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Policy narratives and public policy

#### **Polarization and controversy: Effects of narrative strategies in peacebuilding policy (Colombia)**

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#### **Introduction**

Dialogues in Havana (2012-2016) between the government of President Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, or the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) have involved a transformation in the political paradigms of the country generating reforms in public policies, making emphasis on a peacebuilding project. Nevertheless, this process developed in a context of high polarization, creating a scene where in the midst of the negotiation, a strong coalition against the peace process was consolidated, and played a decisive role putting to

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circulate narrative and discursive strategies that generated a high influence in voters, public opinion, and the formulation of the so-called "Territorial Peace", the draft peacebuilding policy.

In order to understand the complexity caused by the high polarization, the attempts to try to minimize it, and the high influence that the coalition against the peace process achieved, this research conducts an analysis of narrative policy and the interactions of the different stories. It should be noted that viewing narratives as strategic, and the use of discourse analysis, helps ground them in traditional policy theory as narratives are told by political actors (particularly interest groups and elites) in efforts to expand their power and ultimately win in the policy process using policy stories to get more people involved, these tactics potentially expand the scope of conflict (Jones & McBeth, 2010) and increase the controversy as it happened during the studied period.

In that sense the research questions are: How the *NO coalition* tried to challenge the others policy narrative(s) producing alternative and dissident ones? Which were their political narrative strategies? How that cristallize into peacebuilding policy? To answer them, this paper will review the stories of four actors: the guerrilla, the civil society who participated in the diferents forums, the government of President Santos led by the negotiating team in Havana, and finally will make an emphasis in the political narrative strategies and tactics of the coalition against the peace process in the head of the Democratic center party and their concreat effects on the peacebuilding policy. In this way, we are going to work using an structure of the Freytag's pyramid that let us understand better how the plot was, and that we can put he heroes,the villains and the victims in context, while is tracking the uncertainty, complexity, and polarization of the peacebuilding policy.

**Exposition: armed conflict and peace agreements**

For more than 50 years in Colombia, the armed conflict has been studied from different angles. In this sense, as a result of the study of the armed conflict and the recognition

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of its roots in rural issues, the possibilities of a negotiated solution through peace dialogues began to be raised in various sectors. However, it is important to recognize that in recent years there has been a flourishing of researches and publications on the subject in a more continuous and profound way, (Cinep, 2007: 25-43; García-Durán, 2006: 18-70, 2004; , Which contributes in some way to the understanding of the Colombian reality (Cit, González, 2010: 2) , To qualify the debate in front of the peace process that was developed between the Government of Juan Manuel Santos.

Faced with the study of peace, there are many studies, ranging from critical positions, to conservative, official or pro-state studies, such as Valencia (1990); Retired general of the FF. AA .; And Carlos Jaramillo (see Ruiz and Jaramillo, 1994) (former Governmental Councilor for Peace); Jesús Antonio Bejarano (1995 and 1999) (Negotiator and Presidential Peace Adviser); The Ministry of the Interior (2000); Camilo Gómez (2001); Camilo González (2004); Presidency of the Republic (2006), and some commissions and organizations such as: Commission for Overcoming Violence (1992a and 1992b); Peace and Democracy Corporation (1998); Permanent Assembly of the Civil Society for Peace (2004); Ideas for Peace Foundation (2004, 2006a and 2006b); Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris (2005) and Office of the High Commissioner for Peace (2008) (Cit. Gutiérrez, 2012: 181).

In fact, in relation to public policies and peace, it is possible to establish the idea of the failure of the State, since the reforms proposed during the last century did not facilitate the redistribution and access to land for the great masses of peasants, which was always One of the great demands before the one increased the concentration of this one through latifundios, as well as the spoils and the forced displacement. This resulted in a productivity of the agricultural sector and increased speculation in terms of incomes over the territory (Reyes, 2009; Fajardo, 1986), deepening the conflict and the possibility of reaching common agreements between the insurgency and the government .

The theoretical approaches to peace have varied depending on the historical moment and the relevant actors. The study of negotiated alternatives to conflicts, including

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attempts to create typologies of peace negotiations, involves deepening the analysis of causes, but above all promising the study of the different actors in tension, their strategies, speeches, from there understand the relevance of an approach like *Narratives public policy* dynamics in the country.

