

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**

Erasmus

**Building amidst displacement: Collective r-existence practices
from racialised youth in Buenaventura, Colombia.**

A Research Paper presented by:

Darly Zuley Diaz Latorre

(Colombian/Colombia)

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

Major:

SJP

Specialization: Human Rights

Members of the Examining Committee: Nanneke Winters, Kees Biekart

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2022

Disclaimer:

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

Inquiries:

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

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Contents

1. Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Context: The three faces of Buenaventura	3
1.2 Research objectives and questions	5
1.3 Methodology	6
1.3.1 Decolonial approach	6
1.3.2 Holding Space	7
1.3.3 Positionality	9
1.3.4 Ethnography	10
1.3.5 Semi structured interviews	10
2. Chapter 2 Identity formations in the Pacific.	12
2.2 The agency of being young in Buenaventura	14
2.3 Identities out of the city	16
2.3 Identities between the sword and a hard place	17
3. Chapter 3 Experiences of displacement and emplacement.	19
3.1 Experiences of displacement	19
3.3 Agency in displacement	25
3.3 Emplacement as transformative	27
3.2 Emplacement as the beginning of re-territorialization processes	28
4. Chapter 4 From Re-territorialization processes to R-existence practices.	30
4.1 Re-territorialization by the youth	30
4.2 Figured worlds and R-existence practices	32
4.3 Their Initiatives for R-existing	34
4.4 Their relationship with institutions and their work in the national peacebuilding process	36
5. Conclusions	38

Abstract

In Latin America the participation of young people in public decision-making scenarios formally continues to be questioned and relegated, however, this comes into discussion when the context in which it is framed is crossed by the logics of war. This study focuses on understanding how intra-urban displacement experiences of young people in Buenaventura, Colombia forges their identity-making processes and how the subsequent emplacement allows them to establish new feelings of attachment. This, to further consider re-territorialization processes as a collective way of recovering the territory and their R-existence practices as their innovative way of countering violence and challenging the colonial power structures.

Relevance to Development Studies

The relevance of this study entangles the response of Gustavo Esteva in a conversation with Arturo Escobar, “Development is radically inhospitable: it imposes a universal definition of the good life and excludes all others. We need to hospitably embrace the thousand different ways of thinking, being, living and experiencing the world that characterize reality.”(Esteva & Escobar, 2017).

Buenaventura is a city that illustrates the consequences of imposing a radical perspective of development without considering its particularities, it is a city that still has a colonial wound that continues to be prolonged thanks to the intervention of actors that does not understand the cosmology of the *Bonavorenses*. The responses that racialized people have in a place such as Buenaventura are relevant to understand how other ways of living are possible. Thus, this study entangles the discussions about communities that has abandoned the idea of the development to live beyond it, prioritizing their cosmologies and territories instead of the economical growth.

Keywords

Youth; identities; displacement; emplacement; R-existence.

Acknowledgments

Gracias a los jóvenes de Buenaventura por mostrarme un pedazo de su tierra, por compartir conmigo sus experiencias de vida e inspiradoras formas de lucha, por llevarme a la verbena y contarme sobre los arrullos.

Ustedes indudablemente tienen el poder de desafiar las lógicas opresoras de la violencia estructural en Colombia.

Gracias a Laura, David y John por ayudarme en todo el proceso, espero poder seguirles transmitiendo todo lo que significa el Pacífico para mí.

Gracias a mi familia por su incondicionalidad, siempre, lejos y cerca.

Gracias a los amigos de vida, que me escucharon y me acompañaron.

Gracias a Nanneke y Kees por su guía cuidadosa y comprensiva.

1. Chapter 1. Introduction

“They, (pointing to Uribe and the officials with him) are leaving the territory today, but we are the ones who are going to continue suffering the effects of the war. Because we are the ones going to the war, we are putting the dead bodies while the rich people do not go to war.” (Leonard, 24)

Those were some of the words that Leonard Renteria, a young social leader of Buenaventura, used to confront the former president of Colombia Alvaro Uribe Velez, in the middle of a campaign against the plebiscite that shielded the peace agreements with the FARC, six years ago. In that moment, Leonard pointed to the inequalities of their discourse and highlighted that the key for building the peace in their territories was in the forgiveness.

Leonard’s speech brought the attention of all country, the next day the video was published in the media provoking all kind of reactions. The fact that one young, racialized men of 24 years old, were challenging a white former president and senator, older than him, highly recognized and supported by a high percentage of the country, was an impacting scene that brought the discussion about the participation of young people as relevant in political environments into the table. His intervention gave voice to the inhabitants of a city, tired of living the abandonment of the state.

