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**A second chance to come back from war: The experience of
demobilized FARC-EP guerrilla members in their path to rein-
corporate into society through business engagement**

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List of Acronyms

ARN	Colombian Agency for Reincorporation and Normalization
CBSE	Community-based Social Enterprise
CSIVI	Commission for the Following, Impulse and Verification
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
ECOMUN	Social Economies of the Common
ETCR	Territorial Areas for Training and Reincorporation
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
PTN	Transitory Locations for Normalization
SSE	Social and Solidarity Economy
UNMMV	United Nations Mechanism of Monitoring and Verification
ZVTN	Transitory Zones of Normalization

Abstract

Colombia was immersed for more than fifty years in an armed conflict between the national government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). In 2016, former President Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC signed a peace agreement that ended half a decade of armed confrontation. As part of the commitments from this peace agreement, the Colombian government initiated with the FARC a transition to post-conflict, following a Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) strategy. This study focuses on the reintegration process of ex-combatants and aims to contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which FARC ex-combatants reincorporate to civil life. To do so, it answers the question: In what ways do market economic activities interact with the everyday reincorporation process of ex-combatants in Colombia? And addresses this topic by engaging with the 'local turn' and 'everyday' body of literature (Mac Ginty 2010; Mac Ginty 2013; Mac Ginty 2014; Randazzo 2016; Brewer et al 2018; Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015; Richmond 2008). This set of literature shows that peacebuilding is also made on a daily basis at the local level and not only through the implementation of traditional liberal peace models. This bottom-up approach is presented in the form of a case study analysis of everyday peace building actions conducted by FARC former combatants who developed a community-based social enterprise during their reintegration process. The case study selected is a microbrewery start up, called La Roja, created by ex-combatants with the aim of facilitating their transit into civil life.

The overall finding is that market economy activities, channeled through social enterprises and based on the principles of the social and solidarity economy, serves as a platform for social and economic reintegration, in the sense, that it creates an economic alternative for marginalized and stigmatized population. This market economy activities not only contribute to the creation of new livelihoods; they also enable the consolidation of social networks which helps to counterattack the exclusion and marginalization experiences by former combatants. In this sense, La Roja, represents an example of how a social enterprise can impact peacebuilding processes through the everyday actions and it shows the importance of bottom-up initiatives to build peace. This case study has shown that even though public policies and institutional frameworks are necessary to achieve peace, a long-lasting peace can only be attained after rethinking peace building approaches and re-centering the focus on the local realities and local agency that are constantly ignored by top-down peace strategies.

Keywords

Everyday peacebuilding, local turn, networks, disarmament, demobilization, and reincorporation, social and solidarity economy, Colombia; FARC.

1. Introduction

Colombia was immersed for more than fifty years in an armed conflict between the national government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC acronym in Spanish). Former President Juan Manuel Santos Calderón initiated in 2012 peace negotiations with the FARC and finished them after four years when both parties agreed to sign, in August 2016, a peace accord. As part of the commitments from this peace agreement, the Colombian government initiated with the FARC a transition to post-conflict, following a liberal peace model, through a Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) strategy. Within these steps, reintegration can be considered as the greatest challenge in the complete process. Mainly because ex-combatants and their families spend many years in the armed confrontation and return to civil life having to build up a livelihood, facing challenging problems like starting a business, finding employment or living in the transit of finding a livelihood without a secure income (Kingma 1997). These challenges were highly discussed in different levels of the Colombian society during the peace negotiations and now during the post conflict phase. These discussions have brought a series of questions and initiatives around how the peace agreement translates at the local level and how can peace be built on a daily basis. In this sense, this research paper will focus precisely on the everyday and the quotidian to comprehend how former combatants develop everyday peacebuilding actions through economic activities to reintegrate into civil society and contribute to peace formation at the local level.

My motivation to pursue this research angle initiated as part of my personal background. I grew up in La Guajira, a mostly rural region of Colombia where corruption, inequality and poverty has been strongly present through generations. I was privileged enough to grow in a middle-income family, without experiencing such socioeconomic reality within my household. However, what did impact me during those young years was seeing the power of corruption and war in shaping a society, increasing inequalities and encouraging violence every year. It was (and continues to be) a never-ending cycle in which those three factors fed from each other causing that not even basic human needs could be met for a large portion of the population. In an environment where economic alternatives are limited and violence is perpetrated in different ways, including by the elites aiming to stay in power and by armed groups with political and economic agendas, war appeared like the only possibility for many people to find a living and/or to avoid death. This background has encouraged me to learn how actors build peace, from a bottom-up perspective away from defined institutional structures that can be foreign for them, in contexts where inequality, poverty, human right violations, among others, are still present. But also, to comprehend what happens with former combatants after war in social, economic and political terms, how can they reintegrate into civil life and how do they build peace at a local level.

While researching what has been written on this topic, I have identified that a great amount of literature is focused on the basic elements of DDR (Humphreys and Weinstein, 2007); however little focus has been dedicated to analyzing the factors that can determine the reasons behind why ex-combatants can reintegrate after war effectively and others cannot

make it. Also, limited literature has been dedicated to the importance of bottom-up initiatives in everyday peacebuilding and the role of former combatants in the design, participation and production of local initiatives based on networks that aid them in their reintegration process into civil life (Jenkins et al., 2017; Rettberg et al., 2019; Rettberg 2019; Miklian et al., 2017). But also, less research has been dedicated to focusing on collective reintegration of illegal armed groups. It is even been perceived by some authors, in the Sierra Leon case, that an indicator to measure successful reintegration is the breakup of linkages between factions after the DDR program (Humphreys and Weinstein, 2007).

For these reasons, in this research paper, I would like to contribute with an analysis of the so called 'local turn' in peace building, which shows that peacebuilding is also made on a daily basis at the local level and not only through the implementation of traditional liberal peace models. This bottom-up approach will be presented in the form of a case study analysis of everyday peace building actions conducted by FARC former combatants who developed a community-based social enterprise during their reintegration process. The case study selected is a microbrewery start up, called La Roja, created by ex-combatants with the aim of facilitating their transit into civil life while encouraging a solidarity-based economy in the network it operates to share the benefit of the social enterprise with their community.

In order to focus on the reintegration process of ex-combatants, I will develop my study initially engaging with the concepts of DDR in a macro level but as well, situating them in the Colombian context. This liberal peace model will then be contrasted with a set of literature that criticizes it, called the 'local turn' and also known as the 'everyday peace building' (Mac Ginty 2010; Mac Ginty 2013; Mac Ginty 2014; Randazzo 2016; Brewer et al 2018; Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015; Richmond 2008). These critiques aim to present an "‘emancipatory peace’, and a new ‘critical agenda for peace’ that can allow the emergence of the forces of the ‘everyday’ and of a form of emancipatory governance centred on ‘the solidarity of the governed’" (Randazzo 2016: 1351).

The local turn will be analyzed under the lenses of the **Social and Solidarity Economy** (SSE) that aims to present an alternative to the existing capitalist economic system. It encourages the improvement of livelihoods by eliminating social injustices and promoting a sustainable economy that benefits everyone participating (Fraisie et al, 2001; Gutberlet 2009). This will be complemented with the analysis of **social networks**, understood as 'collaborative arrangements' (Hejnova 2010: 743) among a multiplicity of actors in the private, public and international spheres, to present the complex interconnection (Randazzo 2016: 135) present in the local, the role of each actor and how they interact with social relations and structures in social life. The concept of **social capital** will be presented to complement both the SSE and social network concepts. The social capital refers to intangible resources present in social relations that an individual or a group can mobilize when required to achieve an objective. It is expressed in social interactions like networks, norms, trust, material and symbolic exchanges, among others (Woolcock and Narayan 2000; Jenkins et al 2017; Tello et al, 2011). Also, it can be used to organize strategies to gain access to better life conditions or to resist to the inequalities present in the traditional economic system. In the SSE, the accumulation of social capital can promote the elimination of barriers faced by entrepreneurs and facilitate simple transactions in the market as the networks of exchange function under the principles of trust, reciprocity and exchange among equals (Durstun, 2000; Tello et al,

2011: 6). When developing SSE based activities these come together to challenge the capitalist economic system and to pursue a common goal that will facilitate equal and just ways of living.

The above mentioned concepts will be used as tools that will facilitate the comprehension of the research objective, which is, to gain a better understanding of the ways in which ex-combatants reincorporate to civil life by analyzing the case of a group of former combatants developing La Roja, a microbrewery start-up. To achieve this objective, this paper will answer the general question: In what ways do market economic activities interact with the everyday reincorporation process of ex-combatants in Colombia?

The following sub-questions aim to provide a further understanding on the reincorporation process in relation to their selected economic activity:

- How did ex-combatants organize to develop their economic activity?
- How networks created by ex-combatants affect their reincorporation?
- How does a social enterprise of ex-combatants contribute to everyday peacebuilding?

To do so, this research paper will present a following chapter that expands on the conceptual framework presented in this introduction. A third chapter that presents a contextualization of the Colombian peace process, followed by a fourth chapter expanding on the background and history of La Roja. A fifth chapter presenting La Roja's kick-off place, their transit from an idea into becoming a social enterprise and its overall social purpose. A sixth chapter engaging with the social networks and inter-group networks identified in La Roja. A subsequent chapter on the everyday peacebuilding actions of FARC former combatants and a final chapter of conclusions.

1.1 Methodology and research methods

The approach to this research paper is based on the interest of analyzing social processes present in quotidian actions of different actors at the local level that contribute to peacebuilding. Those social processes take place in the daily activities of 'ordinary people' (Mac Ginty 2014: 551) away from the realm of governmental and international agendas and occur, in many cases, without the intentional purpose of building peace. In this sense, this research is interested in the "phenomena hidden in plain view; events that are apparently ordinary but, given the conflict-affected context, are extraordinary" (Mac Ginty 2014: 552).