This is also important as in recent years, the axis has turned a little, and instead of centralizing the attention only to armed actors or agrarian problems, have increased studies on victims, damage to civil society On account of conflict, memory and especially peace, as well as the invitation to think about forming alternatives to understand public policies and institutionality. Medina (1980, 1991), Vargas (2002), Romero (2000), and Vega (2002, 2011, 2012) have historically tackled the conflict by seeking new models to understand public policies while linking the study of actors With projections in post-conflict scenarios and reparations to victims, as has also been shown in the Victims Forums and Havana, with the National University of Colombia Thought Center, where the connection between overcoming Armed conflict and overcoming the territorial-individual impact of this, beyond the cessation of war and the generation of effective public policies.

In the country about 97.9% of the total area is in the hands of large and medium-sized owners, while 2.1% of the area is owned by smallholders. So the concentration of the land and its economic destination are strongly linked, as it is a priority in activities related to mining and extensive livestock (UNDP, 2011: 22-46).

In this way, the expansion of the conflict scenarios and their deepening are evidenced in the increase of forced displacement, the accumulation of rural capital, and other phenomena that are part of a series of warlike powers by the territory, where the violence stops the Rural development, self-sustainability of the countryside and peasant communities (Fajardo, 1993: 49).

Thus, the rural conflict leads to two main conflicts, namely, agrarian conflict and armed conflict, in which land and territory are respectively shaped by dispossession and forced

displacement (see Figure 1) . Faced with this problem, many armed actors, civil, legal and illegal, have manifested themselves with various readings of the rural reality and its model of development.

**Chart No. 1.** Structure of Rural Conflict in Colombia



**Source:** National Human Development Report, 2011: 21.

Thus, displaced persons, with 60% of rural areas (III ENV-Monitoring Commission, 2010: 33), constitute the largest group of victims affected by the abandonment and despojo of land, reaching almost 10% of the Colombian population (CODHES, 2008) <sup>1</sup> (UNHCR, 2012). Then the debate on rural development model stands as an essential contribution to overcoming poverty issue, violence and social injustice that prevails in the country <sup>2</sup> .

Therefore, the political conjuncture associated with the peace dialogues (2011) offers us multiple analytical scenarios in relation to the armed conflict and the agrarian question, (associated with the rural conflict), a situation that is corroborated by the most recent announcement of the creation of a *forum for comprehensive agricultural development policy* [in March](#) by the FARC-EP and the national government, which invite civil society, on 17, 18 and 19 December 2012 <sup>4</sup> .

However, let us deepen our understanding of this conflict in the country, in order to understand the macro scenario of the case to be studied.

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However, building a model of territorial peace requires the universalization of a real and effective social state of law, which implies in principle a reordering of the use, occupation, access and control of the territory; Population settlements are regulated and plans and programs of social and territorial development are built from the local levels - with citizen participation -, ensuring that the aspirations, needs and reliable projections of the territories and their communities are met, hence Agreements that emerged from the negotiation were strongly opposed.

First, in the face of the need not to force theories to reality, but rather the reality can be interpreted according to its characteristics, this means that, although the complexity of the object of study can not be eliminated, an otherwise impossible task, If it can be reduced to manageable and comprehensible dimensions (Real, 2008: 2), while speaking of promoting innovation of new approaches from Latin America, reiterating that it is better to study change from methodological pluralism, since how to recognize Many authors the analysis of policies as object of study has a multitude of explanatory factors (Sabatier, 2007, 2007) as well as objective, institutional, cognitive and rhetorical factors - (Roth-Deubel, 2007) (Cit op Cruz-Rubio; : 30). It is also possible to highlight theoretical approaches such as PP networks, which is an attempt by political science to analyze the relationship between context and process in policy making (Klijn, 1998, 1998), and an effort to contextualize the process of The politics, given the recognition of the complexity present in the process, the interaction of a large number of political and social actors with different interests, goals and strategies in each case, with identifiable interdependencies and stable patterns of relationship over time

On the other hand, the poststructuralism entries in the debates of the public policies have allowed an opening of the more traditional approaches - orthodox - while advancing in more critical and pluralist models. From Herbert Simon (1998) we can find the criticisms of the rational model that stood in front of the public administration, which allow us to understand that the process of public policies is crossed by a series of logic that can not be studied from rigid approaches and where Paper is bureaucracy is essential.

