

**International  
Institute of  
Social Studies**

*Erasmus*

**Resisting and Creating the state in the Peasant Reserves  
Zones in Colombia**  
**Exploring a Social Movement's Dynamic of Contention in Practice**

A Research Paper presented by:  
***Pablo Andrés Durán Chaparro***  
(Colombia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:  
**Agrarian, Food and Environmental Studies**  
(AFES)

Specialization:  
**Agrarian and Food Studies**

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Saturnino M. Borrás, Jr.  
Dr. Mindi Schneider

The Hague, The Netherlands  
December 2017

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

**Postal address:**

Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

**Location:**

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

# Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	3
<i>List of Figures</i>	3
<i>List of Maps</i>	3
<i>List of Appendices</i>	3
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	4
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	6
<i>Abstract</i>	7
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	8
PRZ: a movement of movements?	10
Research strategy and methodology	16
Documental and bibliographical analysis	17
The discourse of the territorialization	19
Semi-structured interviews	20
Participant observation	20
<b>Chapter 2: Theories of the Colombian state, agrarian movements and land policies. An analytical framework.</b>	22
Colombian state and access to land in the XIX century	22
Crystallizations of the state	23
Accumulation and legitimization. Land policies and fiscal crisis	23
Autonomy and capacity. Scope of land policies in Colombia	24
First land reform. First oppositional repertoire.	26
<b>Chapter 3: Repertoires of contention in the Colombian recent history</b>	27
Historical formation of the repertoires of contention	27
First cycle. Liberal/communist guerrillas and the independent republics	29
Second cycle. Coca growers and protected areas	32
Third cycle. Institutionalization	35
Fourth cycle. Prosecution and alternatives	37
Fifth cycle. negotiation of peace and implementation of the treaty	39
<b>Chapter 4: Conclusions</b>	41
<i>References</i>	42

## List of Tables

Table 1. PRZ constituted in Colombia	10
Table 2. PRZ to be constituted in Colombia	12

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Triangular model of research	16
Figure 2. Places visited during the 2017 fieldwork (red dots)	21
Figure 3. Total of victims per year in Colombia 1985-2015 (percentage victims per year)	37

## List of Maps

Map 1. PRZ in Colombia. Constituted (red), in process (green) and projected (blue)	13
--	----

## List of Appendices

Appendix A	50
Appendix B	51
Appendix C	53

## List of Acronyms

ANT	Agencia Nacional de Tierras (National Land Agency)
ACVC	Asociación Campesina del Valle del Río Cimitarra (Peasant Association of the Cimitarra River Valley)
ANUC	Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (National Association of Peasant Users)
ANZORC	Asociación Nacional de Zonas de Reserva Campesina (National Association of Peasant Reserve Zones)
ASCAMCAT	Asociación Campesina del Catatumbo (Catatumbo Peasant Association)
CNA	Coordinador Nacional Agrario (National Agrarian Coordinator)
COOAGROGUAVIARE	Cooperativa Multiactiva del Guaviare (Multiactive Agricultural Cooperative of Guaviare (Cooagroguaviare))
FARC	Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común (Revolutionary Alternative Force of the Common)
FARC – EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army)
IGAC	Instituto Geografico Agustin Codazzi (Geographic Institute Agustin Codazzi)
INCODER	Instituto Colombiano de Desarrollo Rural (Colombian Institute for Rural Development)
INCORA	Instituto Colombiano de Reforma Agraria

(Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform)

MLAR	Market Led Agrarian Reform
PNN	Parques Nacionales Naturales (National Natural Parks)
PRZ	Zona de Reserva Campesina (Peasant Reserve Zone)
SINPEAGRICUN	Sindicato de Pequeños Agricultores de Cundinamarca (Small Farmers Union of Cundinamarca)

## Acknowledgments

To my father who has suffered  
the injustice of justice

## **Abstract**

Law 160 of 1994 in Colombia marks a point of transit between the sterile attempts for agrarian reform in the 20th century and a series of market based land policies. However, this law also marks the end of a cycle of peasant mobilization, especially in border areas, and with it a partial recognition of the peasant settlers is achieved, through what the law named Peasant Reserve Zones (PRZ). These zones allow basically three main things to the inhabitants of frontier zones: the titling of the land that the settlers have transformed and that they informally possess, the closure of the agricultural frontier through a control of the amount of land that can be owned inside the zone, and the peasant governance of the zone. The peasant governance is manifested through processes of territorial ordering, in which the peasant associations that impulse each zone regulates the social and economic activities of it.

The majority of the academic literature that has analyzed the PRZ in the last 25 years has focused its attention in particular zones treating them as case studies. Through these cases, this literature has presented the PRZ as a reaction of the peasant communities to the processes of capital accumulation and capital penetration in the Colombian countryside. Nevertheless, this literature has done this analysis without considering in depth the variation in the strategies the PRZ have used in developing a repertoire of contention against the implementation of land policies before the law 160 was issued and after it, and focusing mainly in the critical geography discussion of the dynamics of territorialization.

Through a sociological and historical analysis, this paper offers an initial exploration of the dynamic process of formation of a repertoire of contention of the Colombian PRZ. This paper analyzes in a parallel way the formation of the Colombian state and the formation of a peasant social movement. It concludes arguing that the PRZ have developed two repertoires of contention through which they have at the same time resist and create the Colombian state, and 5 strategies that have enabled them a margin of maneuver between the two repertoires.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

This paper analyzes the historical process of development of a repertoire of contention of the state's land policies and the strategies that the peasant communities have used to achieve their territorial rights

## **Keywords**

State-society relations, Peasant Reserve Zones, Colombia, armed conflict.



# I. Chapter 1: Introduction

“The basic question of every revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution, not to speak of guidance of the revolution”.

V. I. Lenin (2005).

A friend<sup>1</sup> who was in the protest told me about the hundreds of peasants in front of an oil extraction station in El Catatumbo, a region in the north west of Colombia, in the border with Venezuela. These peasants were boys between 18 and 30 years old. Many of their parents suffered, for political reasons, one of the strongest waves of paramilitary violence that was experienced in the country. Now, it was their turn to forcefully claim their rights, which, as in the case of the parents, had to do with the land. They call themselves *bolilleros*<sup>2</sup> and are cultivators and *raspachines* (harvesters) of coca leaves. This action in front of the oil station was part of a bigger strike in Colombia. This strike in the region was specifically against the government's decision to carry out a forced coca eradication plan and to demand the constitution of the Peasant Reserve Zone (PRZ) of El Catatumbo.

A PRZ is a delimited zone in the countryside of Colombia (especially in frontier zones) that guarantees the access to land for poor peasants, the closure of the agricultural frontier and the territorial governance executed by the peasant association who asks for its constitution<sup>3</sup>. My friend told me that in front of the oil station, one of the protesters suddenly climbed into a truck that carried crude oil and threatened to burn it down due to his rage created by the government's violent eradications and the emotions produced by a collective action, such as the protest that he was part of. Immediately, his fellow *bolilleros* convinced him of how dangerous it would be to set fire to a truck with crude oil in front of an oil station. This prompted the peasant to give up his idea. The Catatumbo strike continued for 53 days, which led to the assassination of four peasants. At the end of the strike, a series of government commitments with the peasants, which included the installation of a permanent dialogue table between the government and the peasants. In October and November 2017, four years after the

---

<sup>1</sup> Rafael Aguja. Former member of the Dynamizing team of ANZORC.

<sup>2</sup> Bolillero in the context of the region of El Catatumbo, and more specifically in the Peasant Association of El Catatumbo (ASCAMCAT) is a peasant that carries a baton, as a symbol of authority and as a sign of membership to the Peasant Guard of El Catatumbo. The Peasant guard is a mechanism of self protection that peasants from some Peasant Reserve Zones (PRZ) have kickstarted as a way to defend their lives and their permanence in the territory (Peasant Guard Presentation in the event ‘Sabores y Saberes 2017’ in Bolo Blanco, department of Valle del Cauca).

<sup>3</sup> The definition of a PRZ, of course, is not exempt of debate. This debate is part of the contradiction of being at the same time a social movement's tool to organize their territory and a state's tool to guarantee access to land for poor peasants. The definition given by the state is in the law 160 of 1994 in the chapter XIII, in the Agreement 024 of 1996 of the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA) and in the decree 1777 of 1996. The peasant associations in a parallel way use the ‘institutional’ definition and expand it by introducing elements that describe it as a zone where a peasant governance of the territory is put in practice. This can be seen, for example, in the political and programmatic proposal of ANZORC (2013) and in pedagogic documents of the peasant associations as the Primer of the PRZ of El Catatumbo (ASCAMCAT 2012). This opposition was also discussed by the researcher Carlos Duarte in an interview made by the author (2017).

Catatumbo strike, a new protest was held in Colombia where the peasants demanded the fulfillment of the agreements of the strike of 2013 and the fulfillment of the peace agreements between the national government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army (FARC-EP).

This anecdote summarizes the dynamics of contention of the peasants from the PRZ and the state, since these zones were recognized in the Colombian law and before its institutional recognition. The peasants from these zones have used a wide series of actions that ranges from 'violent' strikes to negotiation and institutional agreements; actions that goes from moments of madness, similar to the anecdote, where "all is possible" (Zolberg 1972: 183) to moments of adaptation to the state's normativity. This research aims to analyze in detail the plot of contention strategies that the PRZ have used in Colombia, in response to the state's dynamic implementation of land policies in the last twenty-five years.

My interest is to expound on the strategies the PRZ have used swimming between the waters of their most radical aspirations and what is doable given the balance of state and social forces at a given time. How have these strategies been formed over time? How has the state shaped the type and scope of these strategies? The series of actions and/or strategies that the PRZ have developed in their struggle are analyzed through the lens given by the repertoire of contention theoretical framework (Tarrow 1993, Tilly 1978, Tilly 1995). According to this, a repertoire is not only what people *do* but also what they *know how to do* "on situations in which the opportunities are rigorously defined and strictly limited" (Tilly 1978: 7).

Not any kind of collective action at any moment of time could constitutes *per se* a repertoire. Repertoires emerge and evolve with the rhythms of development of states and capitalism (Tarrow 1993: 282). Repertoires emerge and change by long term evolutionary processes. "The viability of one of the elements of a repertoire depends on what forms of protest have been invented and disseminated in a population and on what grievances a given form is appropriate to express" (Stinchcombe 1987: 1248-1249). The purpose of my work is to identify and analyze the set of routines that have emerged and that have been learned, shared and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice (Tilly 1995: 42) in the process of formation of the PRZ.

But, since it takes two to tango, my interest is to analyze the collective action of the PRZ contending the state in the arena of implementation of the land policies in Colombia. According to Charles Tilly, "like their theatrical counterparts, repertoires of collective action designate not individual performances but means of *interaction* among pair or larger sets of actors" (Tilly 1995: 42). The dynamic arena of implementation of the land policies is the place I am looking at, in order to see the emergences of a diverse peasant collective responses to the (also diverse) performance of the Colombian state.

Following the analytical framework of Jonathan Fox in *The Politics of Food in Mexico*, my purpose is to show how the contradictory dynamic between the dialectic composition of the Colombian state and the PRZ have shaped the contingent boundaries between the limits and possibilities of peasant territorialities and rural reform in Colombia; and how the reciprocal interaction between state and social actors can lead to unexpected political outcomes of the two group of actors (Fox 1993: 39-40).

Colin Barker sums on this, pointing out that “[t]he ‘class struggle’ occurs not only *between* movements and their antagonists, but also *within* them: their ideas, forms of organization and repertoires of contention are all within their opponent's ‘strategic sights’” (2014: 48). This research shows how the repertoire of contention of the PRZ has shaped the state’s implementation of land policies, but also how this state’s implementation has shaped the PRZ converting them in a diverse social movement.

This work is organized as follows: in the *first chapter* I present a brief introduction to the PRZ, present the research methodology followed for the production of this paper, and at the end of the chapter I discuss briefly the history of the waste land policies in Colombia until the law 160 of 1994 informed by a theoretical discussion on the state. In the *second chapter* I continue the theoretical discussion on the state’s implementation of waste land policies in Colombia during the period of formation of the first PRZ until now. In the *third chapter* I present an analysis of the repertoire of contention that the PRZ have developed during the implementation of wasteland policies in the last twenty-five years. As a conclusion of the study, I discuss the processes of convergence and contestation between the state, the PRZ and the dynamic trajectories of change in social structures, institutions and political agency.

- **Central research question of this study**

How has been the repertoire of contention of the PRZ formed in response to the Colombian state’s dynamic implementation of land policies?

- **Main objectives of this study**

\* Expound the historical processes of formation of the repertoire of contention of the PRZ and the main actors and strategies involved in them.

\* Explore the political dynamics of the relations between the Colombian state and the peasants from the frontier zones.

\* Discuss the convergences and the contestations between the state and the PRZ in the arena of implementation of land policies in Colombia.

**a. PRZ: a movement of movements?**

**b. Table 1. PRZ constituted in Colombia**

PRZ	Department	Municipality	N° of resolution and start date	Estimated Extension (Has.)
Cabrera	Cundinamarca	Cabrera	Res. 046 - November 7 of 2000	44.000
Bajo Cuembí y Comandante	Putumayo	Puerto Asís	Res. 069 - December 18 of 2000	22.000

Morales-Arenal	Bolívar	Arenal	Res. 054 - June 22 of 1999	29.110
		Morales		
Guaviare	Guaviare	Calamar	Res.054 - December 18 of 1997	463.600
		El Retorno		
		San José del Guaviare		
Cuenca de Rio Pato y valle de Balsillas	Caquetá	San Vicente del Caguán	Res. 055 - December 18 of 1997	88.401
Valle del Rio Cimitarra	Antioquia	Remedios - Yondó	Res. 028 - December 10 of 2002	184.000
	Bolívar	Cantagallo-San Pablo	Reactivation Res. 240 - February 22 de 2011	

Made by the author based on INCODER

What was the first PRZ that was constituted in Colombia? I remember that I asked while trying to awaken the interest of a group of peasants who were watching my presentation. Some of them moved their *ponchos* (shawls) to receive some air in their faces and keep the mosquitoes away, others laughed in silence at some joke, while one looked towards the clouds trying to forecast the weather of the following hours. At a first moment no one answered. I repeated the question. Again, no one answered. Before I asked for the third time, someone shouted: this one, the PRZ of El Guaviare. Some nodded their heads, indicating that their comrade was right, others remained indifferent, while the one who looked carefully at the clouds had decided that he would leave for his farm before the workshop was over. "It's going to rain and the road is not in good condition", I imagined he thought. At the end of the workshop<sup>4</sup>. I was impressed. I thought that most of the peasants of the first PRZ of Colombia had a thorough knowledge of what this zone 'meant' to them, of their benefits and their history. Most certainly several knew this and perhaps wanted to know how much I knew about it, to test the comrade from the city. But, undoubtedly (based on what I talked with them afterwards), many others had no idea what a PRZ was and why it was important.