So that, this research finds its place in Leonard’s mother land, Buenaventura, a city located in the Colombian pacific, known for having the most important port in the country but also for being one of the poorest cities. This dual panorama has been hardened by a structural violence inserted on the daily lives of people, forcing them to break their relationship with the territory, something that defines their identity.

In this regard, displacement is a common thing into the discourses of the inhabitants, they have adapted to moving between the neighborhoods, or out of the city, as a way of surviving. For instance, Leonard was forced to move out of the city after their brother-in-law was killed and their all family got dead threatened, however, he came back to the territory in 2015 and got used to live with a security scheme due to the constant threats.

All the reasons above have made young people in Buenaventura become one of the most important voices during the last years to claim for actions to stop the violence in

their communities. They have suffered from the lack of opportunities, have been forced to be part of armed actors, they have seen many of their relatives die in confrontations. They got tired of the panorama and started organizing themselves in order to break the dead chain and have justice for the ones who died, guarantees of non-repetition for them, access to education and other opportunities to tackle the conflict in their region (Bravo, 2021).

Taking into account the intersection of the three macro issues mentioned above that could be summarized in: young people as active political actors, the experiences of dispossession as part of the construction of the collectivity and territory as a transversal issue in the practices that moves them to resist, the question that would be explored in this document will be: How do racialized young people of Buenaventura responds collectively to experiences of displacement?

To being able to respond the question this research has being divided into five chapters: the first one, that contains the current introduction, context of Buenaventura, objectives, question and sub questions, methodological decisions, and positionality.

The second one, focused on the young identity making processes in Buenaventura, departing from Arturo Escobar studies in the Colombian Pacific and his definition of identities “dialogic and relational.”(Escobar, 2008. Pp. 203) In this one the purpose will be to analyse the particularities of the identities in the pacific as the inheritance of the ancestors struggles, the relevance of defending the territory and the traditional practices as something clear from the young afro-identities.

The third one, will be focused on the experiences of displacement and emplacement that are part of the formation of the identities, in here, I highlighted three cases of Julian, Angela and John. In this chapter, my main purpose will be to mention that considering the territory as something key for the *Bonavorenses* the frame of displacement and emplacement must be entangled with territorialization and des-territorialization processes that works as collective frames and allows to understand the particularities of the pacific.

In the fourth one, I am going to do an effort for talking about the re-territorialization practices as the ones that allows the collective re-engagement with the territory - understanding it as socially produced- for further see their r-existence practices that are the

ones challenging the social orders imposed and entangling the rejection of the young people towards violence.

Finally, in the fifth one will be possible to find conclusions.

1.1 Context: The three faces of Buenaventura

Buenaventura is a city located in the Valle del Cauca department, in the pacific region, known for having one of the most important ports of embarkation and disembarkation nationally and in Latin America. The functioning of the port started in 1590 during the colonization of Colombia by the Spanish, it was established firstly, as a slave port that received persons from the African continent to be enslaved and subjected to work in the gold mines and sugarcane plantations. (Lombard et al., 2021)

Decades after in 1819, Francisco de Paula Santander, the president of the country in that moment, officially organized and open the seaport, which was an important designation for all country, considering the ideal of development that a port brings. The port ownership was at the beginning in hands of the state, however in the decade of 1990 was ceded to private companies, which signified a disengagement with Buenaventura as a city and the granting privileges in different dimensions to focus solely on the economic activities of the port. “State narratives present an imaginary of a global city, linked to international economic circuits, with the prospect of wealth and a high quality of life. (Lombard et al., 2021. Pp. 7)



Source: OCHA, 2022.

In contrast, behind the port, there is completely a different history. Buenaventura is a city with a population of approximately 311.824 inhabitants¹, more than the 95% of them are afro Colombians and 61,3% of the people who lives there, are between 15 and 59 years old. It is a city that has been forgotten among the narratives of development, that at the same time, have privileged economic growth. This has resulted in challenging conditions for the citizens that has established structural impediments for the inhabitants, Buenaventura is one of the poorest cities in the country with 80,6% of the people living in poverty conditions and with a 33,3% of multidimensional poverty index. Besides, 54,3% of the households face long-term unemployment, 94,2% of them survives from an informal employment and, 72,4% of them presents a low educational achievement. (Buenaventuracomovamos.org, 2020)

Additionally, due to their geostrategic position, since 1980 different groups has disputed the control of the territory, Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC) -The biggest guerillas in the country- were established there and had the domain of illegal access roads for drug trafficking and extortion. (Comisión de la Verdad, 2019) After the signing of the peace agreements between the Colombian government and FARC in 2016, criminal bands were formed, those inherited the disputes of the previous armed groups and continued the pattern of structural violence in t city with the particularity that these established a geographic order within the city, dividing it into invisible borders designated for the *Bonavorenses*.