The nature of this research requires a qualitative approach in order to record and analyze actions, behaviors and ideas that can be seen as mundane in the "banality of the civility" (Mac Ginty 2014: 552) but that can leverage change and be powerful and political. Given the lack of published information available on this topic and on the ex-combatants identified for this research, I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews. A total of 7 participants agreed to participate in this research paper, some were interviewed in several occasions and others only one time. This research method provides a flexible technique to conduct a small-scale research (Drever, 1995) and it allowed me to freely communicate with the people in a more relaxed way focusing on them, their behaviors and attitudes, the way they narrated their life processes and what motivates them. As Bassey (2006: 37) says, through a semi-structured interview the focus is "in understanding how people make sense of their lives, experiences,

and their structures of the world.” This leads to a production of knowledge based on the interpretation and the need to give meaning to the expressions, stories and narrations shared by the interviewee. As González (2002) has stated, interpretation is a process in which the researcher integrates and presents a combination of indicators obtained during the research and which are linked under a theoretical construction. To this broad definition I would add that interpreting a qualitative research, especially those based on personal stories and narrations of the subjects interviewed, also includes a component of translation of what was said during the data collection process and how did the I, as the researched, presented the findings, including my own experiences during the research and my own lecture of the subject. In this sense, I would like to point out that by interpreting the stories of others and choosing those stories that resonates with my theoretical framework of this research, I would be presenting my own angle of analysis and interpretation of everyday peacebuilding processes in which the interviewees have engaged with, among a vast variety of possible interpretations and forms of comprehending a social change phenomenon.

The main stories selected for this research analysis are those of 5 members of La Roja. From which two are male ex-combatants from the FARC, over 40 years old, currently leading the production and commercialization of the beer in La Roja. They are Carlos, La Roja’s manager and Adriano the brewer. Both Carlos and Adriano approved using their names for the purpose of this research paper but clarified that those two names given correspond to how they were called during their years in the FARC guerrilla. Given that they are still members of the FARC (now as a party), they decided to continue using the names given to them during their days as *guerrilleros*. As well, this research paper presents the voice of Julieta, over 35 years-old women and activist who is leading the communications strategy for La Roja; Wally, Julieta’s husband and a key actor in the development of the beer, given that he was the initial teacher and master brewer of the social enterprise; and Natalia, a young social worker, in her early 20s who is managing La Roja’s sales through social media platforms. During the interview process each participant accepted being recorded, the use of their name and the information shared by them for the purpose of this research paper.

1.2 Research limitations and further research angles to explore

The strongest limitation to conduct this research paper has been the declared national quarantine in Colombia to contain the expansion of the covid-19 pandemic, from March to August 2020. This restricted me to develop an ethnographic research method, as originally planned, and also, limited the number of interviews and interviewees that I was able to access. Hence, some of the interviews were done through communication platforms like Zoom, when access to internet was available in the location of the interviewee, while others were possible to be conducted personally. However, the use of this platform did not limit in any way the data collection process as the interviewees were very interested in participating and allowed me to spend a considerable number of hours chatting with them.

Nonetheless, an ethnographic method accompanying the semi-structured interviews could have been a stronger combination for data gathering by combining two methods that focuses on the individual as main unit of analysis. Ethnography’s empirical characteristic represents a favorable route for exploring social structures and social transformations by

providing a “process of data collection and an epistemology that allows one to better understand human agency in the context of social and institutional discourses and that can attend to the influence of history” (Cerwonka 2007: 14).

Implicit narrative analysis is an additional methodological approach that could also be explored. Feldman et al (2020) present this qualitative approach as a more detailed oriented way of doing narrative analysis. For them, this method centers the attention on narratives as the main unit of analysis, but not on explicit narratives but rather on the ‘implicit aspects of this narratives’ given that ‘much narrative work is implicit, hidden, or untold’ (Feldman et al., 2020: 2). This could lead into a more in-depth analysis of the ‘phenomena hidden in plain view’ (Mac Ginty 2014: 552), which as mentioned above, and the interest of this research paper. As Katriel (2015: 2) says, ‘the central underlying assumption within this approach is that the use of speech forms is grounded in local meanings and subject to local norms and rules of production and interpretation’. By engaging with this research method, a deeper cultural and social analysis of actions, choices, processes of identity construction and social change (Katriel 2015) could be achieved.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1 Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

The liberal peacebuilding activities, materialized through the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programs have been present through the implementation of programs and projects in different parts of the world to end civil wars since 1990. DDR strategies are introduced in countries to strengthen a peacekeeping plan during and/or following a conflict with the aim of guaranteeing the transition of former combatants into a new civil life (Muggah 2005: 242), introducing democratic institutions and reactivating markets (Jenkins 2017) after long periods of war.

These processes address immediate challenges, but it rarely tackles long-term challenges like the marginalization from families and communities towards ex-combatants who return to civil life, the problem of unforgiveness within societies, a lack of proper and realistic expectation management regarding the availability of employment (Stibbe 2012: 3), especially relevant for ex-combatants who struggle finding a livelihood for them and their families (Kingma 1997). These types of elements affect the reintegration of ex-combatants and challenge the effectiveness of the entire reintegration programs promoted by the national government.

For instance, in 2012, Maoists ex-combatants finalized their DDR stages as established in their peace process and were released from their cantonments with, in cash, monetary support. However, many former combatants faced difficulties returning to their home villages due to the absence of social acceptance and reconciliation from the communities (Jenkins 2017: 42). This was added to the economic challenges faced when being confronted to the lack of job opportunities, livelihoods and unemployment (Jenkins 2017: 45). Moreover, in Sierra Leon, in different periods between 1998 and 2002, around 76,000 combatants participated in the disarmament and demobilization process to end the war. The reintegration

phase included the handover of packages of basic needs, reinsertion allowances, psychological support, training programs and final transportation to the local areas selected by them to live after the program finalized (Humphreys and Weinstein 2007: 539). However, in this case there was little evidence on what were the factors behind the successful reintegration of ex-combatants in relation to the DDR program, especially because former combatants who did not participate in the program reported a similar process in their comeback to civil life than those who did participated in the DDR activities (Humphreys and Weinstein 2007: 562-563).

Within the realm of reintegration, different definitions appear in the literature. For some, reintegration is seen in social terms “as the process by which ex-combatants become involved in their communities” (Kaplan and Nussio 2013:2) and with their biological families and relatives (Jenkins 2017: 43). For others, reintegration is only visible in economic terms, seen as a challenge that can only be overcome when ex-combatants have a secure and sustainable livelihood (Kingma 1997: 15; Herrera and González, 2013: 280). As well, it is understood in political terms reflected in “the incorporation of former belligerents into the political space after conclusion of hostilities” (Karazsia 2015: 21). Nonetheless, reintegration would mean different things according to the context of the population aiming to be reintegrated mainly because individual contexts vary from case to case. For this reason, Humphreys and Weinstein (2007) highlights the importance of recognizing elements of “an individual’s experience of the conflict” (Humphreys and Weinstein 2007: 563) when studying reintegration processes.

However, the different reintegration angles, presented here, are needed to guarantee a complete reintegration process of former combatants. Jenkins et al., (2017) mentions Annan and Cutter’s (2009) factors required at the micro and macro levels: “At the micro-level, family and community support and acceptance are the key elements of social reintegration, the macro-level social, political and institutional processes in post-conflict societies [...] have particular significance in facilitating successful reintegration of ex-combatants” (Jenkins et al., 2017: 44).

Furthermore, reintegration can take many shapes. For instance, politically motivated ex-prisoners in Northern Ireland canalized their self and mutual help values, cultivated during their years in prison, in successfully use of European Union funds for capacity building and community engagement activities. These brought them later on to the creation of jobs in the social economy, like a not-for-profit construction company, political tours, among others, while encouraging the formation of links within the community with employers, ONGs, community associations, etc., and fostering peace building in Ireland (Rolston 2007: 272 – 273). As well, Rolston (2007) also highlights the example of Eritrea where the reintegration process was planned before the end of the war, while quoting Kingma (2000) saying that “insurgents started building the new society in the liberated areas before they won the war [...] Reintegration was not government-managed but was undertaken through family and community networks by ex-combatants themselves” (Rolston 2007 :266).

The efforts done under DDR programs are required to tackle urgent challenges when finalizing war. In this sense, Kingma (1997) highlights the necessity of having ‘special efforts for ex-combatants’ throughout the demobilization and reinsertion phases. However, the reintegration process starts with the DDR but goes beyond. In order to create sustainable reintegration projects, Rolston (2007) highlights the importance of involving former

combatants in their reintegration process and support “should be increasingly community-based and part of general post-conflict rehabilitation efforts” (Kingma 1997: 162). This body of literature presents the participation of ex-combatants as a key element in their own reintegration process (Kingma 1997; Kaplan and Nussio 2013) and encourages former combatants to engage in community activities because it “promotes healthy relations between ex-combatants and the community, so that such relations eventually contribute to fostering social capital and social cohesion, the elements that are essential for peacebuilding” (Jenkins et al., 2017: 43).

2.2 DDR in Colombia

As mentioned before, each reintegration process can be different depending on their own particularities. In this sense, the DDR process created by the FARC and the government has its own characteristics. Colombia has wide experience with type of processes to end a conflict. It has been done in previous years with different armed groups and individual cases of FARC ex-combatants who decided to demobilize years before the peace agreements were signed. As the historical circumstances and motives from previous armed groups were different from the FARC, the peace agreements delimited that pre-agreement DDR strategies included a **reintegration** process, characterized by very specific assistance measures. In contrast and to make a difference, the DDR process with the former FARC guerrilla, was thought to include a **reincorporation** process that was designed with different characteristics and particularities than former DDR processes (FIP, 2019). The Colombian Agency for Reincorporation and Normalization (ARN acronym in Spanish) states in its webpage the differentiation between both concepts: It says that reintegration refers to a six and a half years offer from the Colombian State to individuals or groups who have agreed to demobilized from illegal and organized armed groups and who have not committed crimes against humanity, these applies to paramilitary groups and illegal armed groups who are not FARC members. While reincorporation is a concept within the framework of the peace agreements signed with the FARC and includes a new roadmap exclusively designed with and for the FARC former guerilla. Both concepts belong to DDR strategies, but the use of each concept responds to the different characteristics and agreements made with diverse armed groups who decided to demobilize. For this reason, from now on, in this research paper the concept used will be reincorporation when referring to the DDR process with the FARC and reintegration when referring to the DDR process with other illegal armed groups (ARN 2020).