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In fact, in contexts of armed conflict, where the construction of institutionality is so fragile, aspects such as limited rationality, or political monopolies, allow a better understanding of how PPs are designed and implemented. This means that the human capital of the state, its officials, are one of the axes to study, whereas (Bourdieu, 2002: 25) represent an essential actor within the relationship between civil society and State, since they interpret and manage The cultural capital - laws and financial aspects -, is that the population tries to participate, in such a way that it is necessary to investigate the concrete aspects through which the PP are crossed, and that they do not obey the rationality properly, nor they are exempt of External influences such as international economic policy.

However, although a commitment is made to the specific aspects, or context to be more precise, it is important to analyze the subjective part at stake within the PP, as are the narrative of the authors. In fact, the state is felt particularly in the domain <sup>5</sup> of symbolic production: government and their representatives are major producers of "social problems" that social science does not often only confirm to take them up again on his own as sociological problems (suffice, to test, to determine the proportion undoubtedly varies according to the country and now, research on problems arising State, poverty, immigration, school failure, etc., more or less seasoned scientifically) ( Bourdieu, 2005: 3).

McBeth and Jones (2000) synthesize this aspect of subjectivity and the proliferation of the narrative approach by studying the postulates of Hukkinen, Roe, and Rochlin (1990) who used the term "Narrative Policy Analysis" (NPA) from a gamble Post-structuralist view of political processes and where Roe (1994: 156) presents - in the original text - an approximation of his model,

" : ... describes NPA as an alternative to traditional applications of policy analysis that seek consensus and common-ground policy solutions (p.4). NPA occurs in four phases. First, in policy areas of high uncertainty, complexity, and polarization, policy narratives (defined as having beginning, middle, and end) and arguments ". . . That underwrite the policy assumptions of policymaking "(Roe, 1994: 155) are identified. Second, alternative

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narratives that do not conform to the dominant narrative policy (s) defined in step 1 are identified. Next, the two groups of stories identified in steps 1 and 2 are compared and a grand metanarrative policy is derived from the comparison "(Cit op, McBeth & Jones, 2000: 6).

Thus, it is necessary to understand the impact of political narratives during this specific negotiation, which has a concrete climate: the loss of the plebiscite because of the strategies that circulated from the opposition and led to the modification of agreements agreed By the parties after 5 years of negotiation, and with international ratification.

### **Conflict: Negotiation in Havana**

On September 4, 2012, when the dialogues were established in Havana, there was a mixture of optimism and skepticism in public opinion. On the one hand, President Juan Manuel Santos, who was part of the circle of former President Álvaro Uribe, and had served as his political card, began to distance himself from negotiated negotiations, which although they did not initially stop the attacks between The armed actors, began to be open to listen to proposals not only from the FARC but from different sectors of civil society. This task would be carried out by the government's negotiating team, and the High commissioner for peace, Sergio Jaramillo.

As the dialogues unfolded, the opposing positions on the Uribeist bench, which began with the political party Centro Democrático, showed that the dialogues meant a setback to the military achievements, as well as a concession to the FARC. From here, a strong campaign would be established against the negotiating table, and above all the agreements that would be signed in Cartagena in 2016. At this point, the actors began from their different bases to generate a series of speeches that would germinate During the stage of propaganda for the plebiscite of October of the same year.

### **Rising action: Agreement of Cartagena**



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On September 26, 2016, the final agreement of Havana between the FARC and the government of President Juan Manuel Santos was signed, with massive assistance from victims of armed conflict, academics and humanitarian sectors as well as international. This cut-off date would deliver an agreement with five axes, and the beginning of direct propaganda regarding the endorsement of the same in the plebiscite.