**Table 2. PRZ to be constituted in Colombia**

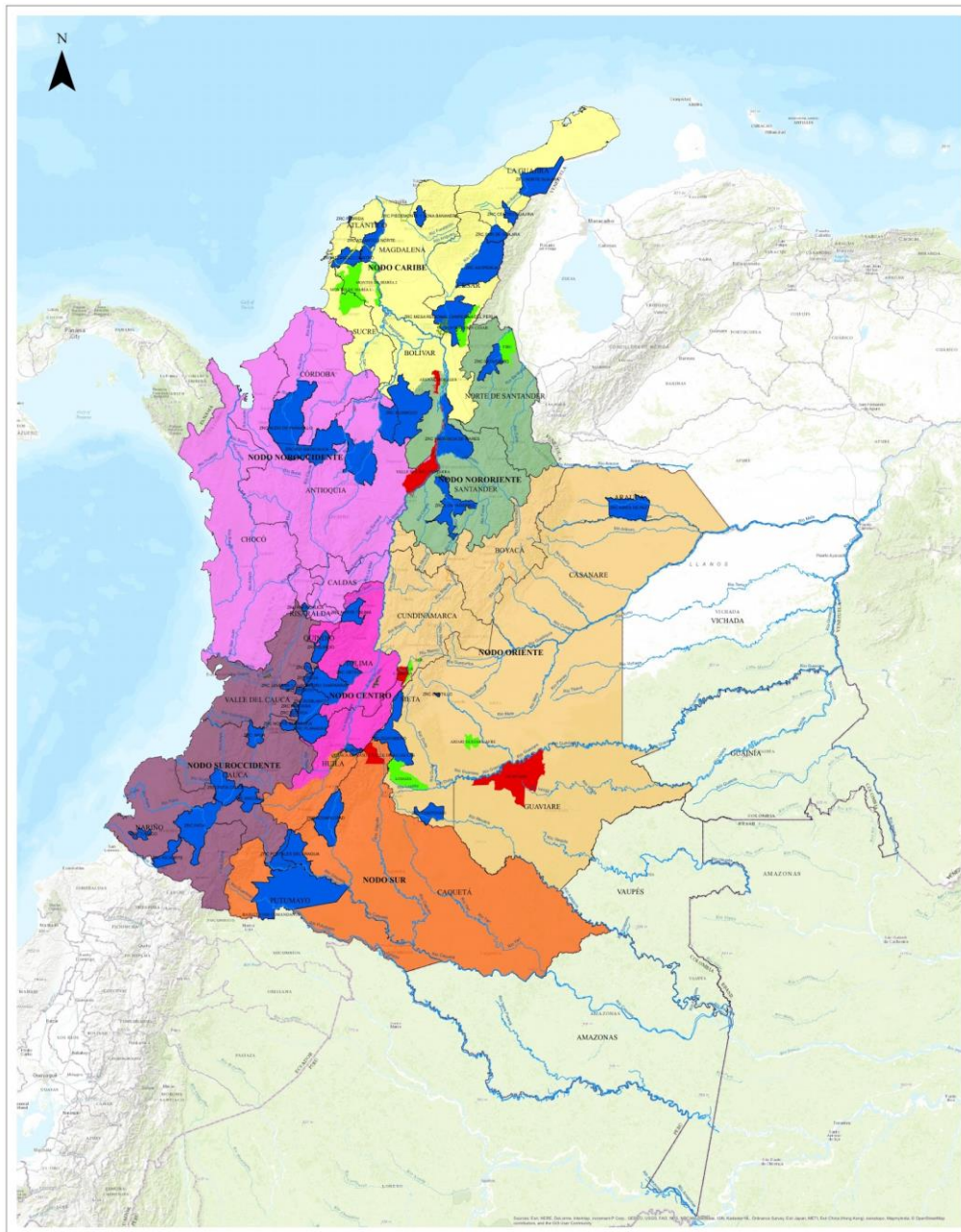
PRZ	Department	Nº of resolution and start date	Estimated Extension (Has.)
-----	------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------

<sup>4</sup> I did a series of workshops in the department of Guaviare, the First PRZ of Colombia, from the 26th of March to the 1st of April of 2016 and from the 07th of April to the 20th of April of 2016.

Montes de María 1	Sucre	Resolution 189 / February 01 of 2011	380.000 approval in public audience
	Bolívar		
Montes de María 2	Bolívar	Resolution 189 / February 01 of 2011	78.000 approval in public audience
Ariari-Güejar - Cafre	Meta	Resolution No. 2059 / August 11 of 2011	42.000
Catatumbo	Norte de Santander	Resolution No. 2060 / August 11 of 2011	153.000 without sustraction Law 2 of 1959 353.000 with the sustraction
Sumapaz	Bogotá D.C.	Resolution No. 3180 / November 25 of 2011	40.000
Cesar	Cesar	In process of sustraction Law 2 of 1959	150.000
Lozada Guayabero	Meta	Resolution No. 0431 / March 23 of 2012	210.000

Made by the author based on INCODER

Map 1. PRZ in Colombia. Constituted (red), in process (green) and projected (blue)



<p>REPÚBLICA DE COLOMBIA</p> <p>Asociación Nacional de Zonas de RESERVA CAMPESINA ANZORC</p>	<p>Mapa Nuevas Zonas de Reserva Campesina ANZORC</p> <p>2016</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">NODOS</th> <th colspan="2">CONVENCIONES</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Caribe</td> <td>[Yellow]</td> <td>Límite departamental</td> <td>[Dashed line]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Centro</td> <td>[Pink]</td> <td>Límite país</td> <td>[Solid line]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Noroccidente</td> <td>[Light Blue]</td> <td colspan="2">TIPO DE ZONA DE RESERVA CAMPESINA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Nororiental</td> <td>[Light Green]</td> <td>ZRC Constituido</td> <td>[Red]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Oriente</td> <td>[Light Purple]</td> <td>ZRC en proceso de constitución</td> <td>[Green]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sur</td> <td>[Light Orange]</td> <td>ZRC en proyección</td> <td>[Blue]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sur Occidente</td> <td>[Light Brown]</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	NODOS		CONVENCIONES		Caribe	[Yellow]	Límite departamental	[Dashed line]	Centro	[Pink]	Límite país	[Solid line]	Noroccidente	[Light Blue]	TIPO DE ZONA DE RESERVA CAMPESINA		Nororiental	[Light Green]	ZRC Constituido	[Red]	Oriente	[Light Purple]	ZRC en proceso de constitución	[Green]	Sur	[Light Orange]	ZRC en proyección	[Blue]	Sur Occidente	[Light Brown]			<p>Localización geográfica</p>	<p>Escala 1:2.500.000</p> <p>INFORMACIÓN DE REFERENCIA</p> <p>Sistema de referencia: MAGNA-SIRGAS Zona: Bogotá Elipsoide: GSR80 Origen de coordenadas: 75°00'00" Longitud oeste 00°00'00" Longitud norte Fuente: IGAC, 2014 Esi contribuyentes</p>	<p>CesPaz Centro de Estudios para la Paz</p> <p>Elaboración de CesPaz para Anzorc</p>
NODOS		CONVENCIONES																																			
Caribe	[Yellow]	Límite departamental	[Dashed line]																																		
Centro	[Pink]	Límite país	[Solid line]																																		
Noroccidente	[Light Blue]	TIPO DE ZONA DE RESERVA CAMPESINA																																			
Nororiental	[Light Green]	ZRC Constituido	[Red]																																		
Oriente	[Light Purple]	ZRC en proceso de constitución	[Green]																																		
Sur	[Light Orange]	ZRC en proyección	[Blue]																																		
Sur Occidente	[Light Brown]																																				

Source: ANZORC & CESPAP

The workshop in which I asked the question was held in the department of Guaviare, on the banks of the Inírida River in a place known as Tomachipán, scenario of hard confrontations between the army and the FARC-EP guerrillas. In the department of Guaviare, the first PRZ was constituted in the 18th of December of 1997 by the resolution 0054 of the Colombian Institute for Rural Development (INCODER). That same day the resolution 0055 of INCODER gave institutional viability to the PRZ of El Pato-Balsillas (COOAGROGUAVIARE 2012: 6) in the department of Caquetá. Guaviare and Caquetá have been the place of transit and arrival of millions of peasants in different waves of colonization (Molano 2006: 21- 89, Carrillo 2016: 81-108). The PRZ of Guaviare was created after a period of strong mobilization of coca growers in this department and others such as Caquetá, Putumayo and ones in the so-called Magdalena Medio region. The repertoire of contention by these years was distinguished in one hand, by the marches and the concentrations demanding the formalization of the land and solutions to the problem of illicit use crops (COOAGROGUAVIARE 2012: 5); and in the other hand for the development of studies sponsored by the Geographic Institute Agustín Codazzi (IGAC) and by the Araracuara corporation in which particular zones were characterized as areas for the stabilization of peasant migration to the southeast of the country (Fajardo 2002: 89).

After the establishment of these two PRZ, other four were constituted in the country (Table 1). These six PRZ sum up a total of 893.465 hectares that the state has destined for poor peasants, mainly settlers that migrated to frontier zones. However, according to the leaders of these zones, there has not been a state's commitment to financing and developing the Sustainable Development Plans<sup>5</sup> of each one of them (Jerez 2013). The formalization of the land inside the PRZ is as precarious (DNP 2015: 104) as in other rural areas and in general, social and economic indicators show how these areas are still in marginality and poverty<sup>6</sup>. According to the 024 Agreement of 1996, of the INCORA, the constitution of a PRZ can be requested by some entities of the state or by organizations that represent the interest of the settlers and peasants. Almost all the PRZ that are constituted (the six of them) or in process of constitution (Table 2) have been requested by peasant associations (six out of seven initiatives in process of constitution). In total, at this moment there are more than 50 peasant associations in the country related to a PRZ or in the process of constitution of one (ANZORC 2013).

The National Association of Peasant Reserve Zones (ANZORC) came into being as a national

---

<sup>5</sup> The elaboration of a Sustainable Development Plan is one of the requirements that is needed to be fulfilled in order to constitute a Peasant Reserve Zone. This document contains important information of the area that could be declared as a PRZ, such as: the geographical delimitation, the social, economical and agroecological characteristics of the area, the main social and economic conflicts of the zone, the programs of rural development that should be implemented in the zone, the state of land tenure, land occupation and land use, the minimum and maximum extensions of land that could be adjudicated determined in Family Agricultural Units, and the number of these that can be held in property by any person, the requisites and obligations that the inhabitants of the land must fulfill, the criteria for a process of environmental ordering of the territory, the exact delimitation of those areas that according to their special characteristics cannot be occupied and exploited and the basic norms to regulate the conservation, protection and utilization of natural resources in the area (INCORA, Government of Colombia 1996).

<sup>6</sup> Interview to Carlos Duarte (14 August 2017).

association in 2001, with the purpose of connecting all the peasant associations linked to a PRZ in a national level. This articulation was done to create a space of encounter among these peasant associations and to act in coordination contesting other actors at the national level. ANZORC was promoted strongly by the Peasant Association of the Cimitarra River Valley (ACVC), the strongest PRZ association until now<sup>7</sup>. However, the suspension of the PRZ of the Cimitarra Valley River and the prosecution of the board of ACVC by the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez, produced the suspension of also the activities of ANZORC as national association (Jerez 2013).

ANZORC was only reactivated in 2011, one year after the end of the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez. In this sense, the ANZORC as a movement is a relatively young movement, but the peasant associations that make it up are not. As it is going to be presented in the following chapter, some of the associations struggling for a PRZ even have their roots in the beginning of the past century. This is the reason why, when in this work I refer to the movement of the PRZ, I do not refer specifically to the ANZORC platform (I only refer to it as such when I expound on the contemporary repertoires of contention of the PRZ).

I refer to the Peasant Reserve Zones as a movement as the result of adding all the strategies and repertoires of contention of all the organizations that in the country have as their objective the constitution or impulse of a PRZ and that are part of ANZORC<sup>8</sup>. In some cases, especially from the year 2011 onwards, the repertoire of contention of that sum of organizations matches with the repertoire of contention of ANZORC as a national platform. In other cases, the logic of mobilization of ANZORC in its national level do not correspond to the local expression of some particular PRZ, for example in international relations strategies.

In summary, this work is an analysis of the repertoire of contention of the PRZ and not an analysis of ANZORC, as a national arena and a national strategy of that PRZ. Eric Hobsbawm define peasant movements as “a conglomerate of local and regional movements whose unity is momentary and fragile” (Hobsbawm 1973: 9). The PRZ movement is not an exception to this definition. The Peasant Reserve Zones are a highly diverse movement. A movement that has been growing over time with associations very different within them. Different in their political trajectory, different in their class composition, different in their economic activities, different in their social composition and different in their geographical root. This diversity of course affects the type of movement object of this analysis.

---

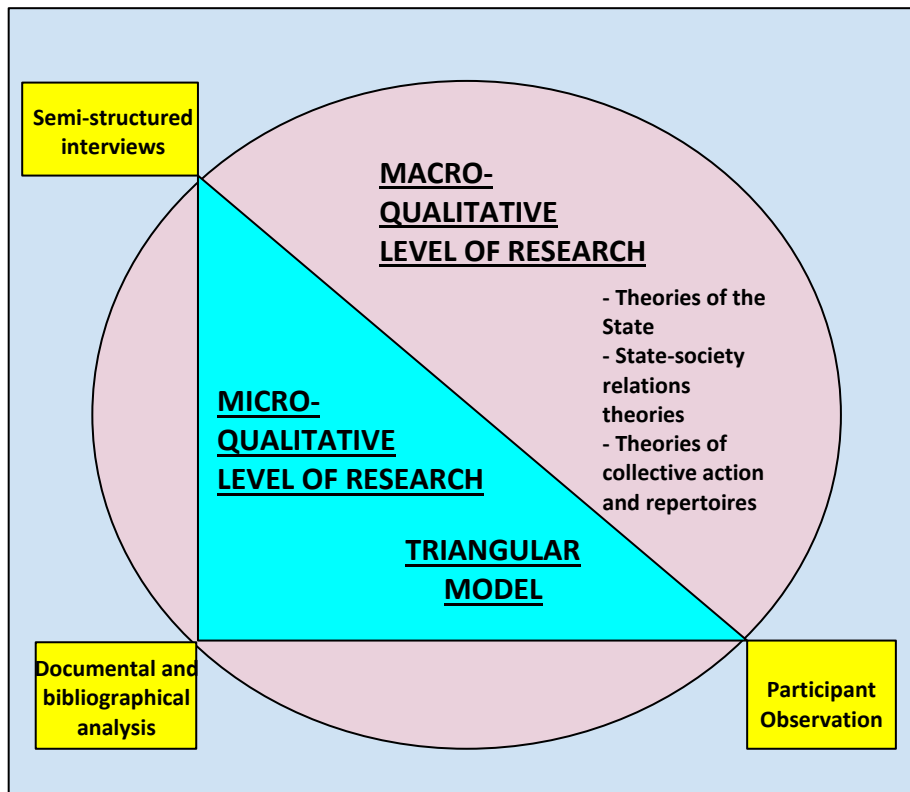
<sup>7</sup> Focus group with the National Dynamizing team of ANZORC (5 September 2017).

<sup>8</sup> There are peasant associations that are considering asking for a PRZ that do not belong to ANZORC as it was said by Carlos Duarte (Interview 14 August 2017). These initiatives that are not part of ANZORC are not considered in this paper given the insignificant number of them and their recent emergence. The initiatives of PRZ that are not part of ANZORC are not more than five and they start appearing in recent years. If this number is compared with the more than 50 initiatives that are in ANZORC, it is possible to conclude that for the purpose of this research that analyzes historical repertoires of contention, it is not important their inclusion.



c. Research strategy and methodology

Figure 1. Triangular model of research



Made by the author based on Iglesias (2008: 55) and Blee & Taylor (2002: 112)

For the production of this work, I follow a systemic methodology that incorporates two levels of research: a micro-qualitative level and a macro-qualitative level. In the micro-qualitative level of the research, I followed a triangular model of gathering data, that consists in using different research methods to complement one another (Della Porta & Keating 2008: 34). The triangulation allows me to see the problem of research I am working on from three different angles, and in this way, increase the reliability of my work (Della Porta & Keating 2008: 37). The first method that I used for this triangulation is the historical review (University of Alabama 2017) of documents and bibliography on the topic of PRZ and in general of land policies in Colombia. The second method I used is the key informant interviewing techniques. The third one is the participant observation.

The macro-qualitative level of research consisted in one side in a systematic literature review of the theories of the state and the theories of state-society relations that guided the way the problem of the contention of the land policies by the Peasant Reserve Zones was tackled analytically. In the other side, it consisted in the use of the repertoire of contention theory and the frame analysis techniques to address the issue of how different ways of collective action have emerged in this social movement

and “how particular ideas/ideologies are used deliberately to mobilize supporters and demobilize adversaries vis à vis a particular goal” (Snow and Benford 1988). With the use of frame analysis techniques, I am not only interested in the symbolic and political use of names, categories and discourses, but also in the ways the movement have framed particular issues have conducted them to mobilize in certain directions. I am interested in the language of the mobilization but also in the mobilization itself (Della Porta 2014: 201). Following, I am going to present in detail the data gathered in each of the levels of my research process.