The peace process with the FARC came with a new vision of DDR and included new elements, like agreeing between the parties the main guidelines of the process and having a mutual understanding of FARC’s collective perspective which seeks to maintain the group’s cohesion and underpin a political project. As part of this collective reincorporation process, the emergence of associations to promote a social and economic reincorporation plays a key role. In the case of La Roja microbrewers, concepts like SSE, networks, social capital and social enterprises are especially important in the ideology and organization of the enterprise. These concepts will be used in the form of a conceptual framework.

2.3 The local turn

The so called 'local turn' emerged in the mid-2000s as a result of concerns over the impact of liberal peacebuilding projects which have been exposed for its negligence in attaining peace and its inappropriateness in the strategies implemented (Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015; Randazzo 2016). For instance, some of the missions that were highly criticized involve the state building in Kosovo, unsteady political settlements in Bosnia, promotion of a liberal democratic model in Iraq, peace keeping in Sierra Leone, violent confrontation and resistance in Cambodia and Afghanistan, among others (Randazzo 2016: 1352). This critical perspective argues that the liberal peacebuilding model presents a disconnection between international objectives and local expectations. It focuses on the peace of an informal sphere, outside the realm of traditional programs and international organizations (Mac Ginty 2014). As Randazzo (2016: 1352) states "the gap has been attributed to liberal peace building's preference for technical exercises in state building, based on one-size-fits-all blueprints" which tends to ignore previous forms of social and political organization, traditional institutions and cultural and customary sensitivities. This hegemonic model presents a peace building and development strategy founded on a foreign imposition of concepts, ideas and policies that comes with an expected local subordination (Randazzo 2016: 1353). Hence, the need to rethink peace building strategies and activities from a bottom-up focus comes from the recurrent inappropriateness of top-down governance models that overlook local realities and urges the need of focusing on the unseen narratives of peace that are often invisible to outsiders (Mac Ginty 2013; Mac Ginty 2014; Randazzo 2016). Moving away from the hegemonic model and placing the attention on the 'everyday' suggests the recognition of the local agency in its resistance and peacebuilding role (Randazzo 2016; Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015; Mac Ginty 2014), away from formal institutional domains (Richmond 2008) into sphere of the everyday life "or coping mechanisms developed by so-called ordinary people" (Mac Ginty 2014: 551).

Following Mac Ginty's (2014: 553) definition, "everyday peace refers to the practices and norms deployed by individuals and groups in deeply divided societies to avoid and minimize conflict and awkward situations at both inter- and intra-group levels". It has been acknowledged as "important spaces of war/peace politics, knowledge-production, and potential emancipation" (Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015: 115) where the marginal and those left out find a common objective to organize and respond to exclusion and conflict (Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015). It becomes the entry door to engage with local agents, and with the marginalized, beyond the social identities created by the society, shifting away institutional set-ups or clear-cut identities created by the liberal peace model (Randazzo 2016).

This recognition has been attributed given that it focuses on the needs of marginalized individuals and the 'local' to rethink how peace building is shaped. In this sense, "the 'local' becomes the subject of bottom-up approaches" (Randazzo 2016: 1354). In order to understand the local, the bottom-up model engages in the realm of the everyday, as a way to counterattack rigid top-down structures and agendas. The relevance of the everyday is found in its flexible, non-institutionalized assets, that do not respond to imposed universal frameworks of the liberal model. This flexibility is needed in post conflict environments where linear strategies tend to cause limitations when building peace due to the complexities in

these territories and the impossibility of its societies to follow strict linear models. However, due to the lack of guidelines or what Mac Ginty (2014) calls a ‘rulebook’, everyday peace cannot be replicated (Pye 1999) given that it is strictly dependent to its own time and place.

The everyday peace building model presents the reality of societies living in highly divided environments, where multiple actors participate, interact and overlap in networks of complex interconnections (Randazzo 2016: 1354). In this model of complex networks, the supremacy of one main identity idea is avoided given the “fluidity in the social world” (Mac Ginty 2014: 552) that involves different combinations of hybrid identities (Mac Ginty 2010) that tend to overlap and co-exist. In this sense, one of the characteristics of the everyday peace is that it is ‘fluid’, meaning that there are no strict or formal structures imposed into the society to achieve peace, but rather, it is characterized by “the malleability of individuals, collectives, ideas and practices” (Mac Ginty 2014: 552) who, in deeply fractured societies, find ways of negotiating, adapting, changing and resisting to everyday change.

The hybrid identities and fluidity of these societies then represent in the everyday a clear heterogeneity of groups that are frequently seen, by the liberal peace world, as homogeneous (Mac Ginty 2014). Due to the complex network that comprises the everyday, and the constant need to adapt and incur in social negotiations, groups in divided societies tend to intensify their affiliations to other groups. However, as each actor in the network has a different role (e.g. “a fluid mix of gatekeepers, social entrepreneurs, leaders and followers, the politicized and the non-politicized” (Mac Ginty 2014: 553)), they can have a different approach towards cross-community interaction, creating clear distinctions between them.

2.4 Social networks

One of the most important characteristics of the local turn approach is the interconnectedness of its actors and how each actor has a role to play within their network and other networks which whom they interact (Randazzo 2016). To further understand the everyday and the local turn, it is relevant for this research paper to expand on the concept of social networks.

Social networks can be defined as relationships and ‘collaborative arrangements’ (Hejnova 2010: 743) between public, private, civil society organizations and international actors (Scott 2019). The participants within a network can be presented in the form of nodes and each node can represent either a group or a combination of both groups and individuals. For authors like Hervas-Oliver et al., (2015: 1832), groups of nodes can also be understood as ‘communities’ that ‘are more intensively connected to one another than to the rest of the network’. The main link or tie among them is the exchange of services, knowledge or resources that they can have inside the network (Hejnova 2010: 744).

Social networks can have different purposes and objectives that characterize them. For instance, networks can be value-driven moved by ideological motives; others can be change-driven and can aim to create a social or political change in a macro or micro sphere; and others have predominately ‘utilitarian and apolitical’ objectives where the overall goal is to make a profit (Hejnova 2010: 750). Within the networks that are change driven, one common denominator is that they aim to achieve a common goal through the organization of each node present in the network. According to Hejnova (2010: 750) a ‘particular aspect of

organizational goals that seems to matter most [...] is the extent to which organizations aim to attain political change as opposed to focusing on profit-making.’ In this sense, the members of the network come together based on their beliefs and values, causing vaguer and patch limits of the networks (Hejnova 2010: 750).

Through the analysis of social networks, patterns ‘that are not generally apparent to human observers’ (Scott 2019:2) can be identified to further analyze the social relations and its structures in relation to its effects in social life.

2.5 Social capital

Social capital is understood as intangible resources like social networks, norms and trust and is essential in social relations to enable individuals and groups to act collectively towards the achievement of a goal (Woolcock and Narayan 2000; Jenkins et al 2017).

In the context of peacebuilding, social capital has the potential to promote inter-group relations and social cohesion (Cox 2009; Jenkins et al 2017; Durston 2000). Nonetheless, social capital might be reflected in positive or negative functions. On one side positive social capital can take the function of ‘bridging’ social capital (Putnam 2000; Jenkins et al 2017) but negative or ‘perverse’ social capital can separate or exclude individuals and groups who do not belong to the network, limiting their access to economic, social or political developments (Jenkins et al 2017; Woolcock and Narayan 2000).

For example, in Nepal, the Maoist former combatants were part of the ‘network of war’ and the ‘war family’ during the war years, constantly activating their social capital to achieve objectives related to the armed confrontation. However, in order to disengage with the war network, they had to restore their relationships and networks first within the group of ex-combatants and then with their families and communities, reshaping a new network with the objective of reintegrating into civil life (Jenkins et al., 2017: 48).

In contrast, in an economic and social reincorporation of marginalized groups, the consolidation of positive social capital is key because it facilitates simple transactions in the market, essential for small and medium businesses and associations that require high levels of trust between the members (Durston 2000). It is important that each actor, involved in the production and commercialization chain of goods or services, trust that the association will distribute the results of the economic activity in a fair and equitable manner (Da Ros 2007: 20).

2.6 Social and solidarity economy

The social and solidarity economy (SSE) appears as an answer to the economic and social inequalities created by the neoliberal hegemonic model of economic development rooted in the globalized capitalism. It embodies one of the representations of the civil society towards a local turn as it aims to change the existing economic model and improve livelihoods by placing the human being in the center of the model, seeking to achieve a social justice and the creation of a sustainable economy (Fraisie et al, 2001; Gutberlet 2009).

As Gutberlet (2009) states “solidarity economy is a bottom-up initiative which encompasses the voluntary sector as much as new institutionalized economic experiences”

(Gutberlet 2009: 739). It creates interactions between different stakeholders of the private and public sectors and the civil society and its based in a system of networks comprised by “the network of cooperatives, community groups, local development organisations, private-sector businesses involved in local development, and sector-based organizations” (Neamtan 2002: 8).

Coraggio (2009) argues that a social and solidarity economy does not imply the annulment of the individual *per se* or its existence in an imposed community, but rather the successful development of its identity and capabilities when participating in voluntary communities and inclusive societies where one cannot grow without the other. This is an economy where its members not only fight by cooperating and associating with others to achieve a better life. They do so to build a new economy that includes everyone, and, for that reason, it is not enough to only have the solidarity of limited groups but rather it requires to have the solidarity of everyone (Coraggio 2009: 30).

The main attributes of this alternative economy respond to its core rationality, being solidarity, cooperation, reciprocity, participation, mutualism and mutual aid, to achieve a shared goal and the satisfaction of common needs (Gutberlet 2009; Razeto 2010). It offers the possibility of integrating under one common social identity (Razeto 2010: 51). In its core there is the need to bring back the dignity and human fulfilment of labor, through experiences of associative work present in self-managed enterprises and worker cooperatives (Razeto 1993: 39). Also, in the creation of communities and enterprises that follow the same values of a community, where the division of labor is socially re-shaped and where the relations of reciprocity, solidarity and cooperation is what unites them (Razeto 1993: 39-40).

