainings exclusively in the form of workshops, so-called "talleres" for the participants. This concept is most likely to be financed or subsidized by donors or through donations and can be set up with only few staff and at short notice, but is a lot less sustainable than a well-planned individualized long-term training project conducted with qualified staff. Hasty and incomplete workshop set ups led by unqualified staff also run the danger of inviting harmful and damaging interactions (see do-no-harm approach), which might open up wounds or problems that cannot conclusively be handled in a workshop. This might have been partly

the case with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito. Furthermore, missing follow-ups represent a major shortcoming in this type of project.

Until now, in Colombia the political interest in the young generation has not been very pronounced, as one could also see in the previous chapters. The SNPS' program director confirmed, that young people simply have not been part of the political agenda and thus there was no budget for youth programs from the government in the last decades. Only the Catholic Church was willing to dedicate some community projects to young people, however had to cancel planned programs targeting violent youth gangs due to budget issues. The Catholic Church depends mainly on funds from partner organizations and on foreign donors, who must be convinced about the urgency and necessity of the projects. Now, with the rise of the Primeras Líneas and the new left-wing presidency of Gustavo Petro, there might be a chance of changing the political focus towards the country's youth, recognizing the need of investing in the work with them.

Within the SNPS, profound organizational changes took place in mid-2022. The long-standing, renowned Monseñor Hector Fabio Henao was replaced by a seemingly more conservative churchman, who is more likely to focus on pure pastoral work again and aims at fewer projects in direct conflict work. After almost 22 years at the SNPS, Rosa Inés Floriano, the responsible program director with her incredible wealth of experience, left her post in July 2022, leaving a big gap - it remains to be seen how Caritas Colombia will position itself in the future, when it comes to community work with (conflictive) youth groups.

Establishing connection and building-up relations of mutual trust is foundational, but also very difficult when working with youth groups. In Colombia, the relationship to the Catholic Church as an institution might be looked at with ambivalence, however faith in God, still plays a very crucial role for many Colombians, including the young ones. When talking to the Primera Línea Patio Bonito, almost 90 % of the PL members confirmed that they were religious and that their faith in God played an important role for them. According to my observations, the most violent and toughest guys were the ones who were most faithful and even had some religious symbols or bible quotes tattooed. This shows that their faith may be an influencing and motivating factor for their participation in community projects with religious organizations. My observation also was confirmed by Caracas, when I asked him if he would repeat the training. He said: "*Frankly spoken, with Caritas I would repeat it, with other organizations I don't know*"¹⁰⁹. However, the Church as an institution will have to re-think how to approach these young persons and how to

¹⁰⁹ Direct quote PL member 1 Caracas (2022b) See transcript of interview, item 89, page 6.

gain their commitment to engage in sustainable community work projects. The concepts and methodologies of the SNPS and FICONPAZ are well developed and coherent, but they need to be adapted to these problematic groups, as these groups do not function in the same way as the pastoral communities with which these two organizations normally cooperate. What is helpful though, is the vast experience of the SNPS specialists in peacebuilding community work and thus in very violent settings, which can also be used as reference for the work with these youth groups.

The commitment of the group members in general was one of the biggest challenges of the project with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito. In my opinion, it would have worked out differently, if there had not been this strong hierarchy in the group, with an authoritarian leader who imposed his will and would not allow the group members to (think and) speak for themselves. At the beginning of such a project it is therefore of utmost importance to establish confidence and build strong relationships of trust among the group members and with the educational team using practical exercises. The exercises increase the comfort level in the learning environment and therefore have the potential to change perceptions regarding individual roles and different tasks within the group. In future projects like this, the group must be analyzed thoroughly right at the beginning, making clear that negative leadership structures cannot be tolerated and that every group member is valuable and needs to participate to the best of his or her knowledge and belief so that the intended processes and common goals can be achieved together. In every group there are different phases of development, referring to Bruce W. Tuckmann (1965 & 1977) who defined these stages as forming, storming, norming, performing and adjourning. Considering these stages and their corresponding evolvments, that can happen consciously or not, may help the professional team to understand internal dynamics better, in order to find solutions for the existing problems. The aim should be, to reach the stage of performing, which is according to Tuckman's model a highly productive stage with good communication, tight bonds, empathy for others, high commitment and shared leadership (West Chester University, 2022). Unfortunately, the work with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito never reached this stage, but did end with the storming stage, however, without satisfying results for the group, which then broke apart.

Resource-oriented work should be focused on the strengths and not the weaknesses of every individual participant to be able to reach the group's desired future. In order to broaden the horizon of the young participants, it would help to take them out of their known environment,

inviting them into a historical museum, or to a guided tour to historically or politically important places of interest, etc.

Arts and creative work, along with handicrafts and a lot of practical exercises¹¹⁰ could also play an important role in the training processes with the Primeras Líneas, considering that in the Paro Nacional so many young Colombians found manifold ways to express their feelings and demands in beautiful works of art. One could conclude, that creativity was one of the most astonishing features of empowerment and expression of this social movement in Colombia and should be taken into account in future projects.

5.2. Ideas on the potential of social movements as a special place to learn

Social movements and education overlap in different ways; however, the research on social movements and educational sciences do not operate together and so far have not put too much focus on the high potential that brings along a social movement as a special place to learn (Miethe and Roth, 2016). Bergold-Caldwell and Philipp (2017) describe that the individual participant of the social movement, who experiences certain political and social education through his or her participation will become more empowered as a subject. *“Social participation can also be achieved through political participation. Groups that are severely affected by social segregation or whose concerns are perceived as niche issues that are not in the mainstream of society achieve social participation through collectivization”* (p.220-221) (translated from German). These two levels of participation in a social and a political way affect a person’s development and individual learning, when he or she confronts and rethinks personal, societal and global conditions. The term “education” in the general context of social movements therefore may seem quite diverse and indeterminate (Bergold-Caldwell and Philipp, 2017), however the setting of a social movement opens up many questions and demands on the side of the participants, which then provides the perfect entry point for educational programs to support and empower the subjects.

For the Colombian context there are several aspects to consider: Since Primeras Líneas, as a non-established social movement, operate rather "outside of institutional logics" (p.227), it would make sense, if a focus on further political education would also emerge from within. The

¹¹⁰ For the practical work with the often-difficult groups, which has many similarities with the work of peace construction, the comprehensive manual of the Caritas Internationalis “Construcción de Paz. Manual para la Capacitación de Caritas” is recommended (see Neufeldt et al. 2022). It includes a good overview of the topic on peacebuilding practice, including many direct practical exercises, role plays, etc. that can be adapted and used also in the work with difficult political youth groups or other educational settings.

problem of the movement is that it quickly took on a life of its own and grew uncontrollably, thus parts or some splinter groups became radical and rather believed in violent collective actions as the only means to resist and manifest. Within the Primeras Líneas or the entire Paro Nacional movement, there were many well-educated and trained people who could have passed on their knowledge to other participants. A better or different kind of networking and communication that could connect and calm the difficult parts of the movement would have been needed. In general, there is more trust within the social movement and among participants who struggle for the same cause, than for external organizations. However, this initial cohesion and trust among the participants of the Paro Nacional movement was heavily challenged by mostly unfounded accusations and suspicions and was turned into paranoia by media coverage and politics, as the statements of different PL participants have shown in chapter four.

According to Bergold-Caldwell and Phillip (p.227), social movements here have a duty to reach out to people, break down barriers and prejudices, and actively network. There is a need to "critically look at, question, and examine their own structures" (p.227). What seems particularly relevant for Colombia is the question of whether the Primeras Líneas are not reproducing power structures themselves, that they are actually criticizing (Bergold-Caldwell and Philipp, 2017). The issue of education remains central, especially for those parts of the social movement that are distant from education. How can their empowerment be supported from outside and inside the movement in the future?