## 1. Documental and bibliographical analysis

I did a literature review of the most important articles and books that has been written on the topic of the PRZ for two purposes. The first purpose is to situate in a historical perspective the repertoire of contention of the PRZ associations, and in this way, analyze the trajectories of changes in the collective action they have performed since the past century until now. The second purpose is to highlight the main gaps and biases that the actual academic literature on the topic has, in order to contribute with this paper to fill those gaps and strengthen the analytical tools that have been used to investigate it.

One of the first academic sketches of the proposal of the PRZ can be found in an article about a report presented by a group of experts to design the bases of the international position of the Colombian commission for the 1992 Brazil Earth Summit. This article was written by Alfredo Molano and Constanza Ramírez and published in *Revista Ecológica* in the year 1991. The article analyzes the environmental consequences of the peasant economy in some protected areas of Colombia. As a solution, the authors proposed the establishment of territories called *Resguardos campesinos* as places for the stabilization of the peasant economy (in order to stop the colonization of more areas in the agricultural frontier). The main components of this *Resguardos Campesinos* are the promotion of the access and formalization of land, the collective management of this territories by the peasant communities and the environmental protection (Molano & Ramírez 1991: 38). This proposal is a key referring in the history of what in this work I call the institutional repertoire of contention of the PRZ. The *resguardos campesinos* is the first elaboration that the peasant associations of the frontier zones and their allies created as a potential public policy that combines the access to land, the closure of the agricultural frontier and the environmental protection of areas affected by the intervention of the peasant colonization. This experience will shape future elaborations of the PRZ around the discourse of the environmental protection and the access to land, discourse that is frame mainly inside its institutional repertoire, the repertoire that *creates* the state.

Once the first PRZ were created, three of them received financing in a project called the Pilot Project of the PRZ. This project was implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture, through the Interamerican Institute for the Cooperation for the Agriculture (IICA) with funding from the World Bank (Estrada Álvarez 2012: 38). The first technical documents (beside the legislation on the issue) that were written about the PRZ were done because of the execution of this project in the departments of Cundinamarca, Guaviare and Caquetá. These were five documents that contain a summary on the legislation of the PRZ, tools for the measurement of the socio-economic, socio-environmental and of

the variables of organizational capacity in the three departments. Product of this same pilot researchers from Javeriana university did an investigation to measure the impact of it. With this research, the academics hoped to “disseminate this experience among the institutions linked to rural development, rural communities, the government and society in general, with the purpose of illustrating and disseminating the main results obtained during its implementation. Aspects that clearly demonstrate its usefulness and relevance as a public policy of differentiated character that is oriented towards the stabilization of the peasant economy in specific territorial spaces” (Ortíz, Pérez, Brieva & Muñoz 2004: 11).

In 2012 the Javeriana University published *Autonomías territoriales: experiencias y desafíos (Territorial autonomy: experiences and challenges)*, a book that collects a series of articles discussing issues around the territory, the autonomy and the processes of resistance. This book was compiled by Juan Guillermo Ferro and Gabriel Tobón with other professors members of the observatory of ethnic territories. Some of the articles in the book address the PRZ. One of these articles pose the question around the peasant autonomy and asks if it is an utopy. In the article, the peasant autonomy is presented as the radical counter proposal of the cultural and political liberal-capitalism, and indicates that in the PRZ peasants are fighting permanently for this autonomy that is threatening the power of the state (Ferro & Tobón 2012: 100-101). In an article published by the Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (Popular Education and Research Center - CINEP), one of the two compilers of the mentioned book and one member of the observatory of ethnic territories elaborate the same thesis that argues that the peasants of one of the PRZ, the one of the Cimitarra Valley River, are the bearers of a collective identity that demands an autonomous development, radically different from that one of the capitalism and that is built on the margins of the state (Osorio & Ferro 2014 : 28). Some of the articles presented in the book (Ferro & Tobón 2012) offer a simplistic view of what is good and what is bad in the Colombian countryside. And even if they try to highlight the dynamism of the PRZ process they lack in the presentation of it in analytical terms. This is evident when they affirm that the peasant territorialization that happens through the peasant struggles revendicate a ‘traditional’ way of building an alternative of solidarity, communitarian spirit and its “old and libertarian wish of not having patron” (Ferro & Tobón 2012: 100). These affirmations do not match with the more complex reality of the Colombian countryside, in which things such as the economy of coca has broken some of these ‘traditional’ ways of living.

In the design of the PRZ as an instrument of public policy, Darío Fajardo played an important role. This academic helped the peasant movement in the multiple meetings, advocacy and negotiation actions that were done with different entities of the state, as well as international organizations, before the inclusion of the PRZ in the law 160 of 1994 (González 2017: 157). In two of his most recent books, he exposes the history of the PRZ, the mobilizations of the 1990’s decade and how this territorial legal form (the PRZ) emerge in the middle of that struggle. In his books *Para sembrar la paz hay que aflojar la tierra. Comunidades, tierras y territorios en la construcción de un país (To sow peace you have to loosen the land. Communities, lands and territories in the construction of a country)* (2002) and *Las guerras de la agricultura colombiana. 1980-2010 (The wars of Colombian agriculture. 1980-2010)* (2014), he presents in a descriptive way the history of transitions from the processes of colonization and expansion of the

agricultural border of the past century, the law 160 of 1994 and the building process of the PRZ initiative (Fajardo 2002: 77-94).

- **The discourse of the territorialization**

The book (perhaps the only academic book that has been done completely dedicated to the subject of the PRZ) that summarizes some of the most important discussions about the PRZ is *Territorios campesinos. La experiencia de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina (Peasant territories. The experience of the Peasant Reserve Zones)* edited by Jairo Estrada Álvarez, one well known academic and member of the party Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común - FARC (Revolutionary alternative force of the common - FARC). The book gathers articles from researchers from the National University and members of the advisory team of the land subdivision of the state institution INCODER. The first section of the books focuses in the historic trajectory of the PRZ, other similar experiences in latin america, the financial dilemmas of the zones and one normative analysis with advices to improve it (Estrada Álvarez 2013: 17-187). The second section is focused in analyzing the instruments of peasant territorial order, the fundamentation for the delivery and recuperation of the wasteland in Colombia and the actual state of the peasant's rights in Colombia (Estrada Álvarez 2013: 193-253). Is a highly descriptive book, useful for a well-informed introduction to the PRZ in Colombia.

In general terms, the actual research articles and books on PRZ follows a scheme of presentation of their analysis in which in the first part, after an historic context, the concepts of territory, peasants rights and territoriality are presented as opposed to the capitalist process of territorialization and in the second section one of the PRZ is presented as the example of a social movement that is living and struggling to constitute a type of territorialization different to that one of the capitalist accumulation. In general, this is the scheme that guides the actual research on the topic. It doesn't mean that they are not rigorous or that all the researches are just around the theme of the territory or the territorialization. I mean that an important number of the actual research on PRZ is following this scheme in which after presenting the history of the PRZ and some analytical tools, these are sometimes used trying to make fit the PRZ in the theoretical model designed. A greater emphasis in the building of a more puzzled problematique is required, in order to deepen more in the actors, relations and forces in the PRZ, that go beyond the presentation of them as a neat alternative to the savage capitalism. Nevertheless, there are six academic works that stand out because they transcend the descriptive logic and try to build a problematique around medullar issues in the PRZ. This are the works of Chaparro (2014), Quiroga (2012), Carrillo (2016), Lendal (2017), Quesada (2013) and Solá (2016).

The majority of the books presented in this section were used in the documental analysis used for this research to analyze the historical transformation of the PRZ, as well as to indagate in the forms of collective action that were used in each period of time by the social movement. In this review, I only presented the books and articles that were elaborated to make an academic analysis of the PRZ. Other books and articles on the land policies in Colombia were used in the research process, as well as documents produced by the PRZ. This material also has been analyzed in the processes of gathering of data, and is going to be presented referenced properly.

## 2. Semi-structured interviews

For this research I did 11 semi-structured interviews and 2 focus groups with people working in the area of the rural social movements and members of these movements, whose specific profile is in the Appendix B. I interviewed 2 researchers of the Institute of Intercultural Studies of Javeriana University in Cali, 5 members of ANZORC (3 from the technical teams, the leader that is responsible for the 'Southwest' node of ANZORC and the president of this association), 1 leader of the national peasant association 'National Agrarian Coordinator' (CNA), 1 official of the program of PRZ of the NGO Forum Syd, 2 officials of the National Land Agency (ANT), 1 ex-official of the INCORA and INCODER and 1 PHD researcher at the University Paris X Nanterre. I did one focus group with the team 'Initiatives for Peace' of CINEP and one focus group with the national dynamizing team of ANZORC.

## 3. Participant observation

I visit a PRZ for the first time in the 2010. The ACVC, the movement that was struggling for its constitution and development had been suffering a ferocious repression by the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez. 5 leaders of the PRZ had been murdered during the last eight years, some had received attacks on their lives and half of the board of the association was put in prison (Méndez Blanco 2013: 62). Was precisely the ACVC, the association that took the leadership of the process of promoting the establishment of PRZ in all Colombia, during the presidency of Álvaro Uribe Vélez. In the 2012, I joined the Network of Researchers of Territorial Autonomies and PRZ and started working with the national technical team of ACVC in Bogotá. As part of the mentioned network I worked in the design and elaboration of the political and programmatic proposal of the ANZORC and in the methodological assistance for the development of the second, the third, the fourth and fifth national conferences of ANZORC. In august of 2015, I entered to work as part of the national dynamizing team of the association, working mainly in the peasant economy team and in the organizational strengthening team. In the development of my work with ANZORC, I have visited the places and developed the tasks that are exposed in the Appendix A. This brief summary of my trajectory with the National Association of PRZ is given because for this research I am not going to use only the data gathered during the fieldwork made during July, august and September of 2017, but also the secondary data I consulted, the fieldwork visits I did and the books, articles, documents and declarations I got to know or helped to make during the period 2010-2016.

I have made participant observation in two different periods of time. The first period of time corresponds with the participant observation I have done in the six years of relation with the PRZ associations I have had, and the one I have advanced in the last fieldwork I did in the month of July and august of 2017. It could be argued that what I have done in the period from 2010 to 2016 is not strictly participant observation because I was not *consciously* doing research in that period. Nevertheless, my first contact with the PRZ was in my quality of researcher, and since the first moment of my relation with this movement, my interest was not only a political interest but also a research interest. My early contact with the Network of researchers in territorial autonomies and PRZ shows this. From the fieldwork advanced in the first period (2010-2016) I have selected some sources of information

that I gathered in that period of time, and are the ones that I present in the Appendix A titled ‘Tasks developed by the researcher of the ANZORC (2010-2016)’. In the second period of time in which I did fieldwork for this research (July-august of 2017), I did participant observation in five different departments of Colombia. Since 2010 until now I have gathered documental and bibliography that I have used in this research as well, and that will be properly referenced.

**Figure 2. Places visited during the 2017 fieldwork (red dots)**



Source: Google

The unit of analysis of this research are the repertoire of contention that the PRZ have created in their interaction with the Colombian state. In Colombia there are more than 50 peasant associations asking for the constitution of PRZ. These are not going to be considered as potential case studies, but as components informing the main mentioned unit of analysis. Considering them as potential case studies would require from me a cross-case study design which exceeds the scope of this project. The way in which the main questions are going to be operationalized is through a design that enables me to see in each document, song, motto, declaration, book, protest, etc. produced and conducted by a PRZ peasant association a manifestation of its repertoires and strategies of contention.

## **II. Chapter 2: Theories of the Colombian state, agrarian movements and land policies. An analytical framework.**

### **a. Colombian state and access to land in the XIX century**

In the year of 2014 an event was organized in the University Externado in Bogotá, Colombia. The purpose of this event was to evaluate the 20 years of implementation of the Law 160 of 1994. It was organized by a broad number of organizations, counting among them ANZORC. In the installation of this conference, César Jérez, one of the leaders of this association analyzed<sup>9</sup> the law saying that is paradoxical that the law 160 of 1994, which is mainly a tool to develop a market based land reform, was the law that opened the 'legal life' to the PRZ. In this section, my purpose is to give a brief overview of the main land policies (most of them related with the distribution of wastelands) that were proclaimed in Colombia since the independence until the law 160 of 1994. This chronological presentation is informed by a dialectical theoretical analysis of the state. The state is an unity that is the synthesis of varied meanings, forms and factions, that could be summarized in two sides. Two opponent sides that complement in a dialectic way, each other. The state in in this paper is understood as the expression of the historical conditions of a society in different periods of time.

For Michael Mann (Mann 2013), the state is the crystallization of the confrontation between social forces and the state apparatus in itself. The state for Mann is the result of the collision between the infrastructural power that is organizing, in a territorialized way, life, and the civil society groups that respond to this power. The state is the sum of the different expressions of territorial power in particular periods of time and is of course more than each of the particular and local expressions of its power. The state is an arena that is constantly defined by the struggle of the social groups represented in it (Mann 2013: 62). The importance of this role of the state as an arena and as a crystallization, for Michael Mann, is in proportion to its infrastructural powers, that when they are resisted successfully, "massive state-led infrastructural reorganization may result"(Mann 2013: 62). According to this, when the infrastructural power meets the response of the civil society groups, in these collision two things change: each part of the clash and the same arena in which this collision occurred. This is how states are formed and developed in a dynamic and non static way. This also corresponds to the dual character of the state as an actor and as a place.

The inequitable agrarian structure in Colombia was developed as such early in the XIX century and has lasted like that until our days. Since the PRZ are one of the tools to guarantee access to land (mainly wastelands) for the poor peasants, it is important to analyze them in the bigger picture of how the different land policies in Colombia have crystallized. Continuous tradeoffs between the Colombian state and the rural communities of the Colombian frontier zones have created the conditions, in different periods of time, for the emergence of different kinds of laws and different ways of collective action, that are worth a brief look. The repertoires of contention of the PRZ are analyzed in its particular manifestations in time, but as a historical product (Tilly 1978: 156, 231). The repertoires of

---

<sup>9</sup> César Jerez in the minutes of the Conference Law 160, December 2014.

contention of the PRZ are only possible because of the long history of the peasant struggles in Colombia. That's why I present a brief review of the land policies in Colombia since the independence, and how they have shaped the type of responses the different peasant movements have elaborated.

## **b. Crystallizations of the state**

### **1. Accumulation and legitimization. Land policies and fiscal crisis**

James O' Connor assigns two contradictory functions to the capitalist state: accumulation and legitimization. In his book *The fiscal crisis of the state* (2009: 6) O'Connor writes:

[t]he capitalistic state must try to fulfill two basic and often mutually contradictory functions— *accumulation* and *legitimization*. (...) This means that the state must try to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible. However, the state also must try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony. A capitalist state that openly uses its coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes loses its legitimacy and hence undermines the basis of its loyalty and support. But a state that ignores the necessity of assisting the process of capital accumulation risks drying up the source of its own power, the economy's surplus production capacity and the taxes drawn from this surplus (and other forms of capital).

The contradiction between these two functions of the state is expressed throughout the formation of the Colombian state, more specifically in the execution of the land policies that have been designed and practice since the XIX century until our days. This dialectical relation is key to understand how the cycles of contention of groups of people reacting to the implementation of these policies were uneven over time. The problems of access to land and distribution of it in Colombia began from the very birth of the republic, after the process of independence of the Spanish crown (Machado 2017: 19). After the independence there was no national cadastre and the property titles were not clearly defined. During the XX and XXI century the land title's property rights haven't been defined clearly and until now there is not precise definition of how many wasteland is 'under the property' of the Colombian state<sup>10</sup>. According to A. Machado (2017: 20), when independence was obtained, the land was already concentrated in a small landowning caste, the best land for agriculture was already in the hand of the private sector, but there was still land in the frontier zones, that could be assigned and legalized.