Currently, that order still divides the city between the zones commanded by *Shottas* and the ones directed by *Espartanos* (El Espectador, 2021), those groups continue having constant confrontations while they attack the inhabitants, through the systematic murdering of people, displacement of families, and recruiting of young people for their illegal purposes. Due to violence, the people have been forced to move, just in 2021 Buenaventura received at least 31 communities that came from other places and were reported more than 17.311 victims of massive displacement or confinement. Likewise, intra-urban displacement has left more than 2.600 victims. (OCHA, 2022)

¹ According to the last population census in 2020

Finally, for the citizens of Buenaventura there is a history of resistance and resilience that do not encompasses with the previous narratives. When the port was firstly constructed the indigenous communities from the territory fought against the colonizers to defend their lands and their lives, after that, the *negros cimarrones* revealed against their oppressors and liberated themselves escaping to the jungles and forming their own communities '*palenques*'. (PCN, 2012)

Until now, they carry and transmit within generations the heritage of their ancestors and for that, they have found ways to conserve their ancestral cosmology and to rebuild their collective memory. This research finds its relevance in this face of Buenaventura.

1.2 Research objectives and questions

How do racialized young people of Buenaventura responds collectively to experiences of displacement?

Main objective

- To understand and explore how the racialized young people of Buenaventura responds collectively to experiences of displacement.

Specific objectives

- To understand how the dynamics of displacement and emplacement works on Buenaventura and how it affects their relationship with the territory.
- To analyze and determine how the dynamics of displacement has to do with the identity-making processes in young people of Buenaventura.
- To examine what contributes that young people have agency in the responses to violence in Buenaventura.

Sub questions

How do young people that are from different places build their identity and contribute to collectivity?

What experiences of displacement the young people of Buenaventura share?

How have the young people of Buenaventura built their joint work?

Which are the challenges they face to be able to respond?

How the young people of Buenaventura decide their agenda and the issues that they are concern about?

1.3 Methodology

This research has a decolonial approach, which means that the methodology is designed from the knowledge that the coloniality it is still the base of interaction between people and continues affecting communities from the global south. Specifically, the main purpose of my interaction was to hold space with them, this is an approach proposed by Aminata Cairo and it is focused on a reparative justice method that compensates the silences that the traditional methods have had and avoid the reproduction of violence with communities during the research.

Added to that, I used ethnography as a method that allows me to share in a direct way all impressions, actions and responses found in Buenaventura from my visit for ten days. The positionality would allow me to be a present individually in the research, knowing what my presence implies and what they think about me implies.

1.3.1 Decolonial approach

Here it is relevant to mention the 'coloniality of power' quoted by Aníbal Quijano as an organizing structure that remains in our societies, especially in Latin America, through a social classification of superiority and inferiority categorization based on race and that pretends to be erased when it is conceived disconnectedly from colonization. "The trouble is, however, that in Latin America, the Eurocentric perspective, adopted as their own by the dominant groups, has led them to impose the European model of nation-building upon the power structures that were organized around colonial relations between 'races.'" (Quijano, 2000, pp: 229)

It is necessary to have the coloniality of power in mind because my main purpose with the research is to get out of a discourse of 'othering' that can perpetuate the logics of

exclusion to a population that has being marginalized already. I do not want highlight how they are different from the rest of the world, rather I want to focus on their agency in their definition of their own world, that is not hegemonic but that show us that other ways of good living are possible.

Therefore, decolonial approaches helped me to get out of frames that can universalize categories to better focus on the collectivity and the territory as an essential part of the existence in the case of Buenaventura. My hypothesis was focused on that their responses were going beyond the power structures and the logics of coloniality, they dare what it is established and put their territory first.

1.3.2 Holding Space

During my visit to Buenaventura, besides collecting information I wanted to know the young people, their daily routines, and interactions. I knew from the media their strong responses against the turbulent context of the city, so my purpose was to spend time with them to getting to know them better and their causes, from their own voices.