5.3. Ideas on PAR and the Do-No-Harm / Acción sin Daño approach for community work in peacebuilding contexts with Primeras Líneas

In chapter four, when describing the empirical experiences with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito, the "Do-No-Harm" approach of US-American Mary Anderson from 1994, was already mentioned. When working with the youth group, the professional team expressed the fear they might unintentionally and unconsciously, do harm to the young persons, e.g., by opening up psychological wounds that they could not heal and professionally address. In fact, the approach "*is based on the premise that organizations that act in conflict situations are not neutral but, on the contrary, are involved in the context of the conflict in one way or another [...] The Do No Harm states that in many opportunities, through the projects and actions, some ethical messages are conveyed about how they understand projects and actions, how they understand conflict, how aid is handled, how resources are transferred (physical, human, economic, etc.) and how institutional actions can strengthen power relations and dynamics that do not contribute*

to reduce the conflict but rather to exacerbate it” (translated from Spanish) (p.15) (Vela Mantilla et al., 2011).

Therefore, it is interesting to have a closer look at this point, as the principles might also become important for the work with Primeras Líneas, especially taking into account the “*Acción sin daño como aporte a la construcción de paz: propuesta para la práctica*”¹¹¹ manual, which adapted and extended the Do-No-Harm approach for the Colombian (peacebuilding) context and might be seen as a toolbox for different types of community work.

One of the main principles in the Colombian adaption of the ASD is the continuous analysis of all actions and influences before and during the project phase. That means, there is a constant evaluation and observation of factors that influence on the project execution negatively (or positively). The ASD approach is based on the main lessons of Andersons Do-No-Harm, taking into account e.g., that all contexts are characterized by connectors and dividers, all actions and behaviors have consequences, there are always different options or that routines are important for the team and the execution. When it comes to moral and ethical values, though, the following three minimal ethical standards (p.20) were added and established the foundation for the Colombian ASD:

- **Dignity** “Every human being is an end in himself; he cannot be reduced to an instrument for someone else's ends
- **Autonomy**: People are capable of defining the type of life and the life project they want to live and they also have the capacity to find their own solutions, they only need an impulse, a support.
- **Liberty**: People must have the possibility to make decisions for the realization of their own life projects”¹¹² (translated from Spanish).

These principles, among others, can also be found in the community work basics of Caritas Colombia and do play an essential role in their interventions. The ASD approach for Colombia offers a profound toolbox with practical exercises and examples for sustainable and successful

¹¹¹ The comprehensive handbook on ASD (Acción sin Daño) (translated: action without harm as contribution for peace: proposal for the practice) for the Colombian context, was worked out by the most important Colombian public university Universidad Nacional, together with the synergia foundation, the German development agency GIZ, the Swiss Development agency COSUDE and the United Nations Development Program. See Vela Mantilla et al. (2011).

¹¹² Original source: Rodríguez, Ana Luz (2011). El enfoque ético de la Acción sin Daño, módulo de la especialización en Acción sin Daño y construcción de paz, Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

interventions and trainings. Its consideration is highly recommended for future projects with Primeras Líneas.

Participatory Action Research

The concept of PAR also includes parts of the ASD principles, its aim is to approach social change, however is it an individual emancipatory process for every group or collective, depending on the context and the corresponding actors. Its beginnings were marked by some basic steps and methodologies that were similar in every PAR project, though are still relevant. The starting point is, that the underprivileged, poor and oppressed focal group should be stimulated to analyze and inquire on their own situation and life conditions, finding reasons and explanations for their underprivileged conditions and promoting a “critical self-awareness of their environment” (p.115) (Anisur Rahman, 1985). So, the first central aspect was the stimulation and catalyzation of an initiative by members of the well-educated class in order to promote a self-mobilization of the underprivileged. Rahman (1985) concludes the practice of PAR also as “*an attempt [...] to generate a self-reliance consciousness among the underprivileged, and an attitude of assertion of their knowledge, views and decisions vis-à-vis outsiders*” (p.115). In contrast to classical development aid projects, in PAR projects only little focus has been put on external material resources and expertise to solve the groups problems, instead it has been essential to use the people’s own resources, knowledge and skills. Orlando Fals Borda and his followers recognized that “all knowledge is local” (p. 227). After some decades of PAR, in 2007, shortly before he died, he had replaced the formerly used term of the “peoples’ knowledge” from the 1970s, with the concept of “local realism” (p.226). Joanne Rappaport concludes aptly that this concept, seen in the Colombian context and with the experiences made there in PAR projects by Fals Borda, mostly with victims of the armed conflict, includes an “emphasis on lived experience [*vivencia*] and its analytical promise as an antidote to universal sociological models, thereby also redeeming empirical research” (p.227) (Rappaport, 2020).

In Colombia, PAR has been used by several associations and groups over the last decades, as the examples in Rappaports publication “Cowards don’t make history” demonstrate. There is neither a clear definition, nor any recipe on how to use PAR, however the experiences show that it often can work as a healing process for the groups, especially for those who in addition to or because of their already difficult life conditions, have become victims of the armed conflict. Every project develops its own focus and individual methods to reach the desired social changes.

When it comes to the research aspect of the concept, one could say that due to the reflection processes within the group as well as the practice of self-mobilization and empowerment, the researcher also becomes an activist. He or she needs to find sensitive methodologies to develop and push these processes, without being dominant or bringing in own interests. The collective's interests are central and research is subordinate to them, but still allows the researcher to draw conclusions on the "implications of such interaction for social transformation" (p.116) (Anisur Rahman, 1985). Fals Borda preferred the "direct participation of researchers in political activism" (p.201) (Rappaport, 2020). As research can be seen as nourishment for the struggle, political action also might be seen as influencing factor for research, Rappaport thus describes PAR as activist methodology (p.219).

In this sense, one could conclude, that working with the PAR concept with Primeras Líneas in Colombia, could be of special interest for young activist researchers. Fals Borda, the Colombian pioneer in PAR spearheaded a fascinating work and revolutionary experiences with the PAR concept. He opened up a different, new and important way for the work with underprivileged and oppressed persons and groups, which should be applied much more often, by leaving the traditional and classical paths of sociology and research. A closer cooperation between the traditional welfare sector for community and educational work together with interested universities and researchers should be envisaged. And, as the experience in Patio Bonito has shown, it is also feasible. The potential and synergies cannot be dismissed, but how can the scientific community in Colombia be stimulated to follow these paths? How can projects of this character be organized and financed? This remains an open chapter for further investigation.

6. Conclusion

The idea of empowering young people, who are part of a social movement by providing general and political education, by showing them their rights and by giving them a voice, may contribute to open up new, more peaceful ways of thinking and living. Trying to avoid further violent episodes, preventing the emergence of further radical and violent actors in an already complex setting, should be an important challenge for Colombia's society and the new presidency in the coming years.

Particularly interesting in the Colombian context is the emergence of the very heterogenous Primeras Líneas and their motivation to sacrifice their lives for others. From a literary and empirical point of view however, there is still a theoretical void regarding this development, which

needs to be filled by additional research and investigation. Although the theories on social movements are vast, violence as a repertoire in social movements as well as the role of emotions were recognized as critical components for the analysis. Therefore, from an academic perspective, the topic presents multiple challenges.

The framework outlined in the previous chapters was aimed to provide a good structure in order to capture the empirical experiences with the Primera Línea in Patio Bonito in the best possible way. Despite being important for the author it turned out, that the role and impact of emotions on the group project could not be fully analyzed as these required tools and information from different areas which were unfeasible to obtain during the investigation. The general complexity made it difficult to cover the very wide and new topic comprehensively in a master's thesis. Thus, it still remains the need to analyze the topic of emotions in social movements, both from the theoretical side and in practice.