The whole XIX century was the century of the unstructured distribution of land where large amounts of land were transferred to few owners (Machado 2017: 20; Fajardo 2014: 32). Until the middle of the XIX century all the legislative force was in the allocation of the wasteland and the elimination of "corporate forms that were pre-capitalist ties that did not allow mobilizing land to the market or privatizing them (de-corporatization of the land), as in the case of *resguardos*, *mayorazgos*, ecclesiastical

---

<sup>10</sup> Colombian Constitutional Court Sentence T-488 of 2014.



and civil properties taxed by censuses. And of course the state attention focused on the payment of public debt” (Machado 2017: 21-22). The state paid part of this public debt with the land obtained from the delivery of wasteland (Fajardo 2014: 31). One of the main resources to solve the fiscal crisis of the state during the 19th century were the wastelands (Machado 2017: 23). From the XIX century until the first land reform law in the 1936, the focus of the state was in solving its fiscal crisis, using the wasteland to accumulate enough capital to pay all the debts derived from the independence wars. The legitimization function of the state did not operate successfully during these years. Conversely, the process of distribution of land had as its only horizon the solution of the fiscal crisis. This situation will end in a strong reaction from below that will create the conditions of the first rural reform.

## **2. Autonomy and capacity. Scope of land policies in Colombia**

In Political Science there is a key and theoretical debate around the concept of the autonomy of the state, that is worth adding to the discussion around the contradictory function of the state of giving the conditions to accumulate capital and at the same time legitimize its actions. Is not of my interest to enter into the details of the debate on the autonomy of the state. Nevertheless, is important to make a clarification because it is a concept that is used in this research. In general terms, I accept Theda Skocpol affirmation that unless an independent goal formation of the states as organizations claiming control over territories and people occurs, there is little need to talk about states as important actors (Skocpol 1985: 9). Two different discussions in Political Science, like the ones of the elitists (Mann 2013: 48-49) on the autonomy of the state and the one of the marxists (Mann 2013: 44-46) on the relative autonomy of it can only happen if we agree on a basic premise that affirms that there can be an independent goal formation of the state as actor (and not only a reflect of civil society demands or a reflect of the class struggle) no matter how small it is.

When in this research I address the problem of the autonomy of the state, I do it being conscious of the controversy around it, and using the concepts analytically in two levels, that corresponds to two schools of thought faced in this controversy. One is the level that shows that there is a relative autonomy of the state. Here, I stick to the definition of it that was made by Nicos Poulantzas (1978). For Poulantzas the state is not just a tool of the dominant class but a synthesis that expresses a relative autonomy from the struggle between this dominant class and other classes (Poulantzas 1978: 256, Kennedy 2006). Nevertheless, Poulantzas relative autonomy concept doesn't allow me to go beyond the discussion about the capture of the state to the discussion of it as an operating body. The discussion of the relative autonomy of the state is more related with it functioning as a long term project, and not as a policy making body in everyday practice (Watson 2005, 189). These two are related, but they need to be addressed independently. To tackle the latter I work with the concept of autonomy situating it in the level of the execution of public policies in an independent way, as a policy oriented acting body (Fox 1993: 12).

In my research I work with the concept of autonomy asking in one level until what extent the crystallization of a particular state project that favor the landowners elite in Colombia has took place and in the other level how the execution of land policies (that favor and do not favor the landowners elite) were developed in an autonomous way of the forces of the society (social movements, political

parties, urban and rural elites, etc). I also inquire for the degree of capacity that the ruling class in Colombia has had in relation with the implementation of land policies that haven't had a focus in the poor, the landless and the peasant. State capacity is related with the two levels of autonomy discussed above. The capacity of the state is "the ability of state leaders to use the agencies of the state to get people in the society to do what they want them to do" (Migdal 1988: xiii). One can measure the unfolding of a state building process by the degrees of development of instrumentalities whose purpose is to "make the action of the state effective: bureaucracy, courts, and the military, for example" (Badie and Birnbaum: 1983: p. 35). Accordingly to Jonathan Fox the distinction between autonomy and capacity "helps us understand how state actors decide to exercise their power. This distinction is especially important for explaining why reform decisions get implemented to the degree that they do (1993: 12). Our goal in this paper is to explain how the land policies reforms in Colombia have developed in terms of autonomy and capacity, especially in the last land reform law, the 160 of 1994.

After the independence of what later was going to be called Colombia, there were created a set of laws in order to assign wasteland to the nationals of the recently born state. According to Absalón Machado, the unstructured distribution of the wasteland was done through three modalities: allocations for the payment of the public debt, the construction of public works and the promotion and expansion of the agricultural frontier (Machado 2017: 22-23). Through these three mechanisms of distribution of wastelands, the nascent state wanted to control empty territories and incorporate them to the production (Machado 2017:26). The state wanted to extend its capacity of control over its territory, while it received the payment for this new colonized territory, to accomplish its accumulation function, that in this moment of time, due to the state of indebtedness in which it was, was of absolute importance. A state project linked to the speculative value of the land and its accumulation in a few hands was being born.

The first modality of distribution of wasteland, which was the allocation of wasteland in exchange of money for paying the Colombian public debt produced a phenomenon of speculation with public debt bonds, which together with the slipping of fences of neighboring wastelands were the main factor of concentration of the land in this period (Machado 2017: 23). According with Darío Fajardo "[w]ith this policy of alienation of the territory in favor of large absentee interests, the state left the dynamics of the frontiers in the hands of individuals, strengthened the latifundium as a form of political domination and contributed to the weakening of the communities" (Fajardo 2014: 33). The dynamics of land concentration continued during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The process of land concentration during the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century was so strong, that according to Catherine Legrand, in the one hundred years between 1830 and 1930 the government approved 5500 concessions of public lands for a total of 3.300.000 hectares, of which the 80% were properties of one thousand hectares or more (LeGrand 1984). This phenomenon of high concentration of the land in few owners and lots of peasants and settlers excluded of the land according to Machado (2017: 33) was stimulated by the state and by the rural and urban elites. During the XIX century there was no room for an independent goal formation of the state that was not linked to the social constraints produced by the public debt and the will of extending its capacity in the

nascent frontier zones. Moreover, the autonomy of the state was not strong due to the pressure exerted on it by big landowners.

### **3. First land reform. First oppositional repertoire.**

After the turn of the century, new problems appeared. These problems would show again the different roles of the state in its facet of land administration. The agrarian structure at the beginning of the XX century was highly diverse. Its main components according to Renán Vega Cantor (2002: 124) were represented by the cattle raising latifundio in the Atlantic coast and in some places in the eastern plains, by the coffee plantations in different parts of the country (Department of Tolima, Cundinamarca, Santander, Antioquia and Caldas), by the small property (*minifundio*) in Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño and the colonization zones that had been opened since the 19th century.

It is precisely in this moment, at the beginning of the 20th century that a structured peasant struggle began to take place. This doesn't mean that before this century there were no struggles for the land in Colombia. What was different in the beginning of the XX century, more precisely after the economic crisis of 1929 was the type of repertoire of contention, which was more organized (Vega Cantor 2002: 154) and with a scale and new methods and forms of action (Sánchez 1977: 7). The main actors of the peasant collective action were the settlers, tenants and indigenous communities. The channels of their struggles were through the radical factions of the Liberal Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Union of Revolutionary Left and the National Agrarian Party (Sánchez 1977: 9), and most importantly in this period, through the agrarian unions. The legitimizing function of the state crystallized in the Law 83 of 1931, as a reaction to the peasant mobilization. This law regulated the right of the peasants to form associations (Sánchez 1977: 63). During these period there is another legitimizing drive of the state to respond to the nascent oppositional repertoire of the peasants of the frontier zones and the nascent rural proletariat. The state put an emphasis in giving property rights to the settlers but without affecting the agrarian structure inherited by the past century (Machado: 2017: 36).

This period closes with the first land reform law in Colombia: the law 200 of 1936. The state as a policy making body was shaped in favour of the settlers by the the two conservatives governments that issued numerous laws to promote the colonization of frontier zones with the help of the state. A highly autonomous state from the interests of the rural and urban elites tried to protect the settlers, but its lack of regional capacity made this labor difficult.

### III. Chapter 3: Repertoires of contention in the Colombian recent history

“In all those outrages the peasant was the protagonist of activism. *Chusmero* (bandit) in the thirties. Liberal guerrilla fighter in the fifties. Revolutionary guerrilla fighter in the seventies. *Chagrero* (owner of a coca field) and coca *raspachín* (harvester) in the eighties, displaced and paramilitary fighter in the nineties, emigrated and *buscasuertes* (luck searcher) at the beginning of this century. In general, more victim than beneficiary of the economic development of the country”.

Santos Alonso Beltrán Beltrán<sup>11</sup>.

“Whenever something is done, someone's game is being played: the important thing is to try by all means to play one's game well, that is, to win clearly”

Antonio Gramsci (1999: 161)

#### a. Historical formation of the repertoires of contention

As it is said by Darío Fajardo Montaña, referencing the work of Catherine Legrand, “in the critical moments of the nation there have been initiatives related to the organization of land ownership (...) the land decree of May 20, 1820, inspired by the liberator Simón Bolívar; the law 200 of 1936, conceived as part of the modernizing reform of Lopez Pumarejo and, finally, the law 135 of 1961, framed in the project of the national front” (Fajardo 2014: 31). One could add to these initiatives the law 160 of 1994, a market based land reform, the law 1448 of 2011, a law for the victims of the armed conflict that enables the restitution of land to them and the recent initiatives derived from the peace process, like the decree 902 of 2017.

I am interested in the institutional, historical and sociological conditions (Borras & Franco 2013) that determined the formation of the PRZ, in reaction to the implementation of the state's land policies in Colombia (Grajales 2015: 544). To do this, I am following the minimalist definition of repertoire of Charles Tilly, in which a repertoire is “a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice” (Tilly 1995: 42). In this work I define repertoire of contention of the PRZ as the sum of the actions and strategies in which the peasant social movement perform as a territorialized movement struggling for the peasants rights inside these zones..

For the analysis of the repertoire of contention, I am interested in the trajectories these processes of contention follows, highlighting that, as Mc Adam, Tarrow and Tilly indicate (2004): “our ultimate interest lies not in the recruitment of static, unchanging actors into single movements but in the

---

<sup>11</sup> Readed by Francisco González, commander of FARC-EP in Palmira, Valle del Cauca, during the installation of the 9th International Congress of Sustainable Rural Development.

dynamic processes through which new political actors, identities, and forms of action emerge, interact, coalesce and evolve during complex episodes of contention” (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 2004: 38). One of the main premises of this analysis is that, if the Colombian state is something in process of formation, the movements who have been resisting it should be too. It is not possible to think in a dynamic state, but in a static social movement resisting it. Here I am following an understanding of the politics as interaction (Lechner 1984: 39).

There are cycles in the process of formation of the repertoire of contention of the PRZ in the Colombian recent history (Estrada Álvarez 2013: 36-40). In one of the cycles the main strategy were the marches of coca growers that were inside protected areas and that were claiming the titling of the land they have ‘colonized’. In another cycle the main strategy of the peasants was the institutional advocacy with the land agencies to not only access to the land but to build social mechanisms of regulation managed by peasants to decide what can be done and what cannot be done in the titled land. In other cycle, the peasant associations were so besieged, that their main actions were framed in the discourse of the human rights and the peace building.

The cycles that are analyzed started with the bombings of the so called *Repúblicas independientes*, in the sixties and goes until the recent years. These cycles are influenced by main events like the securing of neoliberal policies in Colombia in the 1980 and the start of the Free Trade Agreement of Colombia with the United states in 2012. The period analyzed in this paper is also the period in which Colombia reached the highest number of displaced population in its history<sup>12</sup> and in which the land concentration and the land grabbing has been intensified (Ferro & Tobón 2012: 85). To give an example, during two of the cycles (from 1985 to 2001) the peasant economy lost almost one million of hectares, due to the internal displacement and the concentration of land. During this period the peasant economy reduced its area from 3,4 to 2,2 millions of hectares. (Ortíz, Pérez, Brieva & Muñoz 2004: 24).

In the different cycles of formation of the PRZ their repertoire of contention has been shaped according to their relation with the dynamic implementation of land policies. To analyze this process of mutual influence between the repertoire of contention of the PRZ and the state this factors have played an important role: opening of access to participation for new actors, evidence of political realignment with the polity, availability of influential allies and emerging splits within the elite (Tarrow 2011: 164-165). The combination of these factors have made possible the emergence of at least two repertoires of contention of the Peasant Reserve Zones. This two repertoires are: the institutional repertoire that creates the state and the oppositional repertoire that resists it. They are formed by at least six strategies, that are: academic and technical strategies, the humanitarian strategies, the peace strategies, the international strategies, the negotiation strategies and the green strategies.

In this section I am going to present an analysis of the historical formation of the repertoires of contention and the arena of collective action of the peasants from the frontier zones that are going to

---

<sup>12</sup> 6 million of people according to the National Center of Historical Memory (CNMH 2015: 25).

be later constituting PRZ and how these repertoires have formed in reaction to the dynamic implementation of security and land policies in the frontier zones of Colombia.

### 1. First cycle. Liberal/communist guerrillas and the independent republics

Alfredo Molano is a Colombian sociologist that has traveled through the Colombian depth as few. He has written thousands of lines collecting the experiences, feelings and voices of the peasants of the frontier zones. The voice of the settler peasant is the common voice of many of his writings. This settler peasants is the one that has built a peasant civilization in the agricultural border, in permanent battle with the jungle. The PRZ where thought since the beginning, as a tool for this settler peasants to access to the rights of that land that they have ripped to the jungle and that they have modified. Molano in his writings narrates the life of these peasants and how they have built with their own muscles an important part of that Colombia that for a lot of persons remains unknown.

Alfredo Molano has documented the ways of life of the Peasants that formed the social base that made possible the creation of the PRZ. In books such as *Selva adentro. Una historia oral de la colonización del Guaviare (Jungle inside. An oral history of the colonization of Guaviare)* (2006) and *La colonización de la reserva de la Macarena: yo le digo una de las cosas (The colonization of the reserve of the Macarena: I will tell you one of the things)* he recounts the processes of peasant settlement of two important Colombian regions where different types of ‘colonization’ made possible the establishment of a rural life. In these books, Molano shows how the legal and the illegal economies as well as the war between liberal and conservatives, produced an exodus of peasants and urban people to the edges of the agrarian frontier, and how these settlers (some of them that were coming with a strong and radical communist political background (Molano 2006: 37-85) started establishing their territories governed by a cooperative logic. The oppositional repertoire of contention was based on the desertion from the development of the ‘center’ to establish a type of development proper to the border dynamics was being changed and in the armed confrontation of the peasants organized in guerrillas against the state. The communist ideology played an important role in this change from a desertion repertoire to an oppositional repertoire.

Arturo Alape is another of the best raconteur of the social dynamics that developed during the settling process of peasants that were running away from war or that were being part of the war in the fifties and in the sixties. Alape wrote two important books about the history of the guerrilla of FARC-EP. He wrote these books based on a series of interviews he did to the historic guerrilla commander Pedro Antonio Marín (a.k.a. Manuel Marulanda Vélez). These two books are *Las vidas de Pedro Antonio Marín, Manuel Marulanda Vélez, Tirofijo (The lifes of Pedro Antonio Marín, Manuel Marulanda Vélez, Tirofijo)* and *Tirofijo: los sueños y las montañas, 1964-1984 (Tirofijo: the dreams and the mountains, 1964-1984)*. In the first book Alape relate how armed peasants that have formed self defense groups, and that were running away the conservative government prosecution arrived to one *hacienda* called *El Davis*. This *hacienda* was located in the municipality of Rioblanco in the south of the department of Tolima. In that moment the armed self-defense peasants groups were divided in two: the communist and the liberals. Both of them were fighting against the conservative forces. The *hacienda* of *El Davis* was owned by Gerardo Loaiza, a peasant that organized one of the biggest peasant self-defense armed group (Rutas del conflicto 2017). To this *hacienda* arrived Pedro Antonio Marín after the episodes of violence that he

suffered from the 9 of april of 1948 thenceforth. The purpose of the arrival of the communist self-defense groups to *El Davis* was to reinforce the liberal command and join forces to face conservative groups. With the arrival of the communist groups *El Davis* was transformed in a village of approximately five thousand persons.