In the practice, the solidarity and social economy can serve for two purposes: 1) to tackle challenging social problems related to poverty, violence and social exclusion; 2) to seek for alternatives to address social demands, for instance, through local initiatives based on the work of community networks to solve local challenges (Neamtan 2002: 5). Within the first purpose we can locate, among other things, the reintegration of marginalized groups in the social and labor fields (Da Ros 2007: 15) to promote social cohesion. In the case of the reintegration process of former combatants, the active involvement in community activities encourage positive relations with the community, and those relations then promote social capital and social cohesion for building peace (Jenkins et al 2017: 43; Kaplan and Nussio 2013).

2.6.1 Social enterprises

In traditional social enterprises core principles like reciprocity and inclusion are present in their forms of organizations through cooperatives, non-for-profit companies, mutual aid societies, NGOs, credit unions, among others. These principles bound the members of the social enterprise but as well, their shared background and alike necessities. An expression of this is found in what Rymsza (2015) calls, ‘community-based social enterprises’ (CBSEs) which are social enterprises created by the local community or used by them as a vehicle for community development (Rymsza 2015: 836). As he explains it

“A community-based social enterprise is an enterprise that in the economic sphere (1) capitalizes on local resources (human, natural, cultural, etc.) and (2) stimulates the local economic exchange, while in the social sphere (3) it is tied into the local social networks, (4)

is involved in the matters relevant to the community, and (5) is considered by the community to be ‘their own’” (Rymsza et al., 2008: 6 in Rymsza 2015: 836).

This type of social enterprises develops within systems of social networks with the intention of causing an effect (by addressing urgent needs or promoting social inclusion of those excluded from the social life) in their own network but as well in different networks outside the enterprise (Rymsza 2015).

In conclusion, despite that social and conventional enterprises use the system of network to develop their enterprise, the incentives and objectives behind each one is what varies. The motivations behind social entrepreneurs are based on encouraging social change and justices by tackling social needs. This can be achieved through the benefits of engaging in an economic activity, but the overall aim is not a commercial one (Roberts et al., 2005: 46). For this reason, Roberts et al., (2005: 49) define social entrepreneurship as “the construction, evaluation and pursuit of opportunities for social change”. Community-based social enterprises have the potential of generating social capital, mainly because it develops by navigating on local networks but at the same time, it strengthens them using the existing horizontal ties and creating new ones, while bringing the community closer together (Rymsza 2015: 836).

3. Context

Colombia has experienced war and demobilization processes with several armed groups from different political ideologies and motivations during the history of the country. Having a strong history of demobilization and reintegration processes that shows a “variation in level of social cooperation and organizational capacity across communities” (Kaplan and Nussio, 2013: 5).

The Colombian history traces the initial demobilization experiences back to 1954, when the decrees 1953 and 1823 were created under general Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, aiming to pardon armed groups to end the bipartisan war. During the eighties, the government created a group of laws that strengthen the approaches with organized illegal armed groups, offering judicial benefits, socio-economic programs, land, credit, health, education and security programs, among others. This normative background enabled the creation of a legal foundation, during president Virgilio Barco, that facilitated, in subsequent years the signature of the peace agreements with the guerrillas “M-19 in 1990, Ejército Popular de Liberación, Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame, Corriente de Renovación Socialista in 1991 and Frente Francisco Garcia de la Coordinadora Nacional Guerrillera in 1994” (Herrera and González, 2013: 276).

These initial demobilization processes paved the way for the implementation of the DDR guidelines that aimed to have a greater impact in society and promote environments of participation, reconciliation and harmony (Herrera and González, 2013). The first DDR program implemented was done during the demobilization of the paramilitary group ‘Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia’ (AUC acronym in Spanish) between 2003 and 2006. In this process, the government adopted programs that included areas like health, education, vocational training and psychosocial and productive activities for shaped combatants (Herrera and González, 2013; Castrillón and Cadavid 2018).

Unlike the previous DDR programs, the process faced by the Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC) had a different timing but benefited from the lessons learned from previous DDR processes done in the past. The FARC initiated activities as a guerrilla in 1964 and since then several peace negotiations occurred. An initial effort with the government of President Belisario Betancur in 1983, then a failed attempt by President Andrés Pastrana in 1999 and finally a successful negotiation and peace agreement with President Juan Manuel Santos in 2012.

Former President Juan Manuel Santos Calderón initiated with the FARC the peace negotiations in Oslo and then continued in La Habana, formally announcing them in October 2012. After five years the negotiations ended in August 2016 with the final peace accord. President Santos decided to legitimize the agreements through a national plebiscite. Consequently, in October 2016, the agreements went under the scrutiny of the Colombian society. The outcome of the vote showed 50,93% of electoral abstention and a 50,21% of votes towards the 'no', meaning the disapproval of the agreements (El Tiempo 2016). The accord was then submitted for re-negotiation but this time with the representatives of the 'no', being the political opposition. The new and final agreement was signed in November and approved by Congress in December 2016 (Carranza-Franco F 2019:11).

The process with the FARC presented a new challenge for the Colombian government, despite their previous experience with demobilization processes. In this case, the FARC demanded two new angles of attention, one in which both parties had to equitably agree each point of the peace process and the second based on a collective perspective from the FARC that aimed to maintain the cohesion of the group and work towards a political project (FIP 2019: 6). Moreover, since the beginning of the negotiations, the FARC opposed to the DDR model previously applied to the AUC and to some individual FARC combatants who demobilized before the agreements. They proposed to have a process that offered a long-term perspective that allow them to create sustainable projects for a dignified life (FIP 2019: 6). This process was called 'reincorporation'. The new meaning for the R in this DDR model not only brought a distinction from previous DDR strategies, but also came with a new roadmap named the Reincorporation Route.

The demobilization process started in December of that same year, the FARC initiated their last military march heading to the cantonment areas created by national government called Transitory Zones of Normalization (ZVTN acronym in Spanish) and the Transitory Locations for Normalization (PTN acronym in Spanish) (Carranza-Franco F 2019:12). These were 20 ZVTN and 7 PTN zones created with the purpose of being inhabited only for six months during the disarming and registration process of ex-combatants (Acuerdo final para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera 2016: 60). During the first two months of 2017, around 6.934 members of the FARC grouped in the ZVTN and PTN (Misión de Verificación de las Naciones Unidas en Colombia 2017: 4). The ARN registered a total of 13.511 demobilized FARC members as a result of the peace agreements (ARN 2020: 2). The TNZ evolved, in August 2017, into permanent Territorial Areas for Training and Reincorporation (ETCR acronym in Spanish) after the disarmament process. This was mainly because 77% of the demobilized who went to these areas did not return to their places of origin or disperse as they did not have a place to go (Carranza-Franco F 2019:12).

Moreover, regarding the disarmament process, the Colombian Barometer Initiative (2019), reported that the Mechanism of Monitoring and Verification (MMV) by the United Nations, in charge of the process of disarmament, recollected a total of 9.994 arms and destroyed the arms and explosives of 750 caches. This process has continued with the lead of the national government. Additionally, the Commission for the Following, Impulse and Verification of the Final Agreement (CSIVI acronym in Spanish) was effective in their task to maintain and monitor the protocol of ceasefire and handover of weapons (Kroc Institute 2019: 68).

The reincorporation process has been created with the possibility of having two roads. One is the 'individual route' in which ex-combatants pursue individually their economic projects. The second is the 'collective model', which has been advocated by the FARC leaders (FIP 2019: 6). These second option aims to maintain the unity of the FARC as a political party and encourage a collected reintegration for the FARC members. The collective economic reincorporation has as well been reinforced by the FARC based on the principles of the social and solidarity economy and challenged through the Social Economies of the Common (ECOMUN) organization (Acuerdo final para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera 2016: 71).

Additionally, the assistance package in the reincorporation process includes a one-time stipend of 2 million Colombian pesos for ex-combatants after demobilizing, and an indefinite monthly stipend worth for the 90% of the national minimum wage (this second stipend was initially planned for 24 months but has been prolonged). Additionally, the government committed to pay for the social security (health and pension) for unemployed ex-combatants and to conduct social programs on education, culture, sports, environmental protection, psychosocial support, re-unification of family groups, children protection, among others (Acuerdo final para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera 2016: 75). Moreover, demobilized individuals have the possibility to request further financial support for only one time, worth 8 million Colombian pesos, to invest in education, house purchase or productive projects (Kroc Institute 2019).

The achievements on the implementation of these financial supports were reported by the ARN (governmental agency in charge of facilitating the programs and activities for the economic stabilization of ex-combatants) in June 2020. According to the ARN 13,334 demobilized personnel has successfully initiated their transit into the financial system of the civil life by having access to bank accounts and receiving the one-time and monthly stipends agreed in the peace accord. As well, the access to health services and pensions have been covered for 98.7% of the people in reincorporation process. However, the biggest challenges continue to be the access to education and the low number of ex-combatants who pursue an education or vocational program. As well, the economic reincorporation process continues to challenge the programs sponsored by the government. Mainly because only the 11% of demobilized personnel have had approved projects that aim to provide them with an income, and only 3% of them have reported having a and additional and permanent income (ARN 2020: 6).

Some of the challenges in the process are that the majority of the reincorporation projects have identified agriculture as their primary activity and therefore, require land. Until April 2019, only one location has been assigned, by national government, hence, it continues

to be one of the most important needs in the reincorporation process (Kroc Institute 2019: 70). As well, despite the large number of cooperatives created by former combatants, most of them are still lacking the legal requirements to operate (Kroc Institute 2019: 70). Notwithstanding, the number of projects approved by the ARN does not present a disaggregation of the number of individual projects versus collective projects funded and how has this impacted in the collective reintegration of the FARC as originally planned in the peace agreements.

In the process of reincorporation, FARC ex-combatants have pursued several business ideas like beer production, doll crafting, coffee production, a pulping fruit plant, manufactures of uniforms and boots, among others. However, not every program developed by ex-combatants has been sponsored by national government, some of them has been self-financed and/or supported by international donors, private companies or universities. Until now, the reincorporation path has favored the creation of productive projects, in an individual or collective form, over their participation in a labor market. These long-term processes have brought new challenges, like education related needs, infrastructure and access to land, which result difficult to tackle immediately and would take further time to be solved (FIP 2019: 7). Nevertheless, these initiatives have accompanied the reincorporation process of the FARC and have brought their ideological and political fight into the market.