Furthermore, it presented a significant challenge to measure the impact of the project and to give a clear classification of the phenomenon Primera Línea due to the recentness of the topic and the width of the movement. The project started only a few months after the most violent riots had subsided, but the situation remained tense and turbulent. In the first instance, the aim was to give a holistically picture of the topic of PLs, but this was difficult to achieve during the investigation phase and even today, one year after the intervention, it is still a current topic, with heterogenous actors that are difficult to categorize under a common denominator. However, considering the fact that it was only a limited intervention with the PL Patio Bonito, a lot of valuable practical experience was gained and could be evaluated.

In terms of the topic of violence, it was particularly interesting that the PL's experiences of violence were reported and described firsthand to the author. From the analysis of these reports, it became clear that the background of the conflictive situations and the reasons for the use of violence can be found in the personal life stories of the individuals and in Colombia's past. These special experiences, in turn, are directly related to the fundamentals taught in the masters' courses.

For Galtung there are different forms of violence, assuming that physical violence, as visible form of violence, is accompanied by other "invisible" violent dynamics and mechanisms, which he identifies as structural and cultural violence. They exist underneath the conflict, and condition inequality and poverty and other forms of injustice within a society. So inversely, "peace

must also be built in the culture and in the structure, not only in the 'human mind'" (p.5) (Galtung, 1998). If we heed these simple but wise insights of Galtung, one of the most important scholars of peace work, there is still a long way to go in Colombia for society, politics and the corresponding institutions to come to terms with and recognize the profound underlying problems of this country and its decades-long conflict. And thus, conclusively, all the work necessary to build sustainable peace on all levels of society. Applied to the work with young people in Primeras Líneas or other radical formations, however, this also means that here, under the banner of empowering and politically educating these groups, the deeper focus is on local peace work. Through community work projects in these milieus "down below", with the most oppressed and poorest members of society, a foundation for peace in the country can be established. This opportunity and the possibilities for social change, especially when working with the new generations, must be recognized and seized.

As the author's own experiences in community work with a Primera Línea in Bogotá showed, some practical aspects have to be taken into account for future projects. In short, the following elements play an essential role in the successful implementation of a project in this context:

1. The time factor - sufficient time for planning, implementation and the final evaluation are essential, without the pressure to spend all resources within a certain period of time.
2. The program's environment - the training location and implementation must not be subject to any disruptive external factors and must take place in a protected setting.
3. The team of professionals - should be multidisciplinary, including a psychologist, and have their own accompanying supervision during the project, as this is a complex, high-risk field of operation. The issue of drug use also plays a major role in this milieu, so a specialized professional should be on the team.
4. Mixture of theory and practice – Good community work includes a variety of different elements, such as many practical exercises, taking into account the groups individual needs and abilities, horizontal communication including a lot of reflection and feedback of the group (including the ASD basics) and the willingness to change perspectives and to think outside the box by all involved persons. A long-term commitment from the participants might be one of the most difficult things to achieve, but can be supported by different incentives.

This thesis must be seen as particularly relevant with regard to the master's program CMP, analyzing the topics of violence and conflictive group work in the field of social movements. The

development of suitable training programs and empowering interventions show many parallels to classical peace and conflict resolution work.

Social movements in connection with profound educational and empowering processes for the participating people, have become of great importance, and especially the Colombian context with the developments of the last few years, concluded in this work, show that it is quite necessary to take a closer look at the topic.

References

- Alonso, A. (2021) 'Estallido social en Colombia: claves de la protesta contra el presidente Duque', *El Independiente*, 7 May [Online]. Available at <https://www.elindependiente.com/internacional/2021/05/08/estallido-social-en-colombia-claves-de-la-protesta-contra-el-presidente-duque/> (Accessed 18 March 2022).
- Alta Consejería Presidencial para los Derechos Humanos y Asuntos Internacionales (2021) *Derechos Humanos en el marco del Paro Nacional 2021*. Boletín No.44: 160721-ESP-Infografía-DDHH-Paro-Nacional-2021', April to July, no. 44 [Online]. Available at <https://derechoshumanos.gov.co/prensa/2021/Documents/160721-ESP-Infografía-DDHH-Paro-Nacional-2021.pdf> (Accessed 16 May 2022).
- Amnesty International (2021) 'Colombia: Excessive actions of ESMAD during the National Strike leave more than 100 people with eye trauma', *Amnesty International*, 26 November [Online]. Available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/11/colombia-esmad-eye-trauma/> (Accessed 3 April 2022).
- Anisur Rahman, M. (1985) 'The Theory and Practice of Participatory Action Research', in Fals Borda, O. (ed) *The challenge of social change*, Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage, pp. 107–132.
- Barrera Castro, A. (2021) *Balance General - Paro Nacional 2021: 28 de abril al 27 de junio de 2021*, Ministerio de Defensa.
- BBC Bitesize (n.d.) *The Parable of the Good Samaritan* [Online], BBC. Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zwxm97h/revision/6> (Accessed 13 May 2022).
- Bergold-Caldwell, D. and Philipp, C. (2017) 'Chancen und Fallstricke von Bildung in sozialen Bewegungen', in Emde, O., Jakubczyk, U., Kappes, B. and Overwien, B. (eds) *Mit Bildung die Welt verändern?: Globales Lernen für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung* [Online], Opladen, Berlin, Toronto, Verlag Barbara Budrich, pp. 216–231. Available at <https://elibrary.utb.de/doi/book/10.3224/9783847410348>.
- Betancur Betancur, M. S. (2006) 'Del Estatuto de Seguridad al estado comunitario: veinticinco años de criminalización de la protesta social en Colombia', *OSAL, Observatorio Social de América Latina (año VI no. 19 ene-abr 2006)*.
- Cáritas Colombiana - SNPS (2016) *Quiénes somos - Cáritas Colombiana - SNPS* [Online]. Available at <https://caritascolombiana.org/quienes-somos/> (Accessed 13 May 2022).
- Charry Joya, C. A. (2020) 'Beyond smart crowds: The media effect of citizen mobilizations around the peace agreements', *Colombia International*, Issue 101, pp. 65–90 [Online]. Available at <https://doi.org/10.7440/colombiaint101.2020.03>.
- Cidón, M. (2022) *La violencia del gobierno colombiano durante el Paro Nacional: Colombia y las víctimas de lesiones oculares como Gareth Sella* [Online], Amnistía Internacional España. Available at <https://www.es.amnesty.org/en-que-estamos/blog/historia/articulo/colombia-lesiones-oculares-gareth-sella/> (Accessed 26 April 2022).
- CINEP/ Programa por la Paz (2022) *Base de Datos de Luchas Sociales en Colombia: 1975-2019* [Online]. Available at <https://www.cinep.org.co/Home2/temas/programa-de-movimientos-sociales-derechos-humanos-e-interculturalidad/linea-de-movimientos-sociales-tierra-y-territorio/movilizaciones-cinep.html> (Accessed 7 April 2022).

Perspectives for the work with Primeras Líneas in Colombia

CNMH (2020) *Lo que sabemos de los desaparecidos en Colombia* [Online], Bogotá (Colombia), CNMH Colombia. Available at <https://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/micrositios/balances-jep/desaparicion.html> (Accessed 16 November 2022).

Collins, R. (2013) 'Entering and leaving the tunnel of violence: Micro-sociological dynamics of emotional entrainment in violent interactions', *Current Sociology*, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 132–151.

CUT - Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (2021) 'Exigencias de garantías para la protesta y para las mesas de negociación', *CUT COLOMBIA*, 16 May [Online]. Available at <https://cut.org.co/exigencias-de-garantias-para-la-protesta-y-para-las-mesas-de-negociacion/> (Accessed 6 May 2022).

Dalton, R. (1988) *Citizen Politics in Western Democracies*, Chatham House.

DANE Colombia (2021) *COLOMBIA - Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares - GEIH - 2020* [Online]. Available at https://microdatos.dane.gov.co/index.php/catalog/659/get_microdata (Accessed 18 March 2022).