Alape narrates how this *hacienda* became a military fortress where its inhabitants they carried out a collective life that included all kinds of daily activities, ranging from cooking tasks for each of the fronts to political training and military training for the members of these same fronts grouped there (Alape 1989: 113-120). Onward Alape points out:

The Davis was a possible proposal of a possible society in war, impelled by an inner force that breaks any scheme. A new reality is assumed, imposed from outside by violence and that reality is explored without fears, this reality is contradicted in a process that is not so simple that in itself it is enriched. It is sometimes experienced without hitting the mistakes. Hard learning that broadens the vision that each step taken becomes a possible teaching. Pedro Antonio Marín locates the process: "Each organization looks for the training of the personnel under its charge. No one remained alone locked in doing his job. The armourer had his assistants to teach them the secrets of arranging weapons; the hairdresser, the tailor wanted the same, to teach, the dentists, the nurses were an open door to say, this is what we know and you can learn it. The teaching was a chain that never stopped. And we lived in war ...

The experience of *El Davis* was one of the most important recent antecedents of the PRZ, where around five thousand peasants that were in permanent move due to the rigors of war decided to establish themselves in a territory where they developed an autonomous way of living (where all the tasks like cooking, nursing, defending themselves were democratically defined and assigned). It also demarcate one of the repertoires of contention that the peasants from the settling areas defined. This oppositional repertoire is signed by the armed confrontation with the forces of the state and autonomous mechanisms of living.

The experience of *El Davis* didn't continue due to ideological conflicts between the liberal and communists. By the end of 1951 (approximately 1 year after the arrival of the communist peasants to the zone of *El Davis*) an open war between the two sectors of the self defense groups started (Ramírez 2011: 38). In august 1952 the Communist Party called the First National Guerrilla conference "to unify various armed groups into one campesino self-defense guerrilla army" (González cited in Ramírez 2011: 38). Because of the repression of the dictator Rojas Pinilla, the communist self defense group needed to regrouped themselves in the so called *cuadrillas*, mobile guerrilla units or marching columns (*columnas de marcha*), the same ones that allowed them to arrived to the south of the department of Tolima, where the *hacienda* of *El Davis* was ubicated. After the deposition of the dictator these moving *columnas de marcha* reverted to territorialized self-defense groups, mainly in six rural areas of Colombia: Marquetalia (Department of Tolima), Riochiquito (Department of Huila), Pato (Department of Caquetá), Alto Sumapaz-Duda (Department of Cundinamarca and Meta), and Ariari and Guayabero (Department of Meta). (Ramírez 2011: 38). These zones and others were called in that

moment by the president Álvaro Gómez Hurtado (from the conservative party) as *repúblicas independientes* (*independent republics*). These territories as the ones established before by the communist and liberal moving guerrilla units are another important and recent antecedent of the formation of the PRZ.

The 27th of May of 1964 initiated one military operation under the auspice of the Latin American Security Operation of the United States. The objective of this operation was to disarticulate the so called independent republics. The main objective was the region of Marquetalia were, according to the narration of what after that is going to be the guerrilla of FARC-EP, 46 men and 2 women, resisted with few weapons the attack of 16000 troops of the Colombian army. This is going to be the founding myth of this guerrilla (Beltrán Villegas 2015: 140). In its own discourse of FARC-EP as a political group, this disproportionate attack is a turning point between the self-defense armed peasant group to a marxist-leninist guerrilla. This history of FARC-EP attached to the self-defense groups of settler peasants, and in general with the peasants from the frontier zones, is going to play a key role in the repertoire of contention that posterior groups, like the ones of the PRZ are going to use. In the end this is the shared past that both groups have. The relation of FARC-EP and the PRZ will affect the repertoire of contention of both groups from the 60's to our days, but given the complexity of it, I will not go in depth, otherwise I would require to extend myself and the scope of this research is limited.

Two assumptions of the relations of a particular crystallization of the state and the peasant social movements in this period can be discussed. These two assumptions are highlighted by Jaramillo, Mora & Cubides (1986). According to the authors, these are usually used when the areas of colonization are described. The first one is the acceptance that in these peasant areas the absence of the state reigns and this is what has explained its development on the margins and without insertion in the dynamics of this (Jaramillo, Mora & Cubides 1986: 159). The second one is that effectively these settling areas of department such as Tolima, Huila, Caquetá, Meta and Guaviare, were functioning as independent republics with their own “forms of political and social organization incompatible with those institutionally in force and completely disarticulated from the central power of the state” (Jaramillo, Mora & Cubides 1986: 160).

Jaramillo, Mora and Cubides indicate in relation with the first assumption that even with the effective domain of FARC-EP [and I would add of the others self-defense groups in the past], the state in a broad sense have executed presence “from the very beginning of colonization, present in the forms of organization adopted by the first settlers, in the type of legality to which they adapt spontaneously, in social practices and in the customs adopted for the ordering of civil life and the solution of interindividual litigation” (Jaramillo, Mora & Cubides 1986: 160). In relation with the second assumption these researchers express that: 1. these expression of the independent republics takes some elements from the reality such as the land distribution norms and the inexistence of other authority in those territories, beside the guerrilla and 2. that paradoxically the fact of being declared independent republics has created a desire to look at a path for legality (Jaramillo, Mora & Cubides 1986: 161), meaning this the development of a type of social regulation homologable to the one propitiated by



the state. These two elements are key to develop a different understanding of the state in the frontier areas, where the PRZ started. An understanding of the state not like a state that has been absent, but precisely a state that has formed, and crystallized in different ways in those areas (González, Bolívar & Vázquez 2002: 12) that in the moment of being declared independent, replied saying that what actually they want is to be included in the existing nation state (Duarte Ossa 2013).

## 2. Second cycle. Coca growers and protected areas

In the beginning of the sixties, one fraction of the Colombian state was advancing in a military persecution of the peasants of the frontier zones in the so called *Repúblicas independientes*, while another fraction of the state started doing timid efforts to regulate the access to the land and the distribution of it. This was the second big attempt for an agrarian reform that was made in Colombia after the law 200 of 1936 that was not successful in distributing land for poor peasants. One of the factors that affected the incapacity of the state to distribute the land was the lack of information of the agricultural situation and the structure of land tenure (Machado 2017: 54). According to Machado, “This state oversight and neglect was not casuistic, it was rather consensual and conscious in the public spheres and the rural and urban elites, as it benefited the large owners and investors in land” (Machado 2017: 54). The accumulation role of the state in this particular crystallization was captured by the landowners elite fracturing the capacity of the state to regulate the land tenure structure in the countryside.

Only after the period known as La Violencia (that was described in the chapter before this one) a sense of awareness of the necessity of having information of the agricultural structure grew among the liberal government at that moment. The first census in the Colombian countryside was made in 1960 and this contributed to open the debate around the agrarian structure (Machado 2017: 54). One of the agreements of the liberal and conservative party to end the war among them and build the National Front<sup>13</sup> was the law 135 of 1961 (Machado 2017: 59). This law received the impulse of the ‘Alliance for progress’ with the government of the United States, who was supporting reforms in Latin America to control the expansion of the communism in the continent. Sometimes these programs of state led agrarian reforms in Latin America ended providing low quality land or encouraged colonization of remote frontier zones (Edelman & Borras 2016: 26) The law 135 of 1961 followed the guidelines of the law 200 of 1936, which promoted the extinction of domain of land without economic exploitation based on the principle of the social function of property (Machado 2017: 60). However, the state’s lack of capacity inherited from previous governments and the pressure of the landowners guilds impeded an integral agrarian reform from being put into practice. The legitimization function of the state encountered again the impediments of a fractured state’s infrastructure. Later, in the 1971-1972 with the *Pacto del Chicoral*, the lack of autonomy of the state materialized in the blockade of the agrarian reform impulses by landowners elite, traditional political parties and rural elites. This pact triggered some laws that will buried the attempts for a redistributive reform. After the pact, the land and rural development policies focused a counterinsurgency orientation and focused its attention in a partial redistribution of land in zones affected by the conflict. During the eighties three programs for

---

<sup>13</sup> Political agreement made between the liberal and the conservative party to alternate in the presidential power every 4 years. It lasted from 1958 to 1974.

the countryside coexisted in an environment of lack of coordination (Machado 2017: 65): the integrated rural development program (DRI), the National Rehabilitation Program (PNR) and the agrarian reform impulsed by the law 30 of 1988, that sought to revive the impulses buried with the *Pacto del Chicoral*. According to A. Machado “as a whole, they did not resolve the substantive issue, which was the operation of an agrarian structure that began to be concentrated again, especially because of the purchase of land by drug traffickers and the dispossession of land from the paramilitaries” (Machado 2017: 65).

The cycle of mobilization of the PRZ started in this period with the foundation of the Small Farmers Union of Cundinamarca (Sinpeagricum) in 1980 and the Multiactive Agricultural Cooperative of Guaviare (Cooagrogaviare) in 1983 (Parra 2015: 42). Since the beginning of the XX century the agrarian unions and the called *ligas campesinas* played an important role in the organization of the peasant communities. Behind the promotion of these unions and *ligas campesinas* in some regions of the country was the Colombian Communist Party (Sánchez 1977: 64), who wanted an anti-feudal revolution, based on the peasants who were renting the land to the big owners (Sánchez 1977: 22). The agrarian unions, according to Molano (2014) will play a fundamental role in the dissemination of the idea of the PRZ as a tool to access the land. In 1985, 1986 and 1988 Sinpeagricum and the Association of Community Action Council<sup>14</sup> organized a series of demonstrations. The first two to claim for roads, schools, health centers and other basic rights for the colonization areas and the third one to ask for solutions to the settlers that were living inside the protected area of La Macarena. (Molano 2006: 133, Salgado Ruiz 2001: 169-170)<sup>15</sup>.

According to Leah Anne Carroll (2015), the years from 1982 to 1992 are the period of the democratic reform. This reform enable the democratic participation of groups that were excluded from the electoral process and impulsed the peace negotiations between the government and the guerrillas (Carroll 2015: 15). These are times of an opening of the state in terms of its legitimization function. These are times of negotiation and incorporation of the adversaries (the guerrillas) inside the legal system. One of the peace negotiations that were being held by the Colombian government were with the FARC-EP. From this treaty the Patriotic Union Party was formed. The peace negotiation environment also strengthen the links between the guerrillas and the social movements, and helped to impulse the peasant associations in the areas of influence of the guerrillas (Pizarro 1992). This is a period of democratization in Colombia, that was expressed partially in the “appropriation of the human rights discourse by the state” (Grajales 2015: 549). This appropriation was not limited to the discourse, the democratization process according to Grajales also led to a new constitution in 1991, where peacebuilding and human rights were considered axis of the new democracy. New institutions,

---

<sup>14</sup> The Community Action Council is a very important strategy in the repertoires of contention of the PRZ. They were created during the liberal government of Carlos Lleras Restrepo. They are described by T. Ballvé as a “unique administrative form of local governance in Colombia. A law passed in 1958 instituted the JACs as a way for local communities, especially those in isolated rural areas, to promote local improvement projects and gain a stronger collective voice before government entities. (...). Among other roles, they are mainly expected to initiate and direct the local construction of infrastructures (e.g. bridges, roads, sewage) and certain simple services” (Ballvé 2012: 612).

<sup>15</sup> This information was also confirmed in a series of workshops I did in the department of Guaviare, the First PRZ of Colombia, from the 26th of March to the 1st of April of 2016 and from the 07th of April to the 20th of April of 2016.

such as the People's Ombudsman (*Defensor del Pueblo*) were created (Grajales 2015: 549).

During these years the oppositional repertoire of the peasants that later are going to claim for the PRZ was put in practice. This was a repertoire in which highly politicized peasants (politicized by the guerrilla and the communist party), acted mainly in reaction to the policies of the government against the cultivation of coca crops and in the promotion of civic groups that demanded through rallies and demonstrations basic rights for the rural areas. The eighties and nineties are years of high effervescence in the colonization areas. The particular crystallization of a state, that tries to develop autonomously from the regional elites, and managed to sign a peace treaty to strengthen its legitimization function was contested by the peasant associations of the colonization areas. It was contested because the electoral democracy was not manifested to these areas as better and more access to basic rights.

The democratization of Colombian society was accompanied by the birth of the first paramilitary groups of this era. It is well known that since the beginning of the XX century in Colombia there were already groups that operated like paramilitaries but that didn't receive this name. In the eighties the first paramilitary groups appeared, joined to the drug trafficking cartels, like the Dead To Kidnappers (MAS) and the Self-defense Peasants of Cordoba and Uraba. The latter received the support of big landowners, multinationals and local political elites in their regions of influences (Grajales 2017). As a retaliation to the democratic aperture of the state, the regional elites, with the paramilitaries started an extermination campaign of the leftist parties, mainly the Patriotic Union (Carroll 2015: 17). During these years the economy derived from the coca grew, contributing these to the strengthen of all the armed groups. Also during these years the farms of 500 hectares and above duplicated its extension. Between 1984 and 1996 they went from sum a total of 11 millions of hectares to 22,6 millions (Ortíz, Pérez, Brieua & Muñoz 2004: 24). Beginning the nineties, the international economic opening of the country started. This period ends in the middle of mobilizations called 'civic strikes' in Putumayo (Ramírez 2001: 147) and Antioquia (Salgado Ruíz 2001: 154).

The institutional repertoire started been used by the peasants when they demanded from the state solutions for them as coca growers that were inside the protected area of the National Park of La Macarena, by the end of the decade of the eighties. Here what we call the 'the green' strategies of ANZORC started appearing but with not the same force that it will have after the reactivation of ANZORC in 2011. This green strategies search to present the peasant of the frontiers zone as a protector of the environment<sup>16</sup>. The National Park of La Macarena functioned like a refugee for the settlers of the eighties. The government respond to the settlers threatening to take them out of the national park. As a counterproposal the settlers ask to the government to create something similar to the *resguardos* for indigenous communities. These *resguardos* will allow them to transform their coca growing *fincas* to farms and not continue the cycle of the settler that consist in transforming the forest into land to later sell it to big farmers or to businessmen of the land, to later go to knock down trees deeper into the jungle. The proposal of the peasants searched the stabilization of the property of the land for the cultivators of coca (Molano & Ramírez 1991). In this period intellectuals such as Darío

---

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Sammy Sánchez and Visnú Posada, ANZORC technical delegates to the Concertation table with National Natural Parks of Colombia (PNN).

Fajardo, Alfredo Molano and Héctor Mondragón played an important role in the lobby that the peasant associations made with the INCORA and the Ministry of Agriculture<sup>17</sup>. Agrarian unions of other regions linked with the communist party, welcomed the proposal and started asking for a *reform* in the colombian legality that would allow the execution of a peasant territoriality. Other proposal was made by the government through Carlos Ossa Escobar (who played an important role according to people interviewed<sup>18</sup>). This proposal was to exchange land titles for the eradication of coca crops. Later, the institutional advocacy paid off. The social mobilization and the friendship of one of the advocates, Alfredo Molano, with the Ministry of Agriculture allowed that the market based law 160 included the chapter of PRZ<sup>19</sup>. This was made one year before the government of César Gaviria ended; a government characterized for economic opening and other neoliberal measures.