Therefore, months before going, I contacted Leonard who was very busy at the beginning, but as soon as I explained to him what I wanted to do, he was enthusiastic about receiving me, according to him the whole people are invited to know more about their projects. In July, I visited Buenaventura for ten days and during those days I visited different places in which they were working, the most of my time I was in Eleggua's office, the local organization leaded by Leonard.

On the design of this research, I assumed that the most appropriate path to collect the information without being an extractive researcher would be holding space with them, and I did it. From the beginning, I was clear with my intentions and attentive to the imbalance of power around our interactions, when I first met them, they treated me as a white person who was interested on what they were doing and that had an interesting position as a student of a master program out of the country.

Holding space, consist of creating a scenario -that is not reduced to an only space, rather an amount of time of an interaction, in this case for the ten days that I visited them- in which the people can safely share positions, experiences, and opinions without any fear of stigmatization or judging. According to Aminata, holding space:

“Requires that we take the collective as a starting point, rather than the individual, and through understanding our connected-ness, persevere to regard all people in their humanness and all of nature as our extended selves. It requires us to stay focused and committed to uplifting the community. It requires us to bring ourselves, all of ourselves, to do the work and to take care of each other, ourselves, and seek reprieve when needed.” (Cairo, 2021. Pp. 302)

Being able to do a switch from being a researcher to be someone that was willing to learn from them requires to analyze “how the others are part of myself too”(Cairo, 2021) which means having a reflexive position about how what made me be interested on them, besides the task of doing research. Additionally, having commitment with them and be accountable about what I do with the information without transforming the intentions with which they transmitted it to me.

For instance, they did not want me to analyze their initiatives or the value of their organizations, because they already know their potentialities, rather they expect me to integrate their capacity of agency and what they privilege in their daily work. So that, I followed what Mignolo points "It is necessary to focus on the knower rather than on the known" (Mignolo, 2009. Pp. 162), and in this scenario, the knowledge that they have built-in their community would be the one that directed the investigation, this following the same author again with the idea of 'epistemic disobedience' as "de-linking from the magic of the western idea of modernity, ideas of humanity and promises of economic growth and financial prosperity." (Mignolo, 2009. Pp. 161)

Buenaventura it is a territory clearly affected by coloniality; it was created as a slave port that continues working commanded by white people from the outside. They highlighted this in their speeches when they were talking about the territory that is why a decolonial approach is mandatory in this research to stop continue reproducing the knowledges and the narratives that have been created about the city.

I acknowledge that my effort for holding space with them could have transcend the logics of neutrality and objectivity of academia but in here, and as I mentioned previously, I will give more value to other synergies established during the interaction with them. "What we were doing was challenging in practice the principles of neutrality, objectivity, and distance that from positivist, neo positivist, and modern scholars constitute the pillars of the "production of scientific knowledge" (Leyva, 2021).

1.3.3 Positionality

To hold space with them, I had to recognize myself first, so that I will mention some aspects of my positionality that are important to consider and the image about the young people of Buenaventura that I have. According to Aminata Cairo, understanding myself is the first step to understanding myself in relation to the young people and the world I am living in,

"These spaces where existence is resistance, are created out of a need, an answer to an inner calling to be armed in this world. When you know who you are in relation to the seven directions, you know who you are as a person, and you are strengthened in your relationship with the world." (Cairo, 2021 pp: 302)

I am a mestiza Colombian woman from the capital city doing a master program in Europe. I was seen as someone privileged who has never experienced what they have, and that is visiting them to collect information in the less invasive way possible. Also, probably in an unconscious way, the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2009) was implied in my presence as someone who has the western knowledge and comes from outside of the country to evaluate what they know and to bring development and modern ideas that can be useful for Buenaventura.

However, as I have mentioned, I was and continue to be transparent and accountable for them, during my visit we had conversations about strategic issues of organizations that I knew were useful for them. Without imposing anything that can erase or underestimate what they transmitted to me.

From what I have explained, I feel more than anything that these actors deserve respect; I can say that they have been resisting violence in all aspects, the less they are expecting, it's being subjects of study. They have been creating ways to speak loud and clear, claiming justice and peace; they are not passive actors or victims waiting for someone to help them. Due to the abandonment of the national institutions, they had to start acting themselves to fight their threats in the territory.

At the same time, I also shared with them my life, my positionality, my commitment to peacebuilding in the country as a Colombian who lives in the capital. I admire young people fight and for sure I will continue working with them.