DANE Colombia (2022) *Empleo informal y seguridad social: Julio a septiembre 2022* [Online]. Available at <https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/mercado-laboral/empleo-informal-y-seguridad-social> (Accessed 6 April 2022).

'Decreto 003 del 5 de enero de 2021' [Online]. Available at <https://dapre.presidencia.gov.co/normativa/normativa/DECRETO%20003%20DEL%205%20DE%20ENERO%20DE%202021.pdf> (Accessed 2 April 2022).

Defender la Libertad (2018) *Defender la Libertad. Asunto de tod@s* [Online], Bogotá, Colombia. Available at <https://defenderlalibertad.com/acerca-de-2/> (Accessed 28 April 2022).

Della Porta, D. and Diani, M. (2011) *Social movements: An introduction*, 2nd edn, Malden, Mass., Blackwell.

Departamento Administrativo de la Función Pública (2022) *Sistema Integral de Verdad, Justicia, Reparación y No Repetición - Manual del Estado - Función Pública* [Online]. Available at <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/manual-estado/sistema-verdad.php> (Accessed 13 November 2022).

Deutsche Welle (2021a): *Los jóvenes de la Primera Línea en Colombia*, 2021. Video 11.05.2021 Available at <https://www.dw.com/es/los-j%C3%B3venes-de-la-primera-l%C3%ADnea-en-colombia/av-57500333>.

Deutsche Welle (2021 b): *En la primera línea de las protestas en Colombia (2021)*. Video on YouTube, 11.05.2021. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yeyDvnCFtn8>

Droguett Fernández, R. (2019) *Qué es y qué expresa la Primera Línea* [Online], CLACSO - El Desconcierto Chile. Available at <https://www.clacso.org/que-es-y-que-expresa-la-primera-linea/> (Accessed 10 March 2022).

El Espectador - Redacción Bogotá (2021) 'Chapinero y Patio Bonito: dos de las zonas donde más denuncian hurtos en Bogotá', *El Espectador*, 12 August [Online]. Available at <https://www.elespectador.com/bogota/chapinero-y-patio-bonito-dos-de-las-zonas-donde-mas-denuncian-hurtos-en-bogota/> (Accessed 28 August 2022).

El Espectador - Redacción Bogotá (2022) 'Jóvenes "ninis": ¿qué significa, quiénes son y cómo aplicar a los subsidios?', *El Espectador*, 4 February [Online]. Available at <https://www.elespectador.com/>

bogota/jovenes-ninis-que-significa-quienes-son-y-como-aplicar-a-los-subsidios/ (Accessed 25 April 2022).

El Espectador - Redacción Judicial, (2021) '379 personas han desaparecido en el Paro Nacional, denuncian 26 organizaciones', *El Espectador*, 6 May [Online]. Available at <https://www.elespectador.com/judicial/379-personas-han-desaparecido-en-el-paro-nacional-denuncian-26-organizaciones-article/> (Accessed 17 March 2022).

El Tiempo (2019) 'Los mensajes de un paro nacional que fue mayoritariamente pacífico', *El Tiempo*, 21 November [Online]. Available at <https://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/asi-se-vivio-el-paro-nacional-del-21-de-noviembre-en-colombia-436138> (Accessed 18 March 2022).

FICONPAZ (2022) *La Fundación Instituto para la Construcción de la Paz* [Online]. Available at <https://www.ficonpaz.com/> (Accessed 13 May 2022).

Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen (2016) *Bildung und Soziale Bewegungen. Lernen abseits des Curriculums: Analysen zu Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft* Heft 4, Nr 29 [Online]. Available at <https://forschungsjournal.de/hefte/2016-heft4-bildung-und-soziale-bewegungen/>.

Fundación Ideas para la Paz (2017) *¿Dónde, cómo, quiénes y por qué se movilizan los colombianos?: Preparémonos para una protesta social amplia y menos violenta*, Fundación Ideas para la Paz [Online]. Available at <https://cdn.ideaspaz.org/media/website/document/59d5018760e75.pdf> (Accessed 25 April 2022).

Fundación Universitaria Monserrate (n.d.) 'Informe de gestión 2020' [Online]. Available at <https://www.unimonserrate.edu.co/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Informe-de-gesti%C3%B3n-2020.pdf> (Accessed 11 July 2022).

Fundación Universitaria Monserrate (n.d.) *NOSOTROS* [Online]. Available at <https://www.unimonserrate.edu.co/la-unimonserrate/#1507241584224-4c2d185b-90a3> (Accessed 13 May 2022).

Galtung, J. (1998) *After violence: 3R, RECONSTRUCTION, RECONCILIATION, RESOLUTION: Coping With Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence*.

GAN Integrity (2020) *Colombia Corruption Report 2020* [Online]. Available at <https://www.ganintegrity.com/portal/country-profiles/colombia/> (Accessed 6 April 2022).

García, M. C. and Sánchez, D. A. (2012) "Cumpliremos porque empeñamos nuestra palabra": ¿En qué anda la defensa de la educación superior en Colombia?' Septiembre a noviembre, no. 76, 39-44 [Online]. Available at <https://www.cinep.org.co/publicaciones/PDFS/201211011.educacion76.pdf> (Accessed 25 April 2022).

García Velandia, M. C. (2004) 'Las luchas sociales en Colombia: Resistencia frente a la guerra', *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, enero-abril 2004, vol. 10, number 1, pp. 155–174 [Online]. Available at reveciso@faces.ucv.ve.

Gobierno de Colombia (2021) *Territorios PDET donde aplican las Tasas Preferenciales de registro de marcas, patentes y diseños industriales | Superintendencia de Industria y Comercio* [Online]. Available at <https://www.sic.gov.co/ruta-pi/octubre-2021/pi-mas-alla/territorios-pdet-donde-aplican-las-tasas-preferenciales-de-registro-de-marcas-patentes-y-disenos-industriales> (Accessed 13 November 2022).

Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. M. and Polletta, F. (2008) 'Emotional Dimensions of Social Movements', in Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A. and Kriesi, H. (eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons Ltd, pp. 413–432.

Hartmann, E. (2017) 'In the zone of spoiled civil identity: The riots in suburban France in 2005', in Mackert, J. and Turner, B. S. (eds) *Struggle, resistance and violence*, London, New York, Routledge, pp. 39–55.

HCHR Colombia (2021) *Paro Nacional 2021: Lecciones aprendidas para el ejercicio del derecho de reunión pacífica en Colombia* [Online]. Available at https://www.hchr.org.co/documentoseinformes/documentos/Colombia_Documento-lecciones-aprendidas-y-observaciones-Paro-Nacional-2021.pdf (Accessed 10 March 2022).

Hernández Mora, S. (2019) 'Dylan Cruz, la muerte que inflama Colombia', *El Mundo*, 26 November [Online]. Available at <https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2019/11/26/5ddd86fcdddff51818b45bb.html> (Accessed 18 March 2022).

Hoth, C. (2017) 'Chronologie zur Geschichte Kolumbiens: 1810-2016', in Fischer, T., Klengel, S. and Pastrana Buelvas, E. (eds) *Kolumbien heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur* [Online], Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert Verlag, pp. 585–605. Available at https://publications.iai.spk-berlin.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/riai_derivate_00000052/BIA%20168_Kolumbien_heute_Final.pdf (Accessed 5 April 2022).

Human Rights Watch (2021) *World Report 2021: Rights Trends in Colombia* [Online]. Available at <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/colombia> (Accessed 6 April 2022).

Indepaz – Instituto de estudios para el desarrollo y la paz (2022) *Observatorio de Derechos Humanos y conflictividades: Cifras de la violencia en las regiones 2021* [Online]. Available at <https://indepaz.org.co/observatorio-de-derechos-humanos-y-conflictividades/> (Accessed 4 May 2022).