**Climax: Plebiscite Falling action: Negotiation with the NO coalition**

On October 2, 2016 (Colombia) the polls until 8:39 pm hid some expected result: NO declared winner by a margin of 50.21% compared to 49.78% of SI <sup>6</sup> . The national panorama became convulsive and the uncertainty of the future of the peace process with the FARC-ep generated a wide mobilization of different sectors of civil society that called for an implementation of the agreements despite the results. In the same way, the institutions analyzed different alternatives for shielding and continue a process of more than 4 years of negotiations had already made great achievements as the bilateral ceasefire [in July](#) . In this scenario took place a call to participate in the Final Agreement to those representative sectors of NO <sup>8</sup> ; A deadline was given for the submission of documents with proposals, and meetings were held with most of its spokespersons. From that parallel negotiation would generate a new final agreement that currently (2017) is being implemented.

The final termination of the offensive actions between the Public Force and the FARC-EP including the affectation to the population, and in this way create the conditions for the beginning of the implementation of the Final Agreement including the abandonment of arms and Reinstatement of the FARC- EP to civilian life [in September](#) .

17 zones and 6 points were established <sup>10</sup> (6 months), which for logistical capabilities handles national unity risk management and disaster both are located in remote areas of the country and work hand Fondopaz <sup>11</sup> , and his regime Of private contracting, under the modality of manifest urgency. The proposed schedule is as follows:

**Graph 2. Schedule 3**



1 de diciembre.	Desplazamiento a las ZVTN.	Transporte armas de acompañamiento y destrucción del armamento inestable.	D+60 7000 Hombres y mujeres ZVTN.	1 de marzo dejación armamento físico 30%.	1 de mayo dejación armamento físico 30%	1 de junio dejación armamento físico 40%	Finalización
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On the other hand, the party of the National Unity at the head of the executive, has unconditionally expressed a unified position in favor of the agreement with the FARC, mainly in the head of Senator Roy Barreras, Armando Benedetti and Manuel Enríquez, in which they have Urged, according to their own declarations, repeated invitations to Uribe to participate actively and purposefully in accordance with the agreement to process in the shortest time, the endorsement through the Congress, stating that they recognized that the Democratic Center is interested in peace for Colombia, But we do not understand the reasons why from the National Government they are summoned to the meetings and they do not attend (Party of the 2016). However, despite the tensions generated by other sectors following the renegotiation process as the Conservative Party, who claim an endorsement with another plebiscite new agreement [in December](#) , the president 's party has held firm stance to process expeditiously implement through Of the mechanism of the Fast Track in the congress (Party of the U, 2016).

**Resolution: The final agreement**

In this section (Section 3) can be placed effects plebiscito three exchange / **Impact: reformative presupposed I, clarifying**; Represented in Table 1. However, the balance locates the changes mainly in the explanatory sector, covering time issues or relation with the existing institutionality, although some aspects may have a greater relevance is during the implementation of the agreements after the D +180. Continuing, there are two budgetary changes, although they do not generate an important structural transformation. The theme of the gender approach is highlighted, which undergoes a

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series of changes on the whole Agreement.

<b>Table 1. Transformations in point 3</b>	
<b>Reincorporation</b>	<b>Guarantee</b>
<p>ECOMUN will submit periodic reports on the execution of resources from the State to the CNR. It should take advantage of the regulations for any cooperative and have viable projects and do not affect programs for victims. Articulation institutions.</p> <p>The amounts corresponding to payments for social security in health and pensions in accordance with current regulations for those who are not linked to remunerated activities, will be guaranteed by the National Government, which will be a fiduciary charge for payments during 24 months. Exceptionally, for serious illnesses of high cost and for the rehabilitation of injuries resulting from the conflict, the Government will establish a special system with national and international cooperation, within the framework of the CNR, for its attention for 36 months.</p>	<p>It was agreed that access to reinstatement measures means that FARC members' commitments to the Agreement and its goals are met. It was agreed that former guerrilla commanders will have an obligation to actively contribute to ensuring the success of the FARC-EP's process of reincorporation into civilian life in a comprehensive way.</p>
<p>The party or political movement that they form annually will receive, between the date of the registry and the 19 of July of 2026 the average that the parties received the last elections. (Formerly 10%) Resources for outreach and the Center for Thought 7% through 2022 of budget appropriation for the functioning of political</p>	<p>On the special investigation unit for the dismantling of criminal organizations: It was agreed, among others, that the Unit will function in close coordination with the other units of the Attorney General's Office (of which it is a part), which its director will <b>A</b> period of 4 years (not 6) and that will be</p>