4.La Roja

The reincorporation process has shown different initiatives that promote a social and solidarity economy with the overall objective of facilitating a social integration of ex-combatants during their reincorporation process. La Roja, is an example of these type of initiatives. It is social enterprise that produces and commercialized red ale beer. The main entrepreneurs are a group of FARC former combatants who left the arms as part of the peace agreements (Viaño 2019). They initiated their reincorporation process in the ETCR Antonio Nariño, located in the municipality of Icononzo in Tolima in 2017.

Map 1.1 Icononzo



Source: Google Maps (2020)

As part of the DDR strategy, ex-combatants in this ETCR and in many others, participated in different capacity building programs. For instance, Adriano, one of the ex-combatants interviewed, narrated that he enrolled in different educational programs and received training and several certifications on poultry, veterinary, cattle-ranching, bakery and pastry, food handlings and gastronomy. However, even though he studied as much as he could, he couldn't put to practice his new knowledge given the constant struggle to access financial support from the government and a company that was willing to hire him. The reincorporation strategy supported by the government and some international actors, was failing to achieve the actual economic reincorporation of ex-combatants.

The idea of producing beer flourished after the ex-combatants envisaged the difficulties of pursuing a reincorporation process without a livelihood and with the 'government non-compliance' with the peace agreement (Caracol 2020). Some of these difficulties were related to government delays presented in the approval and delivery of the financial support for the projects presented by ex-combatants, which aimed to improve their living conditions and income. But as well the constant failures in finding an activity that could improve their livelihood, as stated by Carlos the manager of La Roja in an interviewed we had in July of 2020.

This business was born in October 2018 under the leadership of Carlos Alberto Grajales, a FARC ex-combatant and the support of Wally Broderick (Carlos old friend from high school). The story of these two friends go back to the eighties when both of them went to a private school in Bogotá. When graduating from high school they chose different live paths, Wally went to study abroad, and Carlos joined a leftist's military movement in the city that then led him to join the FARC when he was 18 years old. After almost 15 years, Wally heard the story of Carlos, who at that moment was serving a sentence of 11 years in prison. He visited him and continued seeing each other until 2016, when Carlos was released from prison and went back to the FARC (Atehortúa 2019). When the peace agreements were signed, Carlos relocated to the ETCR Antonio Nariño in January 2017. Wally visited Carlos several times and initiated teaching English lessons for the ex-combatants in this ETCR. During his visits, Wally witnessed how ex-combatants did different efforts to initiate projects that facilitated their economic reincorporation but unfortunately failed in the process. For this reason, he proposed the idea of teaching them the basics on how to produce beer as he has been passionate about this for many years and knew how to produce the drink (Atehortúa 2019; Caracol 2020; La Roja Cerveza Artesanal 2019; Kienyke 2019; Contagio Radio 2019).

The idea was well received within the ETCR although with some skepticism on how successful it could be (Atehortúa 2019). They initiated producing a first round of 25 liters of beer for them to try, in a group of 24 ex-combatants, and slowly started seeing how their spontaneous new business started growing. The second round of production was of 75 liters. From that moment on, the production kept growing until achieving a total production of 4000 liters by July 2020.

As the social enterprise continued expanding and the idea of having a business became real, they came up with a name for their brand. Some of the names they thought were Marquetalia, La Campesina and 27 de mayo. All of them had meanings that resembled their history as a guerrilla and their ideology. Among them all, La Roja was the name with the most acceptance among the group for its simplicity, representing a red ale and a historical leftist movement. One of the group members proposed a label with a star in it which then

became their logo. Each one of them became the Ambassadors of their beer and started sharing it among them.

The company created at the same time an association of around 30 ex-combatants called 'Asociación La Roja', having the beer as their main product (Caracol 2020). As Carlos says, "thanks to the community we are alive" and for that reason, they seek to follow the principles of SSE, support their community and improve their livelihoods by employing in the near future as many ex-combatants and peasants as possible to new economic opportunities to their community.

Until now, the beer has been sold in different bars in Colombia and through social media platforms like Instagram where they have also used it as a platform for social activism. Their total sales have risen to COP \$180,000,000 (around 40,680 euros) in total since they started. However, 80% of their profit has been used to reinvest in their company and community.

As the production and commercialization of the beer kept growing, Asociación La Roja decided to move to Bogotá. As Adriano says (ex-combatant who is part of the project), they needed the land to organize a new infrastructure of fermenters and kitchens to train as many people as they could, including ex-combatants and the community created in the ETCR. To do so, in June 2020 they started building their new production plant to increase the number of liters produced and acquire the health registration 'INVIMA' required by the Colombian government to sell consumable products in large scale. They weren't able to do so in Icononzo given that this municipality land-use plan was thought only for silvopastoral activities and using the land for different purposes will require the difficult modification of the plan.

Until now, they have self-funded this initiative (La Roja Cerveza Artesanal 2019) and have registered their brand as an official company (Kienyke 2019). Their motivation to continue building a country in peace is resembled in the motto "drink a beer in peace". And as Carlos Alberto says, La Roja will continue to convene everyone to gather and talk around something, from the different perspectives and alternatives that they might have and build a better country (Contagio Radio 2019).

4.1 The solidarity-based form of organization

Porto et al (2007: 85) hypothesized in their work in post-war Angola saying that "reintegration depends on the successful establishment of economic livelihoods". This hypothesis was based on the premises that sustainable economic livelihoods are a vital component of reintegration because they facilitate the achievement of a financial independence, which then supports additional components of social and political reintegration. The logic behind is that the levels of economic liberty will facilitate ex-combatants to overcome present levels of vulnerability and to detach from governmental and humanitarian assistance.

A similar analysis was followed by the ex-combatants interviewed for this research paper. When I asked Carlos what are the elements that former combatants need in order to reincorporate into civil life he responded "there are many things: one is having a successful economic reincorporation and having the possibility of being productive because you can't reincorporate someone into the civil life if that life doesn't accept him." He continued saying "is fundamental to have an economic reincorporation but also to eliminate the stigmatization

of ex-combatants in the territories because you can't reincorporate in a space where you are not welcomed.”

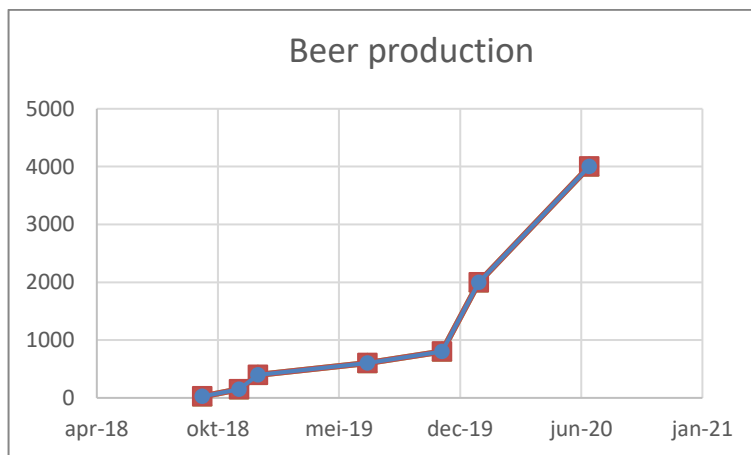
With this statement it was quite clear that for them having an economic activity that lasts, is decisive in their reincorporation process. To achieve this and make a living, they have to engage in the commercial activities of the market who tends to be reluctant to involving them. But then the question arises, how does ex-combatants organize to develop their economic activity? To answer this question, in the following chapter I will be expanding in the ways that ex-combatants, in La Roja, develop their social enterprise to generate an income.

5. Kick-off plan

Palacios (2010: 579) presents social entrepreneurship as “the ability to recognize opportunities for solving problems”. This was the starting point for FARC ex-combatants to get organized. La Roja initiated encouraged by the will of 24 ex-combatants who were committed to contribute to Colombia's peace through a pacific way while improving the livelihoods for them and their community.

To do so, through the leadership of Carlos and Adriano, the interested participants initiated the project by collecting COP \$500,000 (€110 approximately) between the 24 participants to pay for the transport of Wally from Bogotá to the ETCR in Icononzo and to cover the costs of the initial inputs to prepare the beer. The lessons initiated with those 24 ex-combatants who were willing to learn how to cook beer.

Table 1
La Roja's beer production



Own source. Graphic created with information recorded from the interviews.

The initial plan of selling it within the community changed after the second workshop where they produced a second round of beers that was commercialized in different locations outside the ETCR. Even though in the second workshop they had less participation of ex-combatants, they were able to sell all the beer produced. To expand the production, 5 members collected from their own resources a second budget to continue with the production

while reinvesting their profits, this was a total of COP \$300,000 (€66,5 approximately) and allowed them to produce 75 liters of beer. The constant re-investment of the profit enabled them to produce then 150 liters, which then became 400 liters and then 600 liters, achieved by January 2019. During that same year, the production increased up to 2000 liters and continued growing until achieving a larger production of 4000 liters in July 2020. Even Wally remembered with enthusiasm, during his interview, how La Roja had an exponential growth pretty fast. The latest increase in production was made possible due to a loan of COP \$50 million (€11,300 approximately), requested by La Roja's board to the FARC party cooperative, Coopedia O.E.S, an SSE cooperative that unites ex-combatants. Coopedia provided the loan and rented them a warehouse in Bogotá where La Roja expanded their plant of production.

5.1 The transit from an idea into a social enterprise

The configuration of La Roja was strongly influenced by the ideology and social purpose of its supporters. In order to get to know a little bit more of the motivations behind this project, I decided to inquire why did the two ex-combatants, who participated in this research, joined the FARC for then to understand how their ideological embracement could have impacted this economic project.

In this sense, when talking to Adriano, in several moments he expressed that he had joined the FARC “to work with the communities, to defend class interests, the interests of the people and bring down the oligarchy”. For Carlos, his motives were based on the need of contributing to the transformation of Colombia into “a more inclusive and fairer” country. For him,

“the best form of organization to achieve this is through a Leninist academic training applied through the principles of the Marxism. I vindicate myself as a Leninist Marxist and throughout my life I have applied those principles. I still absolutely believe in the need for revolution.”