ITUC - International Trade Union Confederation (2021) *ITUC Global Rights Index: The world's worst countries for workers* [Online]. Available at https://files.mutualcdn.com/ituc/files/ITUC_Global-RightsIndex_2021_EN-final.pdf (Accessed 9 May 2022).

Jasper, J. M. (2011) 'Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 37, pp. 285–303 [Online]. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41288609>.

JEP - Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz (2021) *La JEP hace pública la estrategia de priorización dentro del Caso 03, conocido como el de falsos positivos* [Online], Bogotá. Available at <https://www.jep.gov.co/Sala-de-Prensa/Paginas/La-JEP-hace-p%C3%BAblica-la-estrategia-de-priorizaci%C3%B3n-dentro-del-Caso-03,-conocido-como-el-de-falsos-positivos.aspx> (Accessed 6 April 2022).

Jofré, V. (2020) *Colombia dice adiós a su cuarentena de 5 meses - La Tercera* [Online]. Available at <https://www.latercera.com/mundo/noticia/colombia-dice-adios-a-su-cuarentena-de-5-meses/YQ6F3MYL6VDPLEUCH6C6H73CJY/> (Accessed 6 April 2022).

Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung (2022) *Kongresswahlen in Kolumbien* [Online]. Available at <https://www.kas.de/de/laenderberichte/detail/-/content/kongresswahlen-in-kolumbien> (Accessed 4 May 2022).

- Lafuente, J. (2016) 'Paro nacional 2016: Colombia protesta contra la política económica de Santos', *Ediciones El País.*, 17 March [Online]. Available at https://elpais.com/internacional/2016/03/17/america/1458205488_343262.html (Accessed 16 May 2022).
- LIV Quintana, F. and Rojas, J. S. (eds) (2021) *Voces en primera línea*, Cali, Colombia, Ediciones del Silencio; Sic Semper Editorial, Oromo Café Editorial y Librería, Expresión Viva; Fundación Crear Ciudad.
- Loaiza, M. V. (2021) '¿Qué es la primera línea de las protestas en Colombia y qué es lo que piden?', *CNN Español*, 5 July [Online]. Available at <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2021/07/05/que-es-la-primera-linea-de-las-protestas-en-colombia-y-que-es-lo-que-piden/> (Accessed 18 March 2022).
- Londoño, J. C. (2021) 'La "primera línea" y las otras cuatro', in LIV Quintana, F. and Rojas, J. S. (eds) *Voces en primera línea*, Cali, Colombia, Ediciones del Silencio; Sic Semper Editorial, Oromo Café Editorial y Librería, Expresión Viva; Fundación Crear Ciudad, pp. 39–61.
- López Bermudez, D. A. (2021) 'Pobreza: el azote que crece con la pandemia', *El Tiempo*, 19 May [Online]. Available at <https://www.eltiempo.com/economia/pobreza-y-crisis-en-colombia-durante-pandemia-covid-19-588463> (Accessed 6 April 2022).
- Los Perros Románticos (2021) 'La nueva resistencia', in LIV Quintana, F. and Rojas, J. S. (eds) *Voces en primera línea*, Cali, Colombia, Ediciones del Silencio; Sic Semper Editorial, Oromo Café Editorial y Librería, Expresión Viva; Fundación Crear Ciudad, pp. 74–76.
- Mackert, J. (2013) 'Gewalt in Ordnungskonflikten als Problem der erklärenden Soziologie', *Berliner Journal für Soziologie*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 91–113 [Online]. DOI: 10.1007/s11609-013-0210-y (Accessed 7 April 2022).
- Mena, Ó. (2021) '¿Qué es la Primera Línea y por qué es clave en las movilizaciones sociales?', *Revista Diners*, 5 May [Online]. Available at https://revistadiners.com.co/tendencias/73907_que-es-la-primera-linea-y-por-que-han-sido-claves-en-las-movilizaciones-sociales/ (Accessed 10 March 2022).
- Miethe, I. and Roth, S. (2016) 'Bildung und soziale Bewegungen – eine konzeptionelle Einführung', in *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen* (ed) *Bildung und Soziale Bewegungen. Lernen abseits des Curriculums: Analysen zu Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft* [Online], 4th edn, pp. 20–29. Available at <https://forschungsjournal.de/hefte/2016-heft4-bildung-und-soziale-bewegungen/>.
- Miethke, S. (2018) *Kolumbien - Welche Geschichte prägt das Land?: Zeitleiste* [Online], Ziviler Friedensdienst. Available at <https://www.ziviler-friedensdienst.org/de/dossiers/praevention/kolumbien/zeitleiste> (Accessed 5 April 2022).
- Misión SOS Colombia (2021) *Informe final Misión SOS Colombia: Del 3 al 12 de julio de 2021* [Online]. Available at <https://www.cinep.org.co/publicaciones/es/producto/informe-final-mision-sos-colombia/> (Accessed 14 March 2022).
- Molano, A. O. (2021) 'Paro Nacional en Colombia: el arte y la cultura como forma de protesta', *El Espectador*, 11 May [Online]. Available at <https://www.elespectador.com/el-magazin-cultural/paro-nacional-en-colombia-el-arte-y-la-cultura-como-forma-de-protesta/?outputType=amp> (Accessed 2 April 2022).
- Neufeldt, R., Fast, L., Schreiter, R., Starken, B., McLaren, D., Cilliers, J. and Lederach, J. P. (2002) *Construcción de Paz: Manual de Capacitación de Caritas*.

Oxfam (2022) *The Do-No-Harm Approach: How to ensure that our work contributes to peace & not conflict* [Online]. Available at <https://www.oxfamnovib.nl/kenniscentrum/resources/blog-kenniscentrum/the-do-no-harm-approach-how-to-ensure-that-our-work-contributes-to-peace-not-conflict> (Accessed 10 July 2022).

Pabón Suárez, I. C. (2021) 'Jóvenes, delito y "limpieza social" en Bogotá', *Análisis Político*, no. 102, pp. 95–122.

Pardo, D. (2022) 'Qué poder mantiene el Clan del Golfo, el mayor grupo criminal de Colombia, tras la extradición de Otoniel y el paro armado', *BBC News Mundo*, 10 May [Online]. Available at <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-61389304> (Accessed 16 May 2022).

Pietro Ameglio Patella, Gabriela Monserrat Espejo Pinzón and Isabella Ariza (2021) 'Paro nacional en Colombia: espiral de la resistencia civil no violenta, medios de comunicación y mecanismos de impunidad', *Revista de Cultura de paz*, vol. 5, no. 0, pp. 105–122 [Online]. Available at <http://www.revistadeculturadepaz.com/index.php/culturapaz/article/view/125/92>.

Pizzorno, A. (1987) *Considerazioni sulle teorie dei movimenti sociali: Problemi del socialismo* (Chapter 12; 11-27).

Pope Francis (2020) *Fratelli tutti (3 October 2020): / Encyclical letter of the holy father Francis on fraternity and social friendship* [Online]. Available at https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20201003_encyclica-fratelli-tutti.html (Accessed 11 March 2022).

Rappaport, J. (2020) *Cowards don't make history: Orlando Fals Borda and the origins of participatory action research*, Durham, London, Duke University Press.

Reith, S. (2022) *Historische Wahlen in Kolumbien* [Online]. Available at <https://www.kas.de/de/laenderberichte/detail/-/content/historische-wahlen-in-kolumbien> (Accessed 9 October 2022).

Reuters (2021) 'Dozens of Colombian roads still blocked amid anti-government protests', *Reuters Media*, 20 May [Online]. Available at <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/dozens-colombian-roads-still-blocked-amid-anti-government-protests-2021-05-20/> (Accessed 3 April 2022).

Revilla Blanco, M. (1996) 'El concepto de movimiento social: Acción, identidad y sentido', *Última Decada*, vol. 1996, no. 5, pp. 1–18 [Online]. Available at <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/195/19500501.pdf> (Accessed 26 March 2022).