### 3. Third cycle. Institutionalization

One reform like the one of the Law 160 of 1994 introduced by the state can be understood as a case of state interventionism to manage the crisis (De Janvry 182) that the country was living in. The state led agrarian reform tried to solve inequalities in the rural areas through a market based reform. The law 160 of 1994 received a strong support of the World Bank. The team, directed by the economist Hans Binswanger that designed it was from this entity. This law was not strong enough to solve structural problems of the rural areas in Colombia. With this law the colombian state reduces its role as controller of the land procedures. The orientation of the demand and supply of land is left to the forces of the market (Machado 2017: 68). The state created a credit line and subsidized the purchase of land by peasants, who in the long run were in a state of indebtedness that showed the failure of the system. As in the XIX century, the law 160 of 1994 allowed, among other things, the state to formalize the wasteland of the frontier zone, through its insertion into the land's market, accomplishing in this way its accumulation role and the capital penetration in the countryside. As it was mention in the last section, this market based land reform law included a chapter destined for the creation of special zones in the colonization areas due to a combination of the oppositional repertoire with the institutional repertoire, where the advocacy with key actors of rural entities played an important role. Some of this key actors where persons that during all this cycles where in important directive positions of entities such as the INCORA, the INCODER and the Ministry of Agriculture<sup>20</sup>. Jonathan Fox says: “[t]he point is that the state is composed of actors with an overlapping mix of motivations some more committed to policy currents than others, and that this mix changes over time, across institutions, and under pressure from social forces, depending on the perception of threat”. (Fox 1993: 37)In the case

---

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Germán Cardoza. Former official with more than 20 years of experience in the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA) and the Colombian Institute of Rural Development (INCODER) (1 September 2017).

<sup>18</sup> Personal communication with César Jerez (4 August 2017)..

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Germán Cardoza. Former official with more than 20 years of experience in the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA) and the Colombian Institute of Rural Development (INCODER) (1 September 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Germán Cardoza. Former official with more than 20 years of experience in the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA) and the Colombian Institute of Rural Development (INCODER) (1 September 2017).

of the PRZ, the institutional viability of them as a legal form in the law 160 was in part thanks to particular actors that were in particular state fractions or institutions.

The combination of the institutional repertoire with the oppositional repertoire of the PRZ is reinforced during this period. Two years after the promulgation of the law 160, and as an institutional answer<sup>21</sup> to the marches of coca growers in all the country (Ramírez 2011: 264-265), the law 160 was regulated by the decree 1777 and the agreement 024 of 1996, and with them a clearer procedure to the constitution of the the PRZ was defined, as well as their functions and rights. Six zones were constituted during this cycle (Table 1) and a pilot project of PRZ is carried out in three of them. The pilot project was supported by the World Bank<sup>22</sup>. This relation with the World Bank reinforced the institutional repertoire of the PRZ and started opening a path related with the green strategies and the international strategies that the PRZ is going to start using afterwards. This is a cycle of struggle for the recognition in the law and by the law. In this cycle, the first technical team of a PRZ was created. It happened in 1998 in what was going to be the PRZ of the Valley of The Cimitarra River<sup>23</sup>. Important leaders like Cesar Jerez were part of this first technical teams. The purpose of a technical team was to offer academic and professional assistance to the peasant associations.

Commonly, when members of the PRZ are asked for the history of their struggle, they mention proudly that the PRZ became a tool to guarantee peasants access to land and territorial rights after a long period of struggle<sup>24</sup>. This peasant social movement constantly argues that the PRZ are now in the law 160 of 1994 as the result of the permanent peasant mobilization (González 2017: 57). Even though, the members of the PRZ are proud of the struggle, they recognize its profound limits. The PRZ not only uses the ‘institutional’ discourse that indicates that what they are doing is legitimate because it is included in the Colombian Constitution. This movement also argues constantly that the PRZ are the entry point of a broader struggle that exceeds the limits of the actual land policies (ANZORC 2012). The peasants of the Peasant Reserves Zones seem to be playing the institutional game. But they seem to be aware of the challenges and possibilities of this game. The PRZ moves in the middle of two very different points: a formal recognition of the state (the state as a *provider*) as a claim for integration and the resistance to the state a claim for autonomous development (the state as an *enemy*).

The years of this cycle were years of the expansion of a new ‘agrarian frontier’ (Grajales 2015: 544) where “the perpetrators of this massive land grab were corporations linked to the paramilitary commanders, directed by their families or front-men. Other companies and businessmen, attracted by agribusiness, were willing to pay an informal tax to these paramilitary entrepreneurs, and profit from this new ‘agrarian frontier’. Colombia has a combination of legal and illegal strategies” (Grajales 2015: 542). During this cycle a strong counter agrarian reform mostly perpetrated by paramilitary groups in alliance with corporate actors was put in practice (Grajales 2015: 555). This is perhaps the most studied

---

<sup>21</sup> Focus group with the National Dynamizing team of ANZORC (5 September 2017).

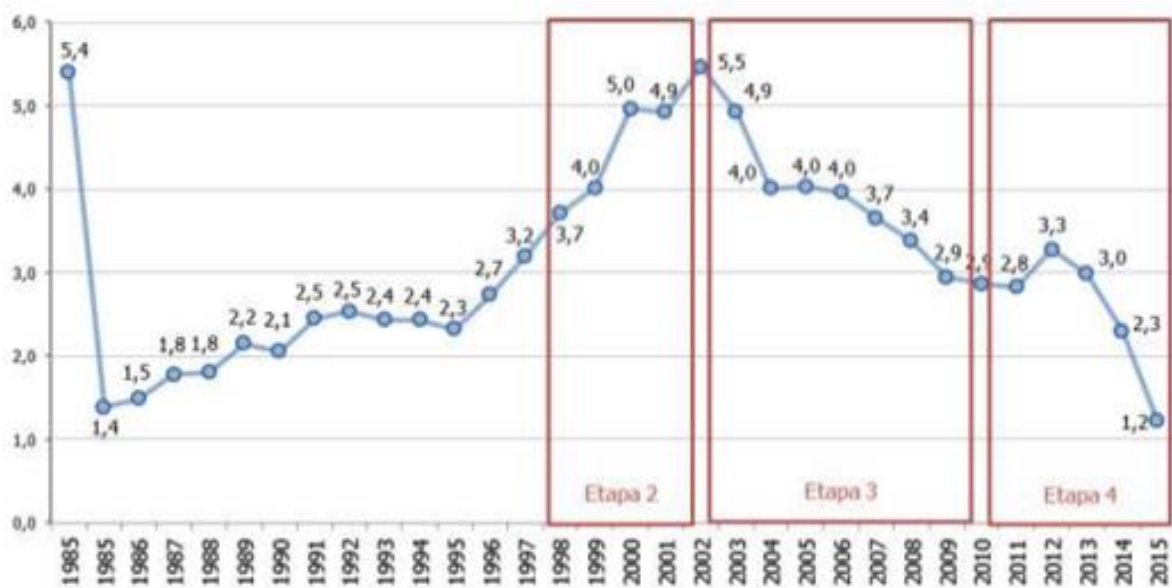
<sup>22</sup> To see the role that the World Bank have played in this type of reforms see Pereira (2010).

<sup>23</sup> Personal communication with César Jerez (13 November 2017).

<sup>24</sup> Focus group with the National Dynamizing team of ANZORC (5 September 2017).

stage of the PRZ. This are the years in which Colombia started materializing its new Constitution. During this period of time, Colombia lived the worst humanitarian crisis of its recent history. For this reason the oppositional repertoire was limited. In this period of humanitarian crises the discourse of the human rights was put in practice by the PRZ. The Institutional repertoire of the PRZ was reinforced with a discourse based mainly in the human rights<sup>25</sup>. It is also a period in which humanitarian refugees were of high importance . The human rights associations were the safe place to talk about issues that otherwise would be categorized as radical, leftist, or communist. It is also the moment of a strong presence of peace strategies in the PRZ. This discourse of peace and the mobilization for peace was strong by these years in all the country as it is shown by the book of Mauricio García-Durán (2006). The PRZ used this a way to modulate their two repertoires: the oppositional and the institutional. The peace discourse was helpful to find an intermediate path of saying we want that things change radically but we want them to change through the legal institutions of the state.

**Figure 3. Total of victims per year in Colombia 1985-2015 (percentage victims per year)**



Source: Chará (2015)

#### 4. Fourth cycle. Prosecution and alternatives

Four days after the possession of Álvaro Uribe Vélez as president of Colombia, the decree 1837 of the 11th of august of 2002 was issued. This decree declared the state of inner commotion in the country. This declaration enables the state the realization of procedures against what they called criminal groups and their terrorist activities. The decree was followed by another decree, the 2002 of 2002 in which the rehabilitation and consolidation zones were created in those areas affected by the activities of the mentioned criminal groups (Ferro & Tobon 2012: 94). This strategy of consolidation

<sup>25</sup>Focus group with the National Dynamizing team of ANZORC (5 September 2017).

was a counterinsurgency strategy developed in all the PRZ. In this same year the PRZ of the Cimitarra Valley River was suspended by the national government. This was a strong blow to the movement of PRZ and marked the transition to eight years where the repertoire of contention centered in the institutional action would be reduced mainly to humanitarian strategies, peace strategies such as those reported by women in the first meeting of women of the Peasant reserve area of the Cimitarra river valley<sup>26</sup> and the international strategies..

The paramilitary control reached a high point of institutionalization in this period. According to Salvatore Mancuso, paramilitary commander they had control of the 35% of the congress (Caracol Radio 2005). There are also strong accusations of Alvaro Uribe Vélez, the president during this period, of being part of the paramilitary plot (Cepeda & Uribe 2014). In the PRZ the actions of the paramilitaries continued. To give an example, during the years 2002 and the 2003 there was an economic blocking in the PRZ of the Cimitarra Valley River<sup>27</sup>. The peasant communities developed strategies to resist these actions. As it is told by the people of the region, women played an important role here. They were the ones that helped the leaders that were chased by the paramilitaries to hide<sup>28</sup>. The tool of the humanitarian actions were key here. This is a period for the appearance of organizations of human rights, and peasant associations were born in the middle of humanitarian crisis (ANZORC 2017). The strategies were not only the humanitarian actions, but also the establishment of humanitarian shelters or humanitarian zones. During these violent years, as it is said by Grajales (2015: 542), “despite the egregious violence that has affected the country for decades, legal institutions have not only been kept alive but also strengthened”. One example of this is the Constitutional Court. In these years, the reliance of the PRZ in the national and international law was not only a matter of strategy and repertoires, but as well of social representations, as it is indicated by Grajales (2015: 548) and Lemaitre (2009). During these years emerged the language of human rights inside the social movements as a way to go to international arenas, such as the United Nations Committee for Human Rights or the Inter American Commission of Human Rights (Grajales 2015: 548).

During this cycle another example of the way different fractions of the state clash among them manifested. This is the case of the ‘rural development statute’ (Law 1152), that was intended to ‘develop’ abandoned lands with a sense of profitability and competitiveness of agricultural products, instead of addressing the problems related with the causes of this lands being abandoned, and for this reason was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional court. This is a case of judicialization of land grabbing (Grajales 2015: 555) where one fraction of the state trying to guarantee the accumulation of capital to national and international actors is stopped by another fraction of the Colombian state. Specially during this period, the fraction of state that the ministry of defense represent had an enormous power of influence that managed to impose a censor to the PRZ. The PRZ of Catatumbo is one example of this. Due to the prosecution during this period organizations promoting the PRZ

---

<sup>26</sup> Participant Observation during the First meeting of the women of the PRZ of the Cimitarra Valley River in Cantagallo, Sur de Bolívar department (25-26 August 2017).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibíd.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibíd.*

organized international tours to inform the international community about the serious human right violations that were happening in Colombia<sup>29</sup>. Some members of the Peasant association even needed to exile<sup>30</sup>.

## 5. Fifth cycle. negotiation of peace and implementation of the treaty

In the world the end of the first decade of the new century was accompanied by a strong crisis in the agricultural sector where the end of cheap food and cheap oil represent a socio ecological impasse (Moore 2010: 1). In Colombia, this is the period in which the number of hectares cultivated with coca has grown significantly. In this period the PRZ return to the political arena strongly. The government of Juan Manuel Santos decided to reactivate the PRZ of the Valley of the Cimitarra River. This are also the years of the negotiation of the peace agreement that is in this moment being implemented. Nevertheless, the repression dynamic of armed groups and the Colombian state continued. The inertia of a repressive policy coexists with the actual implementation of peace (Villaraga 2017).

This is a period of reform combined with repression (Fox 1993: 36). One fraction of the state is still in its war mood, while other fraction is trying to implement the peace treaty. As it is said by the members of the PRZ<sup>31</sup>, during this cycle while one is meeting the peasants in their territories, the other one is killing them. One fraction of the state is willing to implement reforms such as the substitution of coca crops, while others insist in the eradication. This is a period in which the PRZ is using all the strategies that move between the two margins: the institutional margin and their oppositional margin.

New international strategies are developed in this period. The PRZ have been also participant of the international mobilization that is represented in the arena beyond a particular state by La Via Campesina. ANZORC has been part of the international campaigns of this movement specially in those related with the declaration of peasants rights and the campaigns against the violence against women and was officially accepted in this international movement during the 7th Conference of this movement (La Vía Campesina 2017). This issue poses the question about the importance and relevance of the international spaces in which the PRZ participates if we are discussing the national spaces of confrontation of the PRZ as a movement. Here, I have more questions than direct answers, since the direct participation of ANZORC in these spaces is recent. How this international spaces shape the national arena of contestation of the land policies in Colombia is an open question.

One actual challenge of the fractured Colombian state is the implementation of the peace treaty. How could a state that functions as a complex labyrinth develop all what is contained in the agreement. The peace agreement has created a huge number of new agencies and institutions. The peace agreement contemplates the creation of at least eleven new entities (Lewin 2015). Additionally, the rural sector has been restructured with the creation of three agencies (Medina 2017). In a way, these

---

<sup>29</sup>Focus group with the National Dynamizing team of ANZORC (5 September 2017).

<sup>30</sup> Personal communication with César Jerez (31 August 2017)

<sup>31</sup> Interview with a member of ASTRAZONAC (08 August 2017)



agencies represent the sectors that have not been taken into consideration in the state project until now. They are the evidence of what haven't been done. Each of these institutions are the state's response to one of its particular weakness or fractures. As O'Donnell's puts it, "the map -the distribution and density- of the state institutions in each historical case is the map of the knots of sutures of past social conflicts"(O'Donnell). The peace process has produced a map of organizations that are a result of past struggles. The problem now is related with the state capacity to put them in order. Leaders like César Jérez talk about an institutional schizophrénia<sup>32</sup>.

One can make an analysis in this moment in which the peace treaty is being implemented. Friedland, Piven and Alford argument is useful for this. They argue that the

[S]egregation of accumulation and legitimation functions in different kinds of agencies or different levels of government insulates the state's role in accumulation from political challenge and absorbs popular participation in accessible locations without substantial power. Yet this structural segregation means that the political authority that orchestrates the causes of social problems is insultared from that which manages their political consequences, and is thus without power to deliver a substantive response (1977:465).

This is what is happening with the implementation of the peace treaty in the PRZ. The peace treaty created a constellation of entities that are now clashing among them. Nevertheless, this the PRZ have continued with their peace strategies framed in their Institutional repertoire of contention. During this cycle a series of green strategies was implemented by the PRZ as it was said by member of ANZORC during an interview<sup>33</sup>. Some of these green strategies have been put in practice in the negotiation tables with the Colombian government and the peasants that are inside the protected areas. The green strategies that the PRZ have developed have conducted to a characterization of the peasants of the frontier zones as peasants concerned with the environmental protection and like peasants that have traditionally maintain a relation of equilibrium with the ecosystem<sup>34</sup>.

---

<sup>32</sup> Personal communication with César Jerez (13 November 2017).

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Sammy Sánchez and Visnú Posada, ANZORC technical delegates to the Concertation table with National Natural Parks of Colombia (PNN).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibíd.*

## IV. Chapter 4: Conclusions

I remembered that this student was really anxious to know how does a PRZ looks like. When he posed to me the question in that classroom of the National University, where I was invited by a friend to talk with the students about the PRZ, I could notice his anxiety in his eyes. This student explicitly asked for the changes in the geographical landscape that could be notice when one enters a PRZ. Nothing, I answered. To enter to a PRZ is not like entering to Narnia I said. The geographical landscape of the PRZ is almost the same landscape of the frontier zones of all Colombia, where settlers from all over the country have arrived and stablished.