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<p>parties and movements between the date of registration and July 19, 2022. (Formerly it was 10%)</p>	<p>appointed by the Attorney General of a candidate who will present the JEP Selection Committee. He may be dismissed for serious offenses - which were very serious.</p>
<p>Militias of the FARC. An expedited procedure will be established for the accreditation and transit to the legality of non-armed members of the FARC-EP.</p> <p>The elaboration of the Special Program of Reinstatement for minors must be carried out by the National Council of Reincorporation in a maximum of 15 days from the signing of the Final Agreement, based on the proposal presented by the technical table created by Joint Communiqué No 70.</p> <p>Activate communication channels with municipal officials for the purpose of collecting and processing information to identify potential risk situations that may lead to acts of violence that affect the population<sup>1</sup>.</p>	<p>The personnel of confidence of the new party or political movement that arises from the transit of the FARC-EP to the legal activity that integrates the Security and Protection Corps must be properly trained and must fulfill the requirements of psychological suitability that are demanded to the other members Of protective bodies. The specialized branch of security and protection of the UNP will be in charge of verifying compliance with these requirements.</p> <p>It was pointed out that the concept of immaterial protection measures refers to those measures whose purpose is protection through prevention and non-stigmatization.</p>
<p>The Government will promote that international cooperation supports, with due guarantees of transparency, the development of the necessary infrastructure for the constitution and initial operation of the new party or political movement</p>	<p>On the Security Guarantees Commission: It was agreed that the new political party of the FARC will not be a member of the Commission. (Formerly it included two (2) representatives of the new movement that</p>

<sup>1</sup> Civil incluyendo a organizaciones defensoras de derechos humanos, a los antiguos miembros de las FARC-EP y a los integrantes del partido o movimiento político que surja del tránsito de las FARC-EP a la actividad política legal.

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<p>that arises from the transit of the FARC-EP to legal political activity as well And for the training of its leaders. Cooperation resources may not be used for election campaigns.</p>	<p>emerges from the transit of the FARC-EP to legal political activity and two (2) spokespersons from the human rights sector), including three recognized experts in the field chosen by the Follow-up Committee and two delegates from the Human Rights Platforms. The Commission should also hold monthly meetings.<sup>2</sup></p>
<p>The National Pact is maintained in general, although the "churches" actor is extended to the participation of religious denominations, religious worship groups, faith communities, etc. The role of the other actors is maintained, although from genre to speaking it is the LGBTI population. The same applies for the Protocol of Protection for Rural Territories and other provisions.</p>	

**Structural Aspects:**

1. Access and use - Land fund; Promotion of credit and subsidy for access to land; New land jurisdiction to guarantee the right to property; Training and updating of the cadastre and land tax; Closure of the agricultural frontier and reserve-
  
2. Comprehensive agrarian development programs with territorial approach (PDET). The objective of this point is the structural transformation of the rural-urban relationship in Colombia, guaranteeing the development of the rural world.
  
3. The field must become a reconciliation scenario. Prioritization criteria are established: Poverty indices (NBI); Degree of involvement resulting from the conflict; Institutional weakness and presence of illicit crops and other irregular economies. Based on this criterion, action plans will be developed for regional transformation: the socio-historical conformation of the regions as well as participation mechanisms must be taken into

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<sup>2</sup> La Comisión podrá invitar a los representantes de los partidos y movimientos políticos, a la Oficina del Alto Comisionado para los Derechos Humanos y a otros,

account.

4. The resources for implementation for the financing of the programs are not only by the State. (There will not be exclusively the investment of public money in the implementation of the plans, these may be subject to private and mixed capital).

5. National plans for RRI - infrastructure, water use, social development, stimulation of production and adaptation of land - road infrastructure, electrical installations, irrigation, etc. Another guideline refers to poverty and fundamental rights of the population (education, health, etc.).

6. Stimulus to agricultural production. It seeks the development of economic autonomy (sovereignty over land use and production and gradual reduction of state subsidies); Financial support by cooperatives, accompanied by technical assistance and provision of technology packages in the process of improving productivity.