Rodríguez, Ana Luz (2011). *El enfoque ético de la Acción sin Daño, módulo de la especialización en Acción sin Daño y construcción de paz*, Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Sánchez, K. (2021) '¿Qué es, qué pide y a quiénes representa el Comité del Paro en Colombia?', *¿Qué es, qué pide y a quiénes representa el Comité del Paro en Colombia?*, 19 May [Online]. Available at https://www.vozdeamerica.com/a/america-latina_que-es-que-pide-y-quienes-representa-el-comite-del-paro-en-colombia/6073988.html (Accessed 6 May 2022).

Semana (1983) 'Bazuco, el vicio del diablo', *Revista Semana*, 14 August [Online]. Available at <https://www.semana.com/especiales/articulo/bazuco-el-vicio-del-diablo/3272-3/> (Accessed 7 August 2022)

Semana (2021) *La peligrosa 'primera línea': ¿un nuevo grupo criminal nació en Colombia?* [Online]. Available at <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/exclusivo-asi-opera-y-estos-son-los-planes-de-la-peligrosa-primera-linea/202118/> (Accessed 15 February 2022).

Semana, (2022) 'Indignante: desde la cárcel, y en una transmisión en vivo, alias 19 da órdenes para que vándalos ataquen al Esmad en Bogotá', *Revista Semana*, 6 January [Online]. Available at <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/indignante-desde-la-carcel-y-en-una-transmision-en-vivo-alias-19-da-ordenes-para-que-vandalos-ataquen-al-esmad-en-bogota/202247/> (Accessed 11 May 2022).

Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A. and Kriesi, H. (eds) (2008) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

SNPS / Caritas Colombiana (2021a) *Antecedentes de las movilizaciones sociales del Paro Nacional del 2021*, Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social.

SNPS / Caritas Colombiana (2021g) *Movilización Social en Colombia durante el año 2021: una ventana de oportunidad para el diálogo y la construcción conjunta de país*.

SNPS / Caritas Colombiana (2021h) *Orientaciones metodológicas para el diálogo social a la luz de FT SPEC: Diálogo para la Amistad Social en Colombia*.

SNPS / Caritas Colombiana (2011) *Estrategia de Intervención del Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social*.

SNPS / Caritas Norway (2020) *Project application and description: Colombia Peace Program: Construction of Peace and Reconciliation processes in Colombia 2020 -2023*.

SNPS / Uni Monserrate (2021) *Nada para las PL, sin las PL: Plan de formación*.

Tarrow, S. G. (2012) *El poder en movimiento los movimientos sociales, la acción colectiva y la política*, Alianza Editorial.

Tausch, N., Becker, J. C., Spears, R., Christ, O., Saab, R., Singh, P. and Siddiqui, R. N. (2011) 'Explaining radical group behavior: Developing emotion and efficacy routes to normative and nonnormative collective action', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 101, no. 1, pp. 129–148 [Online]. DOI: 10.1037/a0022728.

The Guardian (2020) *Stigmatized, segregated, forgotten: Colombia's poor being evicted despite lockdowns*, 2 June [Online]. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/jun/02/colombia-coronavirus-poor-evicted-lockdowns> (Accessed 11 September 2022).

The University of Edinburgh (2016) *PA-X: Peace Agreements Database: Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace (Colombia)* [Online]. Available at <https://www.peaceagreements.org/wview/1845/Final%20Agreement%20to%20End%20the%20Armed%20Conflict%20and%20Build%20a%20Stable%20and%20Lasting%20Peace> (Accessed 6 April 2022).

El Tiempo. (2004) *Declaran ilegal huelga en Ecopetrol* [Online]. Available at <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1541961> (Accessed 25 April 2022).

El Tiempo (2022) *Desempleo juvenil, en 20,6% entre noviembre y enero | Empleo | Economía | Portafolio* [Online]. Available at <https://www.portafolio.co/economia/empleo/desempleo-juvenil-en-20-6-entre-noviembre-y-enero-562819> (Accessed 9 May 2022).

Tilly, C. (2003) *The politics of collective violence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, C. (2006) *Social movements, 1768 - 2004*, Boulder, Colo., Paradigm Publ.

Touraine, A. (2006) 'Los movimientos sociales', *Revista colombiana de sociología No. 27.pdf*, no. 27, pp. 255–278 [Online]. Available at www.bdigital.unal.edu.co/14169/1/3-7982-PB.pdf.

Turkewitz, J. (2021) 'Why Are Colombians Protesting?', *The New York Times*, 18 May [Online]. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/18/world/americas/colombia-protests-what-to-know.html> (Accessed 18 March 2022).

Uni Rank (2021) *Fundacion Universitaria Monserrate / Ranking & Review* [Online]. Available at <https://www.4icu.org/reviews/18230.htm> (Accessed 11 July 2022).

Vega Díaz, L. F. (2017) 'Konstitutioneller Wandel: Die Verfassungen von 1886 und 1991 und die Herausforderungen des Post-Konflikts', in Fischer, T., Klengel, S. and Pastrana Buelvas, E. (eds) *Kolumbien heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur* [Online], Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert Verlag, pp. 141–156. Available at https://publications.iai.spk-berlin.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/riai_derivate_00000052/BIA%20168_Kolumbien_heute_Final.pdf (Accessed 5 April 2022).

Vela Mantilla, G., Bello, M., Küpfer, A., Hauschnik, P., Pretti, A., Vela Mantilla, M., Rodríguez Fernández, J., Rodríguez Puentes, A. L. and García Muñoz, L. M. (2011) '*Acción sin daño como aporte a la construcción de paz: Propuesta para la práctica*' [Online]. Available at http://www.psicosocial.net/historico/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=790-accion-sin-dano-como-aporte-a-la-construccion-de-paz-propuesta-para-la-practica&category_slug=resolucion-de-conflictos-in-para-paz&Itemid=100225 (Accessed 7 August 2022).

Wadsworth, Y. (1998) *What is Participatory Action Research?: Action research international* [Online]. Available at [http://www.scu.edu./schools/gem/ar/ari/p-wadsworth 98.html](http://www.scu.edu./schools/gem/ar/ari/p-wadsworth%2098.html).

West Chester University (2022) *Tuckman's Stages of Group Development - WCU of PA* [Online], USA, West Chester University Pennsylvania. Available at <https://www.wcupa.edu/coral/tuckmanStagesGroupDevelopment.aspx> (Accessed 1 November 2022).

WID - World Inequality Database (2022) *Colombia - WID - World Inequality Database* [Online]. Available at <https://wid.world/es/country/es-colombia/> (Accessed 18 March 2022).

World Bank (2022) *Gini index (World Bank estimate) - Colombia | Data 2022* [Online]. Available at https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?locations=CO&name_desc=true (Accessed 18 March 2022).

Interviews

Ex-PL member of Escudos Azules Gareth Sella (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 22 September 2022.

PL member 1 Caracas (2022a) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 21 February 2022.

PL member 1 Caracas (2022b) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 21 February 2022.

PL member 2 Poncho (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 23 February 2022.

Profesional FICONPAZ Sarai O. (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 19 March 2022.

Profesional SNPS Claudia R. (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 30 April 2022.

Profesor Kempes (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 18 May 2022.

Profesora Ingrid (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 27 April 2022

Program Director Rosa Inés (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Eva-Maria Schatton, 25 May 2022.

Annexes

Annex 1 – History of social protest in Colombia (1975 – 2019)

Annex 2 – Parable of the Good Samaritan

Annex 3 – Stages of interaction SNPS

Annex 4 – Video “Entrelazando palabras” – conclusion of project with PLPB

Annex 5 – Overview of most important laws in constitution of 1991

Annex 6 - Program activities of the PAZ project

Annex 7 – Working Plan “Nada para las PL, sin las PL” (English Summary)

Annex 1 – History of social protest in Colombia (1975 -2019)



(CINEP/ Programa por la Paz 2022)

Reference

CINEP/ Programa por la Paz (2022): Base de Datos de Luchas Sociales en Colombia. Online available at <https://www.cinep.org.co/Home2/temas/programa-de-movimientos-sociales-derechos-humanos-e-interculturalidad/linea-de-movimientos-sociales-tierra-y-territorio/movilizaciones-cinep.html>, last access 16.05.2022.