Both in Carlos and Adriano's speech, the ideological embracement was showed as an avowed commitment with the revolutionary ideology of the FARC to defend the vulnerable and unprivileged members of society, especially, those in the rural Colombia.

When asking them why they chose to participate in a capitalist market if it encourages the accumulation of capital in the hands of some and this goes against their principles, they responded explaining that with La Roja their purpose was not to follow a capitalist ideology as many companies do. In this sense, they didn't want to have “3 or 4 owners who invest in a company and then take ownership of the labor of the workforce while paying them reduced wages and taking for themselves the profit”. On the contrary, La Roja was created with the foundations of the SSE, aiming to create a bottom-up social project that includes in equal terms each one of the members (Gutberlet 2009). La Roja was created in such a way that each one of the 24 associates are equally the owners, and no one can sell their part. In this social company the models of shares don't exist, hence, if an associate wants to leave, he/she can but without having the possibility of selling its participation in the company. This is only possible because the interactions between the association are based on implicit norms and a

system of trust that enables the association to act collectively for a greater good by promoting the consolidation of alternative livelihoods for them and those around them as a way of building peace in the rural Colombia (Woolcock and Narayan 2000; Jenkins et al 2017).

La Roja's economic model is based on the solidarity and not in the competition. Carlos said, "we don't see other artisanal breweries like our competition". He narrated that thanks to that point of view, other breweries have helped them in moments when their production plant has failed. They have even gone to other breweries to produce beer without having to pay anything. The solidarity and cooperation-based model that La Roja pursues, has encouraged this type of interactions and the expansion of their network allowing different sectors to come together, like companies who have already been institutionalized but also the voluntary sector to achieve a greater good (Gutberlet 2009). For them, La Roja is an example that it is possible to build a business focusing on supporting each other and mutually helping everyone to grow. In this sense, their main objective is not selling for accumulating a profit but rather for helping others using the surplus collected. They believe that wealth must be produced in order for it to be redistributed among people in need. For instance, the first big production (1000 lts) of beer produced in the new production plant in Bogotá was done in alliance with two private neighbor breweries (not from ex-combatants), Fomeque and Care-runa, who decided to contribute with the inputs to produce and commercialize a light beer to help approximately 150 kids from three ETCRs. As they say, "the market is capitalist but not our product".

This form of organization was legally established in the statutes of the association. In which, also, some specific roles were assigned to the members. They selected, for the directive board of the social enterprise, a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, auditor, manager, deputy manager. However, on a daily basis La Roja's task force is formed by Adriano, the brewer; Carlos, the manager; Julieta the communication coordinator; Natalia, the seller for digital platforms; and Wally, the teacher and supervisor brewer. This form of organization enabled the possibility of having decisions made by the members of the association but being led by the directive board.

Nevertheless, despite each one of them having a role, this social enterprise has not yet given enough profits to cover the needs of the community in the ETCR and their own wages. As they explained, in some months they were able to receive a salary for their work but in others they couldn't because they had to re-invest in La Roja or support a social need. Hence, ex-combatants associated to this enterprise continue being supported by the financial assistance provided by the State, hoping that La Roja one day could become their main source of income.

5.2 La Roja's social purpose beyond the accumulation of profit

Aligned with the main attributes of the SSE economy, being solidarity, mutualism, reciprocity (Gutberlet 2009; Razeto 2010), in the core of La Roja, the association has been able to support different social initiatives. The most remarkable actions have been the purchase of uniforms for the soccer school for kids and support the construction of a road and a school in the ETCR Antonio Nariño. Now, they are focusing on the children by supporting the

families that had to relocate due to the closure of three ETCRs. As well, through different campaigns, they have also shared a message of peace, reconciliation and historical memory. This is an example of the encouraging impact that activating a positive social capital can have in a society, especially by 'bridging' social capital (Putnam 2000; Jenkins et al 2017). This has facilitated transactions (Durston 2000) that otherwise could not exist but also has allowed the network to expand and share the benefits of having a strong network with others who do not necessarily belong to the core association, facilitating that other groups can access economic and social benefits as a result of the solidarity-based work.

This process has reconciled their search for purpose and aim of building peace with their economic activity. La Roja has directly impacted on how they see themselves and through this alternative economy they have found a way of creating new links to integrate under one shared social identity (Razeto 2010). The common denominator is that they don't refer to themselves anymore as "warriors" or "combatants" as they used to, now they are "social entrepreneurs". For instance, Adriano went through a process of not feeling part of the civil society once he left his arms. As Wally and Julieta remarks, he spoke of the civil society as if it was a place far away where he didn't belong. Now, after finding a new economic alternative, still with many difficulties, but which has brought him a new way of living, he calls himself a social entrepreneur and a master brewer. Adriano is grateful for being part of the peace process that has allowed him to initiate an economic project that can help the people while at the same time supporting the peace. For him, La Roja is an opportunity to reconcile a country and that is what he is aiming to do with his work. Hence, going back to the war is not an option. In a very similar way, Carlos expressed that he still feels like a revolutionary with the difference that he is not holding a weapon anymore. Now, he is a "revolutionary with an economic activity". For him, what represents him is not what he does but why he does it. La Roja gives him a sense of pride, it's a way of showing the society that they have overcome many difficulties and teaching others that it is possible to move forward with an economic activity if the objective is clearly set.

5.3 Conclusions

Palacios (2010) highlights that in a social enterprise there is no single pattern or business model that one could follow, meaning that each existing social enterprise can have its own ways of organizing. In the case of La Roja, it has been created in the form of an association with the aim of generating a financial income, through selling beer, to deal with the diverse social needs that ex-combatants can face during their transit into civil life.

The rationality of being supportive with their community, the businesses surrounding them and the society in general, has bring them a chain of reciprocity, mutual aid and cooperation that has inspired them to continue with a business idea that aims to encourage peace-building. Through La Roja, ex-combatants and like-minded individuals have found a way of bringing back the dignity and human fulfilment of labor, through the experience of associative work present in a social enterprise (Razeto 1993). Also, through La Roja, ex-combatants and now, social entrepreneurs, have created a way to communicate their vision in moral terms, guided by the desire of justice more than the desire for money (Palacios 2010). And

by doing so, through their social and economic support, they have endorsed the inclusion of those groups who have been marginalized, excluded and sometimes forgotten, into a new social dynamic in which their needs and vindicating their rights is the priority.

This new economic alternative has created new identities for them, they have left aside the idea of having a revolution through war and no longer identify themselves as guerrilla members. Now, the revolution continues through a new path, as social entrepreneurs with a revolutionary objective who incentivize the transformation of Colombia through a bottom-up project. The main factor that has created such unity has been the possibility of organizing an enterprise with the values of a community, where the division of labor is equitable and where everyone shares the same objective, promoting social cohesion and improving the livelihoods of those who are associated but also spreading the solidarity to everyone in need, especially the marginalized groups (Coraggio 2009; Da Ros 2007). This is the main point that differentiates them from a conventional entrepreneur, the fact that La Roja's social entrepreneurs have chase a social change to create a social value, while regular entrepreneurs pursue a business project to achieve a profitable business to create a financial value as the principal objective (Palacios 2010; Auerswald 2009; Roberts et al., 2005).

6. Networks in the everyday

The everyday peacebuilding is the principal source of bottom-up resistance and shows different forms of opposition by the people who reject following exclusionary models that homogenize citizens and ignore forms of building peace at a local level. It is the “realm of complex interconnectedness where multiple actors and networks exist, interact and overlay” (Randazzo 2016: 1354).

This ‘complex interconnectedness’ that Randazzo (2016: 1354) speaks of, is present in the actors and organizations that facilitate the existence of La Roja, as a social enterprise, and the reincorporation process of its ex-combatants. Each member work, following both formal and informal arrangements, from different angles to facilitate the expansion of La Roja and increase the production, distribution and commercialization of the beer to improve the livelihoods of different groups of FARC ex-combatants. In this sense, as Hejnova (2010: 743) says, referring to Agranoff and McGuire (2001), “networks are understood as multiorganizational arrangements for solving problems that cannot be achieved, or achieved easily, by single organization”.

However, not every network whose purpose is to achieve a specific goal has been pre-design to do so. In some cases, networks have developed fortuitously over time, and the objectives are articulated through the involvement and interactions of different actors throughout the process (Hejnova 2010). This is something similar to what happened with La Roja. The project emerged and grew so rapidly that the network of actors in this enterprise has been created over time, establishing “collaborative arrangements among three or more groups that carry out a common purpose and are characterized by voluntary and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange” (Hejnova 2010: 743).

6.1 The inter-group network

The networks present in La Roja are a combination of groups and individuals whose relationships are based on exchanges of knowledge, services and information. This hybrid network is what Hejnova (2010: 744) calls as “inter-group networks”. This type of networks can have different objectives and purposes, but actors involved tend to work aligned to make the overall goal happen.

This alignment is what united the members of La Roja. As it has been mentioned before, La Roja initiated in the heart of the ETCR Antonio Nariño in Icononzo, Tolima, with the sole purpose of improving the livelihoods of former combatants, and their families, through the creation of a social enterprise funded, coordinated and managed by them.

The network started in this ETCR with its first actors, the ex-combatants. Within them, two main characters pop up, Carlos and Adriano. Carlos for being the person in charge of coordinating the activities within the ETCR and the one who linked the ex-combatants with Wally, the brew master. Adriano for being the person who gathered the people within the ETCR and who then led on the production of beer becoming the permanent master brewer. But as well, different ex-combatants within the ETCR who were in charge of distributing the beer. The main organization of this first node was done directly by these two ex-combatants who shared with the participants the objective of the intended initiative based on the ideology of the FARC party. For them, it was really important to involve people who truly believed in the project and who’s ideology was shared. The

recruitment and relationship building were based in the ‘unity of values’ (Hejnova 2010: 750) as the main characteristic of this first node of the network.