7. Subsidies, income generation and credit. Provision of resources through seed capital; Promotion of Rotary agricultural funds for the generation of resources by associations; Provision of soft credit lines for small producers.

8. Marketing: promotion of Solidarity Associations. Financing for generation of collection center; Promotion of urban centers of markets for production of peasant economy; And promotion of productive linkages - horizontal and vertical in function of field-city integration.

## **Conclusion**

The dialogues in Havana have involved a transformation in the political paradigms of the country. However, it is important to approach the changes in the readings regarding the territorial impact of the armed conflict and the solutions to it. This means analyzing how the actors understand issues of controversy and what position they have in this

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regard, as they form narratives and counter-narratives that will come into play in the construction of public policies for post-conflict.

A particular feature of peace negotiations is that when these occur, they actually represent two condensed negotiations: one that takes place between the state and groups outside the law, with relative social participation and surveillance of international entities or NGOs to reach To some agreements, to agree on the development of transition regarding all the issues involved in entering a post-conflict, etc .; And what we might call a second stage, or the second negotiation, that arise in postconflict or post-agreement, when policies and agreements must be implemented or stabilized. It is in this sense that the commitment to peace does not eliminate contradictions, antagonistic actors or different positions, but seeks to contribute to the construction of bridges for debate, consensus, dialogue and negotiation of actors in a new Arena where it is expected that the mechanisms of participation to achieve interests or promote ideologies are always democratic.

It is only at this point that not only the positions, but the possibilities of dialogue, in other words, to understand that points are non-negotiable, which can be approached, and which points in common one has in favor. It is important that the stage being built is the institutions, the rule itself, and this is the time an actor of the same <sup>17</sup> , so you need to understand how and from whom the guidelines are made, but also as puede lograr incidir en las mismas aunque algunas veces esto signifique tener discrepancias con los gobiernos de turno, o con políticas ya establecidas.

In other words, I want to rescue the phrase Mexican indigenous leader in the conference organized by the La Caixa Foundation in one of the texts (Brysk, 2007: 29), which show not only a struggle against colonialism but also an economic model different with dynamic and equitable distribution and fair appropriation: "*we do not want self-determination to manage misery*", or peace without guarantees of rights and dignity.

In general, the narrative strategies focused on deepening the image of villains that had

been developed since the presidential term of Álvaro Uribe, extolling the victims and the alleged consequences of the peace process, strengthening an alliance with religious groups, Christian churches mostly which they exerted strong pressure regarding the "gender ideology". The role of a hero never fully consolidated although they appealed to the role of the national army in the armed conflict, and especially to citizens who would win, in his speeches, unless a reinstated.

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<sup>1</sup> CODHES, conducts rigorous monitoring of forced displacement in Colombia, with useful figures that show the phenomenon in different regions of the country, positioning itself in the political arena the debate on methodology and production figures. See: [http://www.codhes.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=cat\\_view&qid=55&Itemid=51](http://www.codhes.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&qid=55&Itemid=51)

<sup>2</sup> The analysis is done using official figures, such as the World Bank, as the annual tabulation of the different poverty gaps (See: <http://datos.bancomundial.org/indicador/SI.POV.RUGP/countries/CO?display=graph>), especially *The World Bank data* (World Development Indicators and Global Development Finance -WDI- -GDF-) (See: [http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/editReport?REQUEST\\_SOURCE=search&CNO=2&country=COL&series=&period=](http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/editReport?REQUEST_SOURCE=search&CNO=2&country=COL&series=&period=)

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<sup>3</sup> The Organic Law on Spatial Planning (Law 1454 of 2011), the Law on victims and land restitution (Law 1448 of 2011), the FTA with the United States (2011), the decree regulating mining (Decree 2820 2010), Bill General for rural development (July 2011), among other legislative issues, constitute the starting point of the discussion on rural development model, since that form the contradictions between the agricultural model that historically it has been implemented, the agricultural model that seeks to impose, and alternative models that seek to increase their legitimacy to be executed.