Annex 2 - Parable of the Good Samaritan

In the Parable of the Good Samaritan, Jesus uses the example of the Jew and the Samaritan, who would not ordinarily have been friendly towards each other. However, out of all those who could have helped the Jew, only the Samaritan did. Jesus tells of a man who was travelling from Jerusalem to Jericho and was attacked by robbers on the way. He was badly beaten and left for dead.

The first person to pass the injured man was a priest, who crossed the road and continued walking.

The second person to pass the injured man was a Levite, a priest's assistant. He also crossed the road and continued walking without helping the man.

The third person to come by was a Samaritan, a person from Samaria. The Samaritans were hated by the Jews. When the Samaritan saw the man, he took pity on him. He bandaged him and cleaned his wounds. He then put him on the back of his donkey and took him to an innkeeper, whom he paid to look after him.

The parable ends with Jesus giving a commandment to go out and do the same as the Samaritan had done. This teaching of loving one's enemies is also reflected in Matthew's Gospel.

(BBC Bitesize, 2022)

Reference

BBC Bitesize (2022) *The Parable of the Good Samaritan - Morality - GCSE Religious Studies Revision - WJEC - BBC Bitesize* [Online]. Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zwxm97h/revision/6> (Accessed 13 May 2022).

Annex 3 – Stages of Interaction SNPS / CC

(Extract from Intervention Strategy)

- **Solidarity response in crisis** (key elements: compassion and hope)
- **Recovering the social fabric** (the key is to develop processes and create or favor conditions for the persons to organize themselves and to participate, to reconstruct their shared collective memory, to discover what unites them and to restore or create new trust in order to weave bonds of solidarity and recognition)
- **Projection y Stabilization** (the aim is to create conditions and strengthen capacities, so that people can exercise their citizenship through processes of democratic participation and construction of the public sphere, seek the empowerment of their productive vocation from an economic perspective of equity and justice, and carry out actions of creational dimensions)
- **Desired Future** (the aim for the communities is to reconstruct their individual and collective dreams as a path to their desired future, and to discover in those dreams God's plan for humanity and the integral salvation offered by Jesus - through: the effective enjoyment of rights, political advocacy and the construction of a permanent peace)

In each of these stages, the SNPS/CC seeks to create conditions, strengthen capacities and accompany initiatives so that the jurisdictions and communities themselves promote transformation initiatives and become protagonists of their own development.

(SNPS / Caritas Colombiana, 2011)

Reference

SNPS / Caritas Colombiana (2011) Estrategia de intervención del Secretariado Nacional del Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social.

Annex 4 – Final video Patio Bonito

The video “Entrelazando palabras” Patio Bonito – Bogotá was shown at the final graduation ceremony of the project with the Primera Línea Patio Bonito on December 3rd 2021 at the Universidad Monserrate.

This meaningful summary of the project gives insight into the project execution, the living and learning conditions in the camp and helps to get an impression of the participants and their dreams.

<https://entrelazando.caritascolombiana.org/bogota.html>

(Cáritas Colombiana - SNPS, 2022)

Reference

Cáritas Colombiana - SNPS (2022) *Entrelazando palabras - Hacia una cartografía del Diálogo Social: Patio Bonito - Bogotá* [Online]. Available at <https://entrelazando.caritascolombiana.org/bogota.html> (Accessed 17 November 2022).

Annex 5 –

Non-exhaustive overview of some of the most important new laws of the Colombian Constitution of 1991 for indigenous and afro-descendant communities and for more diversity and equality in Colombia

***** English Translation see below*****

ARTICULO 7. El Estado reconoce y protege la diversidad étnica y cultural de la Nación colombiana.

The State recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Colombian Nation.

ARTICULO 10. El castellano es el idioma oficial de Colombia. Las lenguas y dialectos de los grupos étnicos son también oficiales en sus territorios. La enseñanza que se imparta en las comunidades con tradiciones lingüísticas propias será bilingüe.

Spanish is the official language of Colombia. The languages and dialects of the ethnic groups are also official in their territories. The education imparted in communities with their own linguistic traditions shall be bilingual.

ARTICULO 13. Todas las personas nacen libres e iguales ante la ley, recibirán la misma protección y trato de las autoridades y gozarán de los mismos derechos, libertades y oportunidades sin ninguna discriminación por razones de sexo, raza, origen nacional o familiar, lengua, religión, opinión política o filosófica. El Estado promoverá las condiciones para que la igualdad sea real y efectiva y adoptará medidas en favor de grupos discriminados o marginados

All persons are born free and equal before the law, shall receive the same protection and treatment from the authorities and shall enjoy the same rights, freedoms and opportunities without any discrimination for reasons of sex, race, national or family origin, language, religion, political or philosophical opinion. The state shall promote the conditions for equality to be real and effective and shall adopt measures in favor of groups that are discriminated against or marginalized.

ARTICULO 19. Se garantiza la libertad de cultos. Toda persona tiene derecho a profesar libremente su religión y a difundirla en forma individual o colectiva. Todas las confesiones religiosas e iglesias son igualmente libres ante la ley.

Freedom of worship is guaranteed. Every person has the right to freely profess his religion and to spread it individually or collectively. All religious confessions and churches are equally free before the law.

ARTICULO 63. Los bienes de uso público, los parques naturales, las tierras comunales de grupos étnicos, las tierras de resguardo, el patrimonio arqueológico de la Nación y los demás bienes que determine la ley, son inalienables, imprescriptibles e inembargables.

The goods of public use, natural parks, communal lands of ethnic groups, the lands of reservations, the archaeological heritage of the Nation and other goods determined by law are inalienable, imprescriptible and unseizable.

ARTICULO 68. Los particulares podrán fundar establecimientos educativos. La ley establecerá las condiciones para su creación y gestión [...] En los establecimientos del Estado ninguna persona podrá ser obligada a recibir educación religiosa. Las integrantes de los grupos étnicos tendrán derecho a una formación que respete y desarrolle su identidad cultural.

Private individuals may establish educational establishments. The law shall establish the conditions for their creation and management [...] In state establishments no person may be forced to receive religious education. The members of ethnic groups shall have the right to an education that respects and develops their cultural identity.

ARTICULO 72. El patrimonio cultural de la Nación está bajo la protección del Estado. El patrimonio arqueológico y otros bienes culturales que conforman la identidad nacional, pertenecen a la Nación y son inalienables, inembargables e imprescriptibles. La ley establecerá los mecanismos para readquirirlos cuando se encuentren en manos de particulares y reglamentará los derechos especiales que pudieran tener los grupos étnicos asentados en territorios de riqueza arqueológica.

The cultural heritage of the Nation is under the protection of the State. The archaeological heritage and other cultural assets that make up the national identity belong to the Nation and are inalienable, unseizable and imprescriptible. The law shall establish the mechanisms for reacquiring them when they are in the hands of private individuals and shall regulate the special rights that ethnic groups settled in territories of archaeological wealth may have.

ARTICULO 171. El Senado de la República estará integrado por cien miembros elegidos en circunscripción nacional. Habrá un número adicional de dos senadores elegidos en circunscripción nacional especial por comunidades indígenas. [...] La Circunscripción Especial para la elección de senadores por las comunidades indígenas se regirá por el sistema de cuociente electoral. Los representantes de las comunidades indígenas que aspiren a integrar el Senado de la República, deberán haber ejercido un cargo de autoridad tradicional en su respectiva comunidad o haber sido líder de una organización indígena, calidad que se acreditará mediante certificado de la respectiva organización, refrendado por el Ministro de Gobierno.