From this initial node different links started connecting to La Roja, creating new nodes for the network. Previous social networks emerged. On one side, Carlos’s link with Wally created a new node that allowed the emergence of La Roja as he brought his knowledge on beer production to the ETCR and was the mind behind the production of beer at the beginning. This connection was facilitated by Wally and Carlos old friendship but also, by Wally’s interest on supporting the reincorporation process of ex-combatants, here again the ‘unity of values’ (Hejnova 2010) comes into place. With Wally came Julieta (her partner), who is a journalist passionate for social causes and who brought to the network her knowledge on social media. She linked the enterprise with the social media network and digital supporters, through platforms like Instagram, Facebook and Youtube, different groups from the civil society were able to get to know La Roja, and a whole group of digital supporters of the peace process raised to support the initiative of these group of ex-combatants.

On the other side, a second previous social network that came into place was the network of ex-combatants and FARC party members. Even though La Roja wasn’t created as a party initiative, the FARC party was, and continues to be, willing to support the expansion of the enterprise. In this sense, the FARC party played an important role in distributing the beer in events and with FARC leaders in different cities of Colombia, who as well, publicized the product in their own local networks. Carlos narrates that was thanks to their initial support that their sales increased so rapidly because they provided the publicity out of good will.

A third node, from previous social networks, that linked the FARC party and the ex-combatants in the ETCR was the involvement of the cooperative Coopedia O.E.S. As mentioned earlier, this is the cooperative of FARC ex-combatants that supports economic

initiatives. In this network, Coopedia became the financial actor that supported La Roja through the approval of a loan that paid for the expansion of the production plant. But as well, Coopedia provided a good price for La Roja to rent a warehouse in Bogotá to facilitate the consolidation of a larger production plant.

Moreover, additional individual actors also participated in the network of La Roja. For instance, Natalia, a social worker who met different ex-combatants during the initial stages of the DDR process, volunteered to help La Roja grow. She became the person behind the WhatsApp line, where customers could contact La Roja to buy beer and get them shipped to different places in Bogotá. In this same line of sales, different bars in Bogotá and in a few cities of Colombia, integrated the network. Some of them bought the beer to support the social cause behind but other just to diversify their portfolio of artisanal beers in their menu.

The selection of the groups and individuals that are currently active in La Roja's network are a combination of previous groups and old friends that the associates can relate with. This can be explained with the fact that ex-combatants are still struggling with a hostile environment in which their lives can be at risk at any moment and with a negative social identity that has affected their possibilities of finding a place within society. As a way to repel the environmental burdens, the members of the network tend to connect with previously known network chains that can be trusted by them and from pre-existing social networks (Hejnova 2010; Erickson 1981; Magouirk et al 2008).

Despite having these factors that have determined the configuration of the network, La Roja has continued to expand slowly, thanks to a more encouraging social identity that has also been spread among the society. This is reflected in those nodes, within the network, who supports the peace process and every initiative around it that encourages peacebuilding. As Cuénoud and Clémence (2019: 946) states “the voluntary nature of leaving the armed group should positively influence the frequency of concealing the former combatant identity”. Ex-combatants pursuing alternative economic activities are seen as people working to produce and commercialize products with a social purpose and aiming to promote a social change. This has caused that ex-combatants slowly leave behind their pre-conceptions of what they think that society thinks of them and rather focus on embracing an identity with which they can relate and feel comfortable. This has encouraged external actors to participate in the project, like it has done with Wally, Julieta and Natalia. Even though the three of them were not guerrilla members, they were invited by La Roja to be a part of the project. Without earning any sort of financial profit, they decided to join La Roja to contribute with their time and knowledge to build an economic activity that encouraged the reconciliation of former combatants, victims, rural communities while suggesting an alternative of living. As they have entered the network, indirectly others have started to participate in this network through social media. With the face full of pride, Julieta said speaking about what she has seen in La Roja's social media:

“the common denominator when seeing the interactions of the people contacting us or interacting with this project is the mutual support. It's heartwarming to see people taking pictures of the beer and publicly expressing their support to the reincorporation process and the peace of Colombia, that has been wonderful”.

A final node of this network is the communities of different ETCRs that have been selected by La Roja to address a social problem or need. As mentioned before, La Roja has got involved in different social initiatives without the traditional intention of a regular company of developing their social responsibility angle or giving back to the community, but rather, they have been involved as a way of activating the core purpose of La Roja. The actions done in the communities is what makes the civil society groups and the associates of La Roja to trust that in fact this is a social enterprise but as well, has strengthen the network and its core values, gathering external support for other breweries who believe in the enterprise and who are willing to encourage a social change.

This shows that the activation of a positive social capital can have the potential to promote inter-group relations and social cohesion (Cox 2009; Jenkins et al 2017; Durston 2000) and enable individuals and groups to act collectively towards the achievement of a goal (Woolcock and Narayan 2000; Jenkins et al 2017).

6.2 Conclusion

When analyzing the network present in La Roja, there's a distinction between a network whose overall goal is to attain a social or political change from those networks whose goals is to accumulate a profit, like regular companies do (Hejnova 2010). The network in this case is value driven as it is moved by a socio-political ideology that aims to challenge the current political and economic order. Hence, the profit received is indented to be directed to a social purpose rather than just to increase a profit. The structure of this network was constituted over time; hence, it is less formal and network borders are not that visible.

This network was initially created, without any defined structure, in a hostile environment in which the civil society explicitly showed ,through the plebiscite, that its majority was not in favor of the peace agreements; the ex-combatants were not well received by the people who replicated a negative social identity; and they have had to witness how other fellow ex-combatants have been murdered. This has caused that the core network has been conformed of pre-existing social networks, either of groups or individuals, that ex-combatants can trust. However, as the social enterprise has been publicly known over time, the network has started to expand to other cities and social groups who disagree with the negative social identity others try to replicate and have supported the consolidation of La Roja through social media platforms and by buying the beer to help the enterprise grow.

This network has shown how the activation of a positive social capital has the ability of encouraging inter-group relations in a context of peacebuilding. However, this context is based in the everyday practices of peace in which through norms and activities (Mac Ginty 2014), the effects of a hostile environment have been reduced in order to recognize, focus and organize the people left behind and together design a common objective to counterattack the exclusion and marginalization (Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015).

7. Everyday peacebuilding

“Building peace is a political process where the distribution of political and economic goods, including decision-making power, privileges, rights and access to material resources, is established. This process both continues and changes the distributing mechanisms that were in place before the conflict started. Peace-building is therefore a process that is constituted and resisted by the multiple actors involved” (Iñiguez de Heredia 2017: 1).

When analyzing strategies to end a conflict, it can be almost obvious that the government or international organization seeking for a stabilization in a territory pursue strategies to reestablish order, define the power structures and encourage a reactivation of the economy and the reincorporation of the former combatants through assistance packages.

The efforts done through DDR programs are put in place with the objective of ending a war and facilitate the elements mentioned above. Despite all the outstanding efforts (Kingma 1997) and positive changes that they can bring to a society, DDR efforts are only one point of a long process for re-building divided societies, involving marginalized groups and reintegrating large groups of combatants who have spent years fighting and who probably still feel that there is still too many things left to fight for. In this sense, peacebuilding efforts can contribute to the consolidation of peace but are not the only tool required to achieve a long-lasting peace. As authors like Rolston (2007), Jenkins et al., (1997) and Kaplan and Nussio (2013) have highlighted, the participation of ex-combatants in their own reintegration process and their recognition as key actors that can contribute to peacebuilding at a local level, are key elements for peace formation. In this sense, peace formation can be understood as a combination of

“relationships and networked processes where indigenous or local agents of peacebuilding, conflict resolution, development, or in customary, religious, cultural, social or local political or local government settings find ways of establishing peace processes and sustainable dynamics of peace” (Richmond 2014: 276).

Until now, this research paper has engaged in forms of organization of ex-combatants to develop an economic activity and the network present that has facilitated such economic activity and their reincorporation. In this chapter I will be exploring how ex-combatants contribute to everyday peacebuilding through the development of a social enterprise.

7.1 Ex-combatants as peacebuilders

Brewer et al (2018: 201) presents the everyday life as the “day-to-day, taken-for-granted, ordinary habits and routines of social life [...] There is an everyday life of peacebuilding, like there is an everyday life of all things that reproduce ordinary, habitual and taken-for-granted routines”.

The everyday has become the arena for bottom-up local agency (Mac Ginty 2014) of individuals who have been left out, marginalized or homogenized through peacebuilding strategies and are able to find a common objective to organize and challenge the oblivion of the State and its institutions (Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015). It is the space of “conflict-calming measures that people routinely engage in locally” (Brewer et al 2018: 202) and a space

of “potential emancipation” (Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015: 115) where the everyday becomes the place where bottom-up initiatives emerge (Randazzo 2016).

As it has been mentioned, La Roja emerged as a way of counterbalancing the effects of what ex-combatants call as the ‘incompetence of the State’ to provide them the necessary guarantees to participate in a successful reincorporation process. This enterprise has materialized as a living example of resistance and local peacebuilding attempts to counterattack the liberal peacebuilding model which has failed to attain peace due to the use of inappropriate strategies that are disconnected from local expectations (Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015; Randazzo 2016). Their way of doing so has been through pursuing an economic activity in the shape of a social enterprise based on the principles of the SSE.

Rymsza (2015: 833) presents a distinction between the “old and new social economy” as it is conceived in Europe. For him the old model is founded on social enterprises where reciprocity is the cornerstone of every interaction. But as well, social activists play a key role in driving the economic activities, especially from grassroots organizations. For this author, in the old social economy, social enterprises suffer for not having a strong support from the State.

For Rymsza (2015: 833) in the new social economy, “the principle of inclusion of the excluded prevails over the principle of reciprocity”, the State plays a fundamental role in facilitating the existence of the enterprise and providing relief to bureaucratic and financial procedures, while at the same time regulating the market.

In the case of La Roja, this transit into a new social economy, as Rymsza (2015) portrays it, has not actually happened. For them, initiating a social enterprise, despite being part of an official reincorporation process and having presented this initiative to the national government, has been a tough task to accomplish due to the lack of governmental support. Despite the difficulties of initiating an economic activity, the main driver has been the reciprocity and mutualism from their association and from other social networks with whom they have engaged with. But as well, the recognition of the excluded and forgotten by the State has also been a core characteristic.