<sup>4</sup> According to statements by the FARC-EP, the government of Juan Manuel Santos and the dialogue table. For more information: <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iKSD1Jw1xw0IDy5toR6gLcmlpOJA?docId=CNG.2e40a73361558fa6feda833184d4ac5c.61>, <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/mundo/2012/11/678-495271-9-government-Colombia-FARC-and-announce-first-according-to-create-forum-agrario.shtml>

[Consulted on 25.11.2012, at 23.32 hours]

<sup>5</sup> However, monopolies can also change or collapse. It is understood as the need for large step changes occur. Monopolies can cushion and resist the forces of change, but when the pressure for change is enough can cause massive intervention of political actors previously involved in the matter and other government institutions (which usually requires a substantial change in the image policy). These new participants require rewriting the rules and balance of powers, which will be reinforced with new institutional structures where the above agencies or dominant institutions are forced to share power in order to achieve a new legitimacy (True et al., 2007) . Changes that occur with breaking the monopoly can be "shielded" to ensure that reforms are implemented reestablishing a new balance and returning to parallel processing (op Cit Cruz-Rubio, 2010: 20).

<sup>6</sup> Given the Bulletin No. 53 of the National Registry of Colombia (2016) already had 99.98% of polling stations and calculated a 37.43% share of eligible voters, showing also a high however abstention is part of the structural trend of the country.

<sup>7</sup> Bilateral Cease-fire has been one of the flags most renowned regarding the peace process between the FARC and the government of Juan Manuel Santos, as he represented a historic achievement after more than 52 years of armed conflict, and

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began into force on 29 August 2016 with statements from long range exemplified in the words of Rodrigo Londoño, alias Timoshenko "... I order all our commanders, all of our units, each and every one of our and our fighter, to cease fire and hostilities definitively ... the war is over "(elpais, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Among them may be named primarily to: the Association of retired officers of the Armed Forces, Andrés Pastrana Arango, Alejandro Ordóñez, World Revival Center, Evangelical Council Colombian Democratic Center, Diana Sofía Giraldo Colombian Federation of Victims of the FARC, Ilva Myriam Hoyos, Marta Lucía Ramírez, Christian Pact for Peace, Pedro Medellín, Augusto Ibáñez Ricardo Arias - significant group free citizens, Rafael Guarín. (Office of the High Commissioner for Peace, 2016)

<sup>9</sup> During the term of the Agreement on CFHBD and DA; FARC-EP designates a group of 60 of its members (men and women) who can be mobilized at national level in compliance related tasks Peace Agreement. Also, for each ZVTN, the FARC-EP, designates a group of 10 of its members which can be mobilized at the municipal and departmental levels in compliance related tasks Peace Agreement.

<sup>10</sup> Initially 23 zones and 8 points were agreed.

<sup>11</sup> Special Account of the Administrative Department of the Presidency of the Republic, without legal status, administered as a separate accounting system.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.eluniversal.com.co/colombia/el-partido-conservador-no-se-dejara-imponer-la-agenda-de-timochenko-241123>

<sup>13</sup> ECOMÚN, meanwhile, will advise its members in the selection of social security institutions providers of these services.

<sup>14</sup> Civil rights organizations including human rights, to former members of the FARC-EP and members of the political party or movement arising from the transit of the FARC-EP to legal political activity.

<sup>15</sup> The National Commission on Security Guarantees will be chaired by the President of the Republic, it will be made by the Minister of Interior, Minister of Defense, Minister of Justice, Attorney General's Office, Ombudsman, Director of the Special Investigation Unit -point 74 of the Special Court for peace-, General Commander of the Armed Forces, the director General of the National Police, 3 recognized experts in the field chosen by

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the Monitoring Committee and two delegates of the Human Rights Platform. Likewise , the Commission will hold meetings every month. The Commission may invite representatives of political parties and movements, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and other national and international specialized agencies with a presence in the territories and can rely on expert / as on the subject when appropriate . The Commission will be formed before the entry into force of the Final Agreement. In shaping the Commission's effective participation of women will be promoted.

<sup>16</sup> The Commission may invite representatives of political parties and movements, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and others,

<sup>17</sup> To better understand this premise, Bourdie () appears as the state is a battlefield, which however is also an actor in this conflict.