The Senate of the Republic shall be composed of one hundred members elected in a national constituency. There shall be an additional number of two senators elected in a special national constituency by indigenous communities. [...] The special constituency for the election of senators for the indigenous communities shall be governed by the electoral quotient system. The representatives of the indigenous communities who aspire to be members of the Senate of the Republic must have held a position of traditional authority in their respective community or have been a leader of an indigenous organization, which quality shall be accredited by means of a certificate from the respective organization, countersigned by the Minister of Government.

ARTICULO 246. Las autoridades de los pueblos indígenas podrán ejercer funciones jurisdiccionales dentro de su ámbito territorial, de conformidad con sus propias normas y procedimientos, siempre que no sean contrarios a la Constitución y leyes de la República. La ley establecerá las formas de coordinación de esta jurisdicción especial con el sistema judicial nacional.

The authorities of the indigenous peoples may exercise jurisdictional functions within their territorial scope, in accordance with their own rules and procedures, as long as they are not contrary to the Constitution and laws of the Republic. The law shall establish the forms of coordination of this special jurisdiction with the national judicial system.

ARTICULO 286. Son entidades territoriales los departamentos, los distritos, los municipios y los territorios indígenas.

The territorial entities are the departments, districts, municipalities and indigenous territories.

Annex 6 - Main activities of Program PAZ / SNPS

Project phase 2020 – 2023

- “Training and capacity-building for social and community transformation of conflicts: community mediation, reconciliation in equity and/or self-justice.
- Training in the early detection of conflicts for the prevention of social conflicts.
- Ability to access justice through the Integral System of *truth, justice, reparation and non-repetition*.
- Communication capabilities for strategic relationship for advocacy.
- Construction of Community coexistence agreements and Community Life Plans.
- Formation and/or activation of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms: Reconciliation in Equity and Ethnic Jurisdiction.
- Develop measures with Local Justice Systems and Local and Rural Justice Models.
- Implementation of affirmative initiatives and/or actions for reparation, historical memory and community reconciliation.
- Implement a political advocacy plan for the visibility and materialization for community reconciliation and coexistence.
- Design and implement a territorial protection strategy, specifically for leaders that are targets.
- Capacity building for resource management and alternative conflict resolution mechanisms.
- Exchange of experiences, learnings and best practices”

(SNPS / Caritas Norway, 2020)

Reference

SNPS / Caritas Norway (2020) *Project application and description: Colombia Peace Program: Construction of Peace and Reconciliation processes in Colombia 2020 -2023.*

Training plan / Proposal for the trainings

Purposes: To promote reflections and strategies of solution and action in the face of concrete community problems.
 To develop competencies that facilitate the theoretical-political approach to relations with other social movements, political parties and state institutions.
 Encourage work among young people for political advocacy, as well as in local planning.

At the end of the course: Young people will be able to multiply the formative exercise; that is to say this is projected as a training of trainers.
 The young people will have knowledge of techniques and/or methodologies for community work; therefore, in each meeting they will work on a tool from the "toolbox organized for the process.

32 hours 16 sessions 8 weeks 4 units
Minimum 16 to get certified

DATE	Topic	Methodology (tool box)	Objectives	Comments	Materiales	Responsables
08.10	Presentation	Methodological agreements	Present the program, the proposed objectives and the times at which it will be carried out.	indicate the number of hours to certify attendance. Coordinate schedules with PLPBR *Qualitative evaluation of the process and quantitative evaluation in the relation participation-products made in the face-to-face sessions. Participation in the spaces assigned for the course. Responsible collective work. Reading comprehension. Adequate writing and oral expression skills. Attendance 70% minimum for certification. *		UniM - Caritas
08.10	1. Me, this PL and the other guys that we are in the streets. Individual and collective memory: from personal history to a community project.	Cartography (Myself, We as PLPBR / young people)	* (re)construct and make visible the individual stories that made possible the birth of the PLPBR. * Identify the collective projects that emerged from the birth of the PLPBR.		Flip charts Colored markers Cardboard "Bibliographic" cards Tape Scissors Colored sheets	UniM - Caritas
13.10	2. Social unrest is not new Timeline of social outburst in Colombia.	Participatory timeline	* To collectively recognize experiences of previous strikes and mobilizations. * Identify how PLPBR youth approach social mobilization (role of each PLPBR person in that historical moment of the country). * To point out the lessons learned from these processes (what can or cannot be repeated).			Caritas
15.10	3. What we want to achieve together The desired future - the horizon that we are dreaming of	Dream Mapping	* Collectively build a map of dreams to identify individual and collective actions, in the short, medium and long term, that would allow them to be achieved. *Identify barriers to achieving these dreams.	Work with clouds mapping (individual dreams) manually and the sun mapping (collective dreams)		UniM
20.10	4. The Human Rights are the most unrespected rights The perspective of human rights in the current situation	Participatory diagnostics	* To understand the barriers and obstacles to reach those dreamed levels of life.			Caritas
22.10	5. The crisis is everywhere Cartography of the crisis in terms of Human Rights	Cartography of vulnerations	* Identify the contextual conditions of the concentration points.	map of concentration points. Reflect on those that are still in force, point out why a certain type of population converges at certain points (e.g., Heroes and Usme) and the conditions of the population that settled there.		UniM
27.10	6. People who copy, those who don't care, and those who point to us. Map of actors and relations	Actor Mapping, Networks Sociogram	* Identify the actors and social groups present in the territory, in order to recognize the relationships built with them (alliance, cooperation, dependence, disinterest, resistance). * To (better) understand why and how the relationship with the community of the territory has	Crisis in territorial terms.		Caritas

Annex 7 - Working Plan "Nada para las PL, sin las PL" - Summary in English

29.10	7. It's not the apple that is rotten, it's the roots of the tree. Problem tree and solutions.	Problem tree - goals	* Identify undesired situations (core problem) and cause and effect relationships, to identify actions to transform the (non-visible) causes that lead to (visible) effects. * Working to solve problems is different from solving problems in order to			UniM
3.11	8. The Transformations that the desired future demands of us.	Matrix - Planning deck	* Individual transformations	Check Caritas matrix and adapt it		Caritas
5.11	9. The personal and relational capacities that require the transformations we want	Matrix Life projections	* Conflict management, maintaining unity, strengthening leaderships.			UniM
10.11	10. The institutional and structural conditions from the non-violent political and civic action that demand the transformations we want	Matrix Life projections	* Identify the institutional reforms required			Caritas
12.11	11. Transformative strategies based on theories of change.	Matrix Life projections	Distribution of tasks within the team, some inter-network management, others more internal			UniM
17.11	12. Programming based on Theories of Change.	Matrix Life projections	* Short and medium term planning			Caritas
19.11	13. Violent action is not all equal, but violence generates violence. Active nonviolence (individual and collective) and advocacy for change.	Sociodrama - Theater of the oppressed	*Reflect on stigmatization and its effects. * Recognize creative ways to make oneself heard, without resorting to violence.	Active citizenship, active communication, empathy		UniM
24.11	14. Participatory citizenship in Colombia	Case studies	..."	Instances and mechanisms of participation, linking how they manage to make these work to achieve their dreams and/or solve the situations identified in the session of 15th October		Caritas
26.11	15. Participation for political advocacy in Colombia*	Word circles		Seventh ballot - MANE - Farmers' Movement		UniM
1.12	16. What to do in case of...? Protection and self-care. Safety protocols			Manual 070 of self-protection against ESMAD, what to do in case of...		Caritas
03.12.21	Closing					UniM - Caritas

Emphasis

Contribution Primera Línea Patio Bonito Resiste
Pastoral Social Caritas
Fundación Universitaria Monserrate
Ficonpaz
Rights - obligations
Strategies for community (family) outreach/convocación