What makes these zones different from other peasant zones in Colombia, I continued answering, is the type of social and political organization that is experimented there. The PRZ do not only *reserve* a piece of land but also *reserve* a certain type of peasant knowledge, I remembered Darío Fajardo said once. This paper tried to unpack the peasant political knowledge that the inhabitants of the frontier zones have learned, shared and put in practice since the middle of the last century until our days. My effort was put in analyzing not why the peasants from the frontier zones have contested to the land and security policies of the Colombian State, but how they have done this contestation, which strategies they have used and how they have shaped the mentioned policies, and how they have shaped by them.

The repertoire of contention of the PRZ have been formed in the middle of a tension between a pulsion of creation and a pulsion of resistance. The PRZ in their story have resisted the state, even with guerrilla armies, but at the same time have created it by the norms, laws, decrees they have helped to create. Each of these pulsion correspond to one repertoire that was identified in this analysis: oppositional repertoire and the institutional repertoire. Five strategies that move in between these repertoires where identify during the study: the academic & technical strategies, the international strategies, the green strategies, the peace strategies and the humanitarian strategies. The PRZ through a long history and through highly diverse and highly adaptive channels of coordination have designed at least this five strategies that have enabled the movement to move in the area that goes from one repertoire to the other.

The repertoire of the PRZ has been formed as a product of a historical trajectory of exclusion. This exclusion has made crystallized the state in the frontier zones in two forms: as a State that has been present in these zones through the legal and illegal military force and a state with a lack of capacity of penetrating these zones with agrarian reform and rural development programs. This lack of capacity has been the expression of a relatively autonomous power that has been captured by the rural landowner and urban's elite that have impeded the development of at least 3 agrarian reforms in the country.

Is pending an in-depth analysis of the state-society relations in the current cycle of peasant mobilization, where the environmental concerns, the peace process and the new land policies are the main components. For reasons of space it was impossible for me to develop these issues with more detail. They remain as a commitment.

## V. References

Aguilera Peña, M. (2014). *Contrapoder y justicia guerrillera, fragmentación política y orden insurgente en Colombia (1952-2003)*. Bogotá: IEPRI & Penguin Random House.

*Agreement 024. INCORA*. (Colombia)

Alape, A. (1989). *Las vidas de Pedro Antonio Marín, Manuel Marulanda Vélez, Tirofijo (The lives of Pedro Antonio Marín, Manuel Marulanda Vélez, Tirofijo)*. Bogotá: Editorial Planeta.

ANZORC. (2012). 'La paz de los campesinos es la justicia social' ('The peace of the peasants is the social justice'). *Prensa Rural*. Accessed 20 October 2017. <<http://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article9845>>

\_\_\_\_\_. (2013). 'La propuesta de ANZORC a la sociedad colombiana y a las partes de la mesa de conversaciones de Paz de La Habana' ('The ANZORC proposal to Colombian society and to the parties of the Peace talks in Havana'). *Prensa Rural*. Accessed 20 October 2017. <<http://www.prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article10505>>

\_\_\_\_\_. (2017). 'Encuentro ruta de protección territorial' ('Meeting Territorial Protection Route'). Live video in the facebook fan page of Anzorc. Accessed 23 November 2017. <<https://www.facebook.com/anzorc/videos/1652986428085699/>>

ASCAMCAT. (2012). *¿Qué es la Zona de Reserva Campesina del Catatumbo? (What is the Peasant Reserve Zone of El Catatumbo?)*. Bogotá: ASCAMCAT

Badie, B. & P. Birnbaum. (1983). *The Sociology of the state*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ballvé, T. (2012). 'Everyday state formation: territory, decentralization and the narco landgrab in Colombia'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30: 603-622.

Barker, C. (2014). 'Class struggle and social movements'. In Barke, C., Cox, L., Krinsky, J. & A. G. Nilsen (eds.). *Marxism and Social Movements*. Leiden & Boston: Brill. pp. 41-61.

Beltrán Villegas, M.A. (2015). *Las FARC-EP (1950-2015): luchas de ira y esperanza (The FARC-EP (1950-2015): struggles of anger and hope)*. Bogotá: Ediciones Desde Abajo.

Borras Jr, S. M. & J. C. Franco. (2013). 'Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'From Below'', *Third World Quarterly*, 34(9): 1723-1747.

Caracol Radio. (2005). 'Mancuso: 'el 35 por ciento del Congreso fue elegido en zona de influencia de las AUC''. Accessed 23 October 2017. <[http://caracol.com.co/radio/2005/08/04/judicial/1123166760\\_191922.html](http://caracol.com.co/radio/2005/08/04/judicial/1123166760_191922.html)>.

Carrillo, L. (2016). "'¡Juntos, pero no revueltos!'" (O de cómo se ha concertado la regulación social en medio de la guerra) El caso de la región de El Pato. San Vicente del Caguán, Colombia. 1956-

2016' ("Together, but not scrambled!" (Or how the social regulation in the middle of the war has been concluded). The case of the El Pato region. San Vicente del Caguán, Colombia. 1956-2016'). Accessed 20 October 2017. <[https://www.academia.edu/28164846/\\_Juntos\\_pero\\_no\\_revueltos\\_O\\_de\\_c%C3%B3mo\\_se\\_ha\\_concertado\\_la\\_regulaci%C3%B3n\\_social\\_en\\_medio\\_de\\_la\\_guerra\\_El\\_caso\\_de\\_la\\_regi%C3%B3n\\_de\\_El\\_Pato.\\_San\\_Vicente\\_del\\_Cagu%C3%A1n\\_Colombia.\\_1956-2016](https://www.academia.edu/28164846/_Juntos_pero_no_revueltos_O_de_c%C3%B3mo_se_ha_concertado_la_regulaci%C3%B3n_social_en_medio_de_la_guerra_El_caso_de_la_regi%C3%B3n_de_El_Pato._San_Vicente_del_Cagu%C3%A1n_Colombia._1956-2016)>

Chaparro García, W.A. 'Las Zonas de Reserva Campesina (ZRC) reconocimiento del campesino como sujeto político y cultural en Colombia' ('The Peasant Reserve Zones (ZRC) recognition of the peasant as a political and cultural subject in Colombia'). Accessed 20 October 2017. <<http://repositorio.utp.edu.co/dspace/handle/11059/4568>>

Chará Ordóñez, W. D. (2015). 'Las víctimas del conflicto armado interno en Colombia, 1985-2015' ('The victims of the internal armed conflict in Colombia, 1985-2015'). *Anuari del Conflict Social* 5. Accessed 26 October 2017. <<http://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/ACS/article/view/16002>>

Cepeda, I. & A. Uribe. (2014). *Por las sendas de El Ubérrimo*. Bogotá: Ediciones B.

Colombian Constitutional Court Sentence T-488 of 2014.

CNMH. (2015). *Una nación desplazada: informe nacional del desplazamiento forzado en Colombia (A displaced nation: a national report on forced displacement in Colombia)*. Bogotá: CNMH - UARIV.

Blee, K.M. & V. Taylor. (2002). 'Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research', in B. Klandermans & S. Staggenborg (eds) *Methods of Social Movement Research*, pp. 92-117. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

COOAGROGUAVIARE. (2012). *Zona de Reserva Campesina del Guaviare. Plan de Desarrollo Sostenible (Peasant Reserve Zone of Guaviare. Sustainable Development Plan)*. Bogotá: COOAGROGUAVIARE & INCODER.

*Decree 1777 (Colombia)*

De Janvry, A. and E. Sadoulet (2002) 'Land reforms in Latin America: ten lessons toward a contemporary agenda', World Bank's Latin American Land Policy Workshop in Pachuca, Mexico. Accessed 23 October 2017. <[https://are.berkeley.edu/~esadoulet/papers/Land\\_Reform\\_in\\_LA\\_10\\_lesson.pdf](https://are.berkeley.edu/~esadoulet/papers/Land_Reform_in_LA_10_lesson.pdf)>

Della Porta, D. & M. Keating. (2008). *Approaches and Methodologies in The Social Sciences. A pluralist perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Della Porta, D. (ed.) (2014). *Methodological practices in Social Movement Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DNP (2015) 'El campo colombiano: un camino hacia el bienestar y la paz. Informe detallado de la misión para la transformación del campo. Tomo 1' ('The Colombian countryside: a path towards

welfare and peace. Detailed report of the mission for the transformation of the countryside. Volume 1'). Bogotá: DNP.

Duarte Ossa, E. (2013). 'Las Zonas de Reserva Campesina no son repúblicas independientes': César Jerez.' *Prensa Rural*. Accessed 25 October 2017. <<http://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article11373>>

Edelman, M. & S.M. Borras Jr. (2016). *Political Dynamics of Transnational Agrarian Movements*. Warwickshire: Practical Action Publishing.

Estrada Álvarez, J. (ed.). (2013). *Territorios campesinos. La experiencia de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina (Peasant territories. The experience of the Peasant Reserve Zones)*. Bogotá: Incoder & Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Fajardo, D. (2002). *Para sembrar la paz, hay que aflojar la tierra: comunidades, tierras y territorios en la construcción de un país (To sow peace, we must loosen the land: communities, lands and territories in the construction of a country)*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia & Instituto de Estudios Ambientales.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2014). *Las guerras de la agricultura colombiana. 1980-2010. (The wars of Colombian agriculture. 1980-2010)*. Bogotá: ILSA.

Ferro, J. G. & G. Tobón. (2012). *Autonomías territoriales: experiencias y desafíos (Territorial autonomies: experiences and challenges)*. Bogotá: Universidad Javeriana.

Focus group with the National Dynamizing team of ANZORC (5 September 2017).

Fox, Jonathan (1993). *The politics of food in Mexico: state power and social Mobilization in Mexico*. Ithaca: Cornell University.

García Durán, M, s.j. (2006). *Movimiento por la Paz en Colombia 1978-2003*. Bogotá: CINEP.

González, L.G. (2017). *Luchas y resistencias campesinas en Colombia: 1948-2015. Caminos de la guerra y de la paz (Struggles and peasant resistance in Colombia: 1948-2015. Paths of war and peace)*. Bogotá: Ediciones Aurora.

González, F., I. Bolívar & T. Vázquez. (2002). *Violencia política en Colombia. De la nación fragmentada a la construcción del Estado (Political violence in Colombia. From the fragmented nation to the construction of the state)*. Bogotá: CINEP

Grajales, J. (2015). 'Land grabbing, legal contention and institutional change in Colombia, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 42(3-4): 541-560.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2017). *Gobernar en medio de la violencia: Estado y paramilitarismo en Colombia (Governing in the midst of violence)*. Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario.

Gramsci, A. (1999). *Cuadernos de la cárcel. 5 (Prison notebooks. 5)*. Puebla: Universidad Autónoma de

Puebla.

Iglesias Turrión, P. (2008). *Multitud y acción colectiva postnacional: un estudio comparado de los desobedientes: de Italia a Madrid (2000-2005)* (*Multitude and postnational collective action: a comparative study of the disobedient: from Italy to Madrid (2000-2005)*). Accessed 19 October 2017. <<http://eprints.ucm.es/8458/1/T30518.pdf>>

INCORA, Government of Colombia (1996) 'Acuerdo 024' ('Agreement 024'). Accessed 17 October 2017 <<http://bibliotecadigital.agronet.gov.co/bitstream/11348/5823/1/161.pdf>>

Interview with Carlos Duarte. Coordinator of the Area of Applied Research in Rural Development and Territorial Planning of the Institute of Intercultural Studies of the Javeriana University of Cali, Colombia. (14 August 2017).

Interview with Germán Cardoza. Former official with more than 20 years of experience in the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA) and the Colombian Institute of Rural Development (INCODER) (1 September 2017).

Jaramillo, J., L. Mora & F. Cubides. *Colonización, coca y guerrilla (Colonization, coca and guerrilla)*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Jerez, C. (2013). 'Interview to César Jerez', made by Juan Francisco Acero and Juliana Guerra for Post Office Cowboys. Accessed 17 October 2017 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YyZbIq90XDY>>

Kennedy, P. (2006). 'Marxism and the Relative Autonomy of the Capitalist state', *Critique* 34(2): 179-196.

La Vía Campesina. (2017). 29 new members accepted into La Via Campesina during the 7th Conference. Accessed 23 November 2017. <<https://viacampesina.org/en/29-new-members-accepted-la-via-campesina-7th-conference/>>

Lechner, N. (1984). *La conflictiva y nunca acabada construcción del orden deseado (The conflictive and never finished construction of the desired order)*. Santiago de Chile: FLACSO.

Legrand, C. (1984). 'De las tierras públicas a las propiedades privadas: acaparamiento de tierras y conflictos agrarios en Colombia, 1870-1930' ('From Public Lands into Private Properties: Landholding and Rural Conflict in Colombia, 1850-1936'). *Lecturas de Economía* 13: 13-50.

Lendal, N. (2017). On the fringe of the state: Community controlled resources and the construction of an ideal local citizen in Northeast Antioquia, Colombia', MA thesis. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen.

Lenin, V. I. (2005). *The Dual Power*. Marxists Internet Archive. <<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/apr/09.htm>>

Lewin, J. E. (2015). 'Estas son las entidades para la paz' ('These are the entities for peace'). Accessed 23 October 2017. <<http://lasillavacia.com/historia/estas-son-las-entidades-para-la-paz-51811>>

Machado, A. (2017). *El problema de la tierra. Conflicto y desarrollo en Colombia. (The land's problem. Conflict and development in Colombia)*. Bogotá: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial.

Mann, M.(2013). 'The Autonomous Power of the state: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results. In Brenner, N., B. Jessop, M. Jones, G. MacLeod (eds.). *state/Space. A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

McAdam, D., S. Tarrow & C. Tilly. (2004). *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Medina, M.A. (2017). 'Tres agencias para desarrollar el campo en el posconflicto' ('Three agencies to develop the countryside in the post-conflict'). Accessed 23 October 2017. <<https://colombia2020.elespectador.com/territorio/tres-agencias-para-desarrollar-el-campo-en-el-posconflicto>>

Méndez Blanco, Y. (2013). 'Derecho a la tierra y al territorio, justicia y Zonas de Reserva Campesina: el caso del Valle del Río Cimitarra' ('Right to land and territory, justice and Peasant Reserve Zones: the case of the Cimitarra River Valley'). Accessed 7 July 2017. <<https://repository.javeriana.edu.co:8443/bitstream/handle/10554/12429/MendezBlancoYenlyAngelica2013.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>>

Migdal, J.S. (1988). *Strong Societies and Weak states. state-Society Relations and state Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1990). 'The state in Society: Struggles and Accommodations in Multiple Arenas'. *states and Social Structures Newsletter* 13: 1-5.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1994). 'The state in Society: An Approach to Struggles for Domination', in Migdal, J.S., A. Kohli & V. Shue (eds.). *state Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2001). *state in Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Molano, A., D. Fajardo., J. Carrizosa & F. Roza (eds.). (1989). *Yo le digo una de las cosas: la colonización de la reserva de La Macarena (I will tell you one of the things. The colonization of the reserve of the Macarena)*. Bogotá: Fondo FEN Colombia y Corporación Aracuará.

Molano, A. & C. Ramírez. (1991). 'Resguardos campesinos', *Revista Ecológica* 7: 34-38

Molano, A. (2006). *Selva adentro. Una historia oral de la colonización del Guaviare (Jungle inside. An oral history of the colonization of Guaviare)*. Bogotá: Punto de lectura.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2014). 'Las Zonas de Reserva Campesina, una herramienta para la paz'. Las 2 Orillas. Accessed 21 October 2017. <<https://www.las2orillas.co/las-zonas-de-reserva-campesina-una-herramienta-para-la-paz/>>

Moore, J.W. (2010). 'The End of the Road? Agricultural Revolutions in the Capitalist World-Ecology, 1450-2010'. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10(3): 389-413.