As a result of a partial support by the State to encourage only specific elements of their reincorporation process through a very slow process, these group of ex-combatants have encouraged peace through small activities and gestures like hearing the ideas of every member of the association and network, agreeing together next steps and avoiding what Randazzo (2016: 1354) calls as the “domination of one core identity or idea”. Even if these activities might sound as a ‘normal’ practice of every organization, in reality, the members of La Roja have valued greatly the complexity of interconnecting multiple groups and individuals who have different backgrounds and histories, and who for different reasons ended up participating or supporting a reincorporation process and aiming to achieve a country in peace. Through this type of interactions, La Roja aims to encourage a horizontal communication among its members to highlight and take into account the opinions and needs of everyone, especially those who have been traditionally excluded.

A second action of peacebuilding has been the acknowledgement of the excluded. One of the scenarios where it has been reflected has been on the ways in which the societies have recognized them and how they have recognized others (e.g. groups of victims).

An example of the first point was identified at the local level with the recognition of the citizens of Iconzono. Right after the ex-combatants were located in Iconzono they immediately felt how the community in this municipality was divided among those who supported the peace agreement and accepted their presence there and those who, on the contrary, saw them as criminals. After La Roja was created, the social perception changed, and this division was reduced. Specially, after the people in the municipality saw that it was possible to build peace from a small initiative. As Julieta recalls, from what she has seen in the interactions of the social media and the comments heard by the community in Iconzono, La Roja has brought to the municipality a sense of pride. Its citizens have proudly shared in their social media posts recognizing that La Roja's beer started its production in their home-town, acknowledging their efforts to reincorporate but as well, sharing how through a social enterprise it has been possible to reconcile groups who thought differently but who at the end wanted the same version of peace for the municipality and country. Through integrating community members from both Iconzono and the ETCR, it has been possible to place the first bridge to re-build a social tissue that was fractured by years of war and encourage the civil society to recognize the ex-combatants as peacebuilders.

Moreover, the members of La Roja have also been agents of recognition of other groups excluded and marginalized. A beautiful way of healing the wounds of the war and promoting social cohesion (Cox 2009; Jenkins et al 2017; Durston 2000) has been through bridging social capital with other entrepreneurs like groups of ex-combatants and victims and promoting new spaces of dialogue between them and La Roja. It has been a way of contributing "to peace formation through the development of new modes of intergroup activity or stripping away at dominant narratives of conflict" (Mac Ginty 2014: 560). As Natalia said, "our aim is to eliminate the logic of competition, support each other and not let other projects sink". For instance, La Roja and different ventures of victims are currently working together to create a dialogue between different types of victims to reconcile the past. La Roja has used their social recognition to provide a platform for victims to express their opinion, but as well, to boost their economic activities into spaces where they have not had access before. For this group of ex-combatants expanding their message of peace would only be possible with the supports of the victims of the armed conflict with whom they aim to continue building a social change. In this sense, as Mac Ginty (2014: 560) said when referring to peace formation "it includes a series of 'micro-solidarities', as individuals and small groups engage in cooperation and accommodation."

This last point introduces a third action of everyday life peacebuilding, which is dealing with legacy issues through quotidian activities and gestures that are embedded in the nature of individuals and groups. Legacy issues involve specific elements that might have been agreed in the peace agreement, or might have not been even mentioned there, like the amnesty for ex-combatants, the degree of support for victims of the conflict and the overall process of dealing with the past through the recognition of the importance of the truth, justice and guarantees of non-repetition (Brewer et al 2018).

The peace agreement signed between the national government and the FARC gave birth to one of the points that has forged the greatest debate. This has been the transitional justice, which according to Abuchaibe (2017: 143) despite not being named in any of the pages of the final text of the agreement, is attributed an entire institutional framework for the

determination of responsibilities, the obligation to recognize and guarantee the rights of the victims and the reconstruction of the truth of what happened in the context of the conflict. Notwithstanding, the institutional framework of the Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition has experienced all sort of political polarization on its effectivity, funding and expected results, limiting the full potential of these commissions to deal with legacy issues. However, as Brewer et al (2018: 208) has pointed, legacy issues tend to become more visible once the aftermath of the agreements has lowered the expectations of change in the society and when living with the ‘other’ might not come as easy as initially thought.

Therefore, everyday peacebuilding actions like creating spaces of dialogue between FARC ex-combatants and victims and engaging in brainstorming sessions to mutually help each other progress and transform the past, means that in informal routine activities of both groups and without much pressure, peace is being promoted. For this to happen no formal skill is required or a formal space, it is only needed the “empathetic engagement with the other” (Brewer et al., 2018: 209) to initiate dialogues based on forgiveness, respect, tolerance, acceptance to build bridges between the two groups and eliminate any possible stereotype that promotes hate within society.

Moreover, the acknowledgment of the ‘other’ as a victim, especially done by FARC ex-combatants, is by itself an act of everyday life peacebuilding. This acknowledgement can be seen by the victims as the acceptance of responsibility of the wrongly perpetuated actions and the recognition that the committed act should not happen again (Brewer et al., 2018).

These three gestures and/or activities that have taken place in the context of a social enterprise like La Roja, present bottom-up alternatives to build peace with communities and groups who can be forgotten or homogenized by top-down models of peace. In each of the examples mentioned, the common denominator has been the importance of creating listening and dialogue-based spaces in which this type of encounters can happen without any formal procedure or structure and without altering the daily routine of the actors participating.

7.2 Conclusions

The everyday peacebuilding approach has presented a way of rethinking peace formation from a bottom-up perspective. This angle has allowed to re-center the focus on the local realities that can be often overlook by top-down models of peace building and it has introduced the hidden actions and narratives of peace that have been invisible to the common observer (Mac Ginty 2013; Mac Ginty 2014; Randazzo 2016).

The activities observed in the everyday peace are a “form of agency” (Mac Ginty 2014: 550) that rely on the willingness of individuals or groups to engage in them. In the case of La Roja, through a social enterprise, these group of ex-combatants decided to engage in peace formation activities. For them it’s about the recognition of the bottom layers of the social pyramid who have been ignored by the State. However, as it has been presented in this chapter, through gestures and activities that encourages the mutualism, reciprocity, acknowledgment of the other, micro-solidarities and the formation of spaces of dialogue and listening, ex-combatants in La Roja and ex-combatants who are part of different social enterprises,

but also victims of the armed conflict, have been able to engage in informal activities to promote peace formation at the local level.

A social enterprise like La Roja has been the driver to bridge social capital and expand a social network to achieve the inclusion of different groups to promote spaces of reconciliation, construction of historical memory and truth-telling without necessarily having to engage with formal institutional scenarios (Richmond 2008). This presents an alternative to the traditional state-centric model of liberal peace and reinforces the notion that bringing foreign experts is not the necessary strategy to pursue in order to achieve peace, but rather the attention should be addressed to the value of local agency (Brewer et al., 2018).

8. General conclusions

This study has aimed to contribute to a better comprehension of the ways in which former combatants reincorporate to civil life by presenting the example of Colombian FARC ex-combatants. I have argued that the liberal peace model embodied in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration strategies continues to be a debatable approach as it does not solve a multiplicity of challenges that combatants experience in their return to civil life, especially when it regards to finding and establishing a livelihood and securing an income (Kingma 1997). In contrast to this, I have followed the 'local turn' approach which is an alternative way of thinking about peacebuilding processes focusing on everyday activities and behaviors present in the quotidian life and in local scenarios to answer the question of: in what ways do market economic activities interact with the everyday reincorporation process of ex-combatants in Colombia? The overall answer to this question was that market economy activities, based on the principles of the social and solidarity economy, serves as a platform for social and economic reintegration, in the sense, that it creates an economic alternative for marginalized and stigmatized population. Market economy activities not only contributes to the creation of new livelihoods, they also enable social network building which helped to counterattack the exclusion and marginalization, creating a direct impact in their personal identity and in the perceptions of the society towards them.

The creation of links leverages the establishment of a larger network of actors that contributed to the reincorporation process of ex-combatants. La Roja, as the initial node, started creating new links with different actors aiming to expand their business network and to share a message of peace. Additionally, building this network led to the activation of the ex-combatant's social capital. This positive side effect fostered the expansion of La Roja's network, enhanced inter-group relations and improved social cohesion (Cox 2009; Jenkins et al 2017; Durston 2000). Ultimately, all these new social dynamics that were established, positively supported the peace building process.

The new social dynamics were organically present in their everyday. Without having the leadership or supervision of any institutionalized peace program or governmental agency, -combatants contributed to peace formation through a range of different actions that were part of their daily routine. One factor that encouraged peace building actions was having La Roja as a social enterprise founded in the principles of solidarity, mutualism and reciprocity

(Gutberlet 2009; Razeto 2010). As simple as this can be seen, these principles motivated ex-combatants to mobilize their enterprise to achieve a social change in the communities of ex-combatants but as well, in the whole society. By addressing urgent social needs, acknowledging the excluded and marginalized, ex-combatants found a way of reconciling their search for purpose and intention to build peace through their economic activity. These actions impact directly on their personal and social identity, helping them find a place in society and creating new links to integrate under one shared social identity (Razeto 2010). They also impacted in legacy issues that are strongly affecting Colombia. Without having the need to attend to formal truth sharing sessions, they have created spaces of dialogue between FARC ex-combatants and victims of the conflict to find a way of moving forward and leave the past behind. These spaces of dialogue represent an ‘everyday’ way of reconstructing the truth from different sides, acknowledging that there is not universal truth, and doing it with the only purpose of recognizing the other and repairing any possible harm that could have been caused in the past.

In this sense, La Roja, as a social enterprise led by ex-combatants has been so much more than simply a beer factory. It has shown to Colombia, and hopefully the world, the importance of bottom-up initiatives to build peace in an inclusive way, including local communities and commonly excluded groups. This case study has shown that even though public policies and institutional frameworks are necessary to achieve peace, a long-lasting peace can only be attained after rethinking peace building approaches and re-centering the focus on the local realities and local agency that are constantly ignored by top-down peace strategies.

“Everyday diplomacy has the possibility of connecting with the more positive realm of conflict transformation.” (Mac Ginty 2014: 560).

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