Negri, A. (1999). *Insurgencies. Constituent Power and the Modern state*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

O'Connor, J. (2009). *The Fiscal Crisis of the state*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

O'Donnell, G. 'Apuntes para una teoría del estado' ('Notes for a theory of the state'). Accessed 23 November 2017. <<http://www.top.org.ar/ecgp/FullText/000000/O%20DONNELL%20Guillermo%20-%20Apuntes%20para%20una%20teoria%20del%20estado.pdf>>

Ortiz C. E., M. E. Pérez, D. C. Brieva & L. A. Muñoz. (2004). *Zonas de Reserva Campesina. Aprendizaje e innovación para el Desarrollo Rural (Peasant Reserve Zones. Learning and innovation for Rural Development)*. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Osorio, F. E. & J. G. Ferro. (2014). 'Realidades y desafíos para el ejercicio de la autonomía campesina. Reflexiones alrededor de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina en Colombia' ('Realities and challenges for the exercise of peasant autonomy. Reflections around the Peasant Reserve Zones in Colombia', *Revista Controversia* 202: 17-38.

Parra, L. (2015). 'Organizaciones sociales en el Guaviare. Documento final de investigación'. Bogotá: CINEP.

Pereira, J. M. M. (2010). *O Bamco Mundial como ator político, intelectual e financeiro (1944-2008)*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

Pizarro, E. (1992). "Revolutionary Guerrilla Groups in Colombia". In Bergquist, C., R. Peñaranda & G. Sánchez. *Violence in Colombia: The Contemporary Crisis in Historical Perspective*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources. pp. 169-193.

Poulantzas, N. (1978). *Political Power & Social Classes*. London: Verso Editions

Quesada, C.E. (2013). 'Derecho a la Consulta Previa para comunidades campesinas'. Accessed 20 October 2017. <<http://www.bdigital.unal.edu.co/9859/1/701683.2013.pdf>>

Quiroga Manrique, A. C. (2012). 'Construcción del territorio minero campesino en el nordeste de Antioquia, Colombia. Movimientos socio territoriales y derechos humanos en contra el modelo económico multinacional 1970-2010' ('Construction of the peasant mining territory in the northeast of Antioquia, Colombia. Socio-territorial movements and human rights against the multinational economic model 1970-2010'. Accessed 20 October 2017.



<<http://www.bdigital.unal.edu.co/9703/1/andreacatalinaquirogamanrique.2012.pdf>>

Ramírez, M. C. (2001). *Entre el estado y la guerrilla: identidad y ciudadanía en el movimiento de los campesinos cocaleros del Putumayo* (*Between the state and the guerrilla: identity and citizenship in the movement of the coca peasants of Putumayo*). Bogotá: ICANH.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2011). *Between the guerrillas and the state. the cocalero movement, citizenship and identity in the Colombian amazon*. Durham & London: Duke University Press

Lemaitre, J. (2009). *El derecho como conjuro. Fetichismo legal, violencia y movimientos sociales*. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores y Universidad de los Andes.

*Rural Development Act 160* (Colombia).

Rutas del Conflicto. (2017). 'El Davis. El nacimiento de las FARC' ('The Davis. The Birth of FARC'). Accessed 20 October 2017. <[http://rutasdelconflicto.com/especiales/nacimiento\\_farc\\_davis/](http://rutasdelconflicto.com/especiales/nacimiento_farc_davis/)>

Salgado Ruiz, H. (2001). 'Procesos y estrategias socio-organizativas en el Guaviare' ('Processes and socio-organizational strategies in the Guaviare'). In Archila, M. & M. Pardo. (eds.). *Movimientos sociales, Estado y democracia en Colombia* (*Social movements, state and Democracy in Colombia*). Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Sánchez, G. (1977). *Las ligas campesinas en Colombia: auge y reflujó*. Bogotá: Editorial Tiempo Presente.

Skocpol, T. (1985). 'Bringing the state Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research'. In Evans, P., D. Rueschemeyer & T. Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the state Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Snow, D. A. & R. D. Benford. (1988). "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization," in Klandermans, B., H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds), *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 197–217.

Solá Pérez, M. (2016). 'R-existências dos camponeses/as do que hoje é Suape: justiça territorial, pós-desenvolvimento e descolonialidade pela vida'. Accessed 20 October 2017. <<http://repositorio.ufpe.br/handle/123456789/18689>>

Stinchcombe, A. L. (1986). "Milieu and structure updated". *Theory and Society* 15: 901-913.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1987). "Review of The Contentious French. *American Journal of Sociology* 93: 1248-1249

Tarrow, S.G. (1993). "Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention", *Social Science History* 17(2): 281-307.

Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. New York: Random House

\_\_\_\_\_. (1995). *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

University of Alabama. (2017). How to conduct a literature review: types of literature reviews. Accessed 19 October 2017. <<http://guides.lib.ua.edu/c.php?g=39963&p=253698>>.

Vega Cantor, R. (2002). *Gente muy rebelde. Protesta popular y Modernización capitalista en Colombia (1909-1929). 2. Indígenas, campesinos y protestas agrarias) (Very rebellious people. Popular Protest and Capitalist Modernization in Colombia (1909-1929). 2. Indigenous people, peasants and agrarian protests.)*. Bogotá: Ediciones Pensamiento Crítico.

Villaraga, A. (2017). 'Villaraga: Estado colombiano incapaz de garantizar la seguridad. Interview to Álvaro Villaraga' made by Telesur. Accessed 24 October 2017. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rtOUEdwVh4A>>.

Watson, M. (2005). *Foundations of International Political Economy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Workshops in the Peasant Reserve Zone of Guaviare (1-4 April & 7-20 April 2016).

Zoldberg, A.R. (1972). "Moments of Madness", *Politics & Society* 2(2): 183-207

## Appendix A

### Tasks developed by the researcher for the ANZORC (2010-2016)

Place and/or event	Task	Output used for this research
Peasant Reserve Zone of the Cimitarra Valley River. January of 2010.	Elaboration of workshops in Environmental topics	Diaries
Public audience “PRZ as an agrarian peace initiative. Current status and prospects”. Bogotá, 1st of November of 2012.	Notekeeping	Minutes and declarations
Forum “Rural development with a territorial approach”. Mechanism of participation of the civil society in the peace process. Bogotá, 17-19 of December of 2012.	Reading the lecture “The peace of the peasants is the social justice” in one of the spaces of the forum.	The lecture “The peace of the peasants is the social justice”
Montes de María, Bolívar. March of 2013.	Discussion of the Programmatic and Political Proposal of ANZORC	Minutes
San Vicente del Caguán, Caquetá. 22 and 23 of march of 2013.	Help in the elaboration of the Programmatic and Political Proposal of ANZORC	Programmatic and Political Proposal of ANZORC (2013)
I National Seminar on Interethnic and Intercultural territories	Organization of the whole event	Minutes and discussion documents
Political organization workshops in the departments of Arauca, Santander, Caquetá, Cesar, Tolima, Valle del Cauca, Cauca, Guaviare and Quindío.	Organization and execution of workshops for the political formation of the peasant communities of these departments.	- Minutes - Maps - Methodologies

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Timelines of peasant struggles</li> <li>- Declaration</li> </ul>
--	--	---

## Appendix B

Fieldwork advanced from July to August of 2017

General Output and Methodology used
<p><b>2.1.1. General output of the methods used:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Qualitative data useful analysis of the proposal of the PRZ.</li> <li>- A categorization of the main challenges in the implementation of the Integral Rural Reform of the recent Colombian peace treaty.</li> <li>- Repertoire of actions scheme.</li> <li>- Qualitative data useful for the analysis of the state's power grammar.</li> <li>- Actors and strategies maps</li> </ul>
<p><b>2.1.2. Methodology used:</b></p> <p><i>Participant Observation in the following events and meetings related with the PRZ and the implementation of the land policies derived from the peace process:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Meeting of the association ASTRACATOL with the Agricultural Planning Unit and other institutions in Bogotá.</li> <li>- Peasant meeting ‘Sabores y Saberes 2017’ in Bolo Blanco, department of Valle del Cauca.</li> <li>- Visit to the peasant association ASTRAZONAC in Corinto, department of Cauca.</li> <li>- Visit to an occupied farm in Cajibío, Cauca.</li> <li>- Visit to a meeting in a denominated Agrifood Peasant Territory</li> <li>- Participation in the 9th International Congress of Sustainable Rural Development in Palmira, department of Valle del Cauca.</li> </ul>

- Participation in the conference 'Territorial order in the Macarena Region in Bogotá.
- First meeting of the women of the PRZ of the Cimitarra Valley River in Cantagallo, department of the Sur de Bolívar.
- Discussion of the Institute of Intercultural Studies with a team of ANZORC about a project for the redefinition of the Family Agricultural Unit.
- Meetings of the dynamizing team of ANZORC.
- Meetings of the team in charge of the FAO project of evaluation of the actual 6 PRZ.

### **2.2.1. Methodology used:**

*11 Semi-structured interview techniques with the following persons:*

- Fredy Páez. Researcher of the Institute of Intercultural Studies.
- Carlos Duarte. Coordinator of the line of research 'Rural Development and Territorial Ordering' of the Research Group 'Interculturality, state and Society' of the Institute of Intercultural Studies.
- Vladimir. Member of the technical team of ASTRAZONAC, one association that wants to constitute a Peasant Reserve Zone in Corinto, department of Cauca.
- Camilo López. Responsible of the Southwest node of ANZORC.
- María DUBY Ordóñez. Leader of the peasant process CNA. This process wants to constitute in Colombia the agri food peasant territories
- César Muñoz. Official of the program of PRZ in the NGO Forum Syd.
- Two officials of the National Land Agency.
- Germán Cardoza. Former official with more than 20 years of experience in the the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA) and the Colombian Institute of Rural Development (INCODER).
- Sammy Sánchez and Visnú Posada. Two members of ANZORC who are in the concertation table with Natural National Parks (PNN)
- Carmenza Gómez. President of ANZORC
- Julián Quintero. PhD researcher at Université Paris X Nanterre. Topic of his research: state-PRZ relations

### **2.2.2. Methodology used:**

*2 focus groups with the following people:*

- The team 'Peace Initiatives' of the Center for research and popular education (CINEP).
- The technical professionals of the national dynamizing team of ANZORC

### **2.2.3. Methodology used:**

Analysis of the official documents of the peace processes and legal procedures derived from it related to the topic of Land Reform

### **2.2.4. Methodology used:**

Analysis of the documents of Anzorc.

## **Appendix C**

### **Interview guide (in spanish)**

#### **Borrador de la guía de entrevista semiestructurada para la investigación 'Resistir y crear el Estado'. Alternativas desde las Zonas de Reserva Campesina de Colombia [Spa].**

La presente guía de entrevista semiestructurada está dividida en módulos para facilitar el desarrollo de la conversación con cada uno de los informantes cualificados que se entrevistará para los propósitos de esta investigación. Sin embargo, cada uno de los módulos tiene como objetivo último descifrar el repertorio de acciones que las Zonas de Reserva Campesina de Colombia han desplegado para la consecución de sus propósitos políticos como movimiento social, en diálogo/colaboración/resistencia con otros actores como lo son el Estado, la guerrilla de las Farc-Ep y actores orientados hacia el mercado (*state oriented actors*). Con esta guía de entrevista semiestructurada se orientarán las conversaciones que se tengan con individuos que representan los mencionados actores. La guía, como su nombre lo indica será la base sobre la que se construirá la conversación, sin ser ella una 'camisa de fuerza' para el libre desarrollo del diálogo. Esto quiere decir, que dependiendo de las características de cada uno de los informantes cualificados que se entreviste (cada uno de ellos miembro, o cercano a uno de los cuatro grupo de actores que me interesan en esta investigación), la entrevista puede variar, sin que ello signifique que se alteren los objetivos últimos de la investigación.

#### **Módulo histórico. Los repertorios de movilización en cada una de las tres décadas de movilización por la tierra y el territorio en las ZRC.**

**Marchas cocaleras y preparación de las bases normativas de la figura (1980 – 1990).**

*¿Mediante qué acciones lo que sería el movimiento rural que antecedió a las Zonas de Reserva Campesina se movilizó durante esta década?*

*¿Qué papel jugaron actores como el Partido Comunista Colombiano y las FARC-EP en la organización de los campesinos colonos?*

### **Constitución del 91, Ley 160 de 1994, Constitución de las primeras Zonas y proyecto piloto. (1990 -2002).**

*¿Qué actores del Estado fueron claves para el movimiento de las ZRC? ¿Por qué fueron claves? ¿Qué tan importante fue el papel de profesores como Darío Fajardo, Alfredo Molano y otros para la elaboración de las bases normativas?*

### **Zonas de Reserva Campesina de frente al autoritarismo. (2002-2010).**

*ANZORC nace en el 2001. ¿Cuáles fueron las condiciones que se presentaron para que fuera necesaria la creación de una asociación de asociaciones que agrupara todas aquellas iniciativas de Zonas de Reserva Campesina en el país?*

*¿Cómo se enfrentó desde los principales procesos de Zonas de Reserva Campesina los 8 años de represión del gobierno de Álvaro Uribe Vélez?*

### **Zonas de Reserva Campesina: una iniciativa agraria de paz. (2010 – Hoy).**

*¿En qué sentido la inclusión de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina dentro del primer punto del acuerdo de paz con la Farc-Ep representan una oportunidad política para la organización?*

*¿Cuáles son los principales puntos del acuerdo de paz con las FARC-EP que están relacionados con el proceso de Zonas de Reserva Campesina? ¿El proceso de zonas ve esto como una oportunidad?*

*¿Qué avances y/o retrocesos ha tenido el proceso de Zonas de Reserva Campesina en el marco de la implementación de los acuerdos de paz?*

### **Módulo ‘Las Zonas de Reserva Campesina hacia adentro’. El proceso de construcción de un movimiento nacional.**

*Es justo afirmar que las FARC-EP jugaban un papel fundamental a la hora de regular las relaciones sociales dentro de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina. Estas relaciones sociales incluyen los posibles límites que se le imponen a la propiedad privada. ¿Qué mecanismos hay dentro de las Zonas para evitar el acaparamiento de tierras, dado que la legislación con respecto a esto es tan débil?*

### **Los principales debates actuales dentro del movimiento de Zonas de Reserva Campesina**

*¿Cómo ha avanzado la discusión con relación al régimen de tenencia de la tierra en las Zonas de Reserva Campesina? ¿Titulación individual o titulación colectiva? ¿Propiedad individual con uso colectivo de la tierra? ¿Común y proindiviso?*

### **Módulo ‘Las Zonas de Reserva Campesina hacia afuera’. Relacionamiento con otros actores.**

## **Autonomía y capacidad en el Estado/Acumulación y legitimidad en el Estado**

*¿Cómo ha sido la historia de relacionamiento con la institucionalidad estatal en el proceso de elaboración de un programa de sustitución voluntario y gradual de cultivos de uso ilícito?*

*¿Cómo ha sido la historia de relacionamiento con la institucionalidad estatal encargada de la administración del Sistema Nacional de Áreas Protegidas?*

*¿Qué proyectos estatales se están ejecutando en este momento en las Zonas de Reserva Campesina?*

*¿Cómo ha sido el relacionamiento de los procesos de Zonas de Reserva Campesina con los alcaldes y gobernadores?*

## **Relacionamiento con las Organizaciones No Gubernamentales**

*¿Bajo qué condiciones podría decirse que el relacionamiento de ANZORC con las ONG crean escenarios de oportunidad y escenarios de riesgo para el movimiento de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina?*

*¿Qué proyectos de ONG nacionales e internacionales se están ejecutando en este momento en las Zonas de Reserva Campesina?*

*¿Qué tipo de riesgos existirían de que ANZORC pase de ser un movimiento social a una ONG limitada fundamentalmente a la ejecución de proyectos?*

## **Relacionamiento de las organizaciones de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina con otros movimientos rurales.**

*¿Cómo ha sido el proceso de elaboración de la propuesta de los Territorios Étnicos e Interculturales? ¿Cuáles han sido los principales retos?*

*¿Cómo ha sido la relación con otras organizaciones agrarias como el CNA y Fensuagro?*

## **Relacionamiento con la academia**

*¿Cuáles han sido las principales tensiones en el proceso de relacionamiento del movimiento campesino con la academia nacional e internacional?*