1.3.4 Ethnography

This method was useful for me, to keep the impressions and the daily discoveries that were relevant for the research, I kept a diary in which I worked every day meanwhile I was there. Also, during the writing of the research paper, it allowed to me to transmit the information collected in first person, talking about personal experiences and feelings of belonging requires an engagement from the one who is asking, so thanks to that I was able to writing creating the environment in which I received the information.

1.3.5 Semi structured interviews

In order to keep the structure of the fieldwork I decided to follow the advises from my second reader and my supervisor, so I conducted a total of seven interviews that were more like deep conversations. Likewise, I had general questions that guided the interviews, some of them were ¿what does it mean to be young in Buenaventura? ¿How do you relate with the city? ¿Have you ever lived anywhere else besides Buenaventura? ¿How do you organize your social work in you daily routines? Although depending on each conversation, the questions were changing.

My interviewees were:

Leonard Renteria (30): Young social leader in charge of ELEGGUA that is an organization created by him and other young people focused on tacking violence against children in the territory.

Estefania Valencia (25): Midwifery trainee in ASOPARUPA, one of the biggest organizations that gather the ‘parteras’ from the pacific, their main purpose is to preserve the ancestral knowledge of ancestral midwives.

Ángela Henao (26): Is a dancer from the collective FundaPaz, she is part of the Eleggua processes and have accompanied the Buenaventura Resiste, organizations.

Julián Candelo (27): He is part of the board of Eleggua and has his own project of a football school in La Playita neighborhood.

John Arce (18): Member of Buenaventura resiste -Collective created by the young people to coordinate social public actions-.

Brayan Montaña (26): Young social leader known for his extensive trajectory advocating for human rights in Buenaventura. Leader of Pro y Paz organization -that Works on peacebuilding projects in Buenaventura- and Mesa intersectorial Uramba por la Juventud de Buenaventura -Collective of young people doing that oversees the public sector.

Maury Vanegas (26): Social leader in charge of the local initiative ‘jóvenes emprendedores de paz’ that focuses on the artistic development of young people and the formation of young entrepreneurs.

Besides doing semi-structure interviews, I assisted to other spaces of encounter such as *Verbenas and arrullos* -traditional celebrations that were happening while I was visiting-, *the streets of the city and the offices of the organizations* also were important to get to know them. Due to the relevance of this research for the young people of Buenaventura they wanted to be mentioned with their real names and the names of their organizations and initiatives, they gave me a verbal consent.

2. Chapter 2 Identity formations in the pacific.

When I asked what it means to be young in Buenaventura, the young people usually smile and refer to their energy, their talent, and the privilege of having been born in these lands. “Young people in Buenaventura are ‘full of energy’” Angela mentioned, and Julian says that “young people in Buenaventura are warriors, enterprising and cheerful”, and without a doubt it is visible to see their electric energy when they express themselves, or when they sing or dance in the parties. In their daily interactions with the others, they are loud, vibrant, and with a palpable desire of knowing more; they are connected to the Pacific and completely proud of belonging to the city.

Arturo Escobar (2008) has dedicated himself to understanding the formation of identities connected to the territory in the pacific. He made such an enormous effort for understanding what was involved into the building of an identity, considering the historical and political conditions of the context and the relevant theoretical frames of the concept. He highlighted, -without providing much detail- that studying the emergence of identities is an exercise that cannot be generalized, and it changes depending on the case. “Suffice it to say that many anthropologists argue that the modern notion of the self—at least in the quintessential mode of the possessive individual of liberal theory—does not have a correlate among many non-Western or non-modern peoples.”(Escobar, 2008. Pp: 2004)

In this regard, he talks about the impact that the 1990’s and the Colombian’s new political constitution had on the discussions around what *comunidades negras* meant (Escobar, 2008). The fact that Colombia was declared a multiethnic and multicultural state that “recognizes and protects the cultural and ethnic diversity of their nation” signified a communal effort together with the communities and the officials to define what it meant to be an afro Colombian and what was needed to be protected (Artículo 7, 1991).

According to Escobar, the transitory *article 55* and the subsequent *ley 70* of 1993 focused on the recognition of lands in title of the communities that were occupying them. It required effort from the state and the inhabitants of the country for understanding what the diversity entailed, and it became an extensive exercise of getting to know the territories and establishing conversations with the communities to set an ‘ethnicization of black identity’.

“Above all, the practices concerned the politicization of difference and the construction of a new political subject, *comunidades negras*.”(Escobar, 2008. Pp. 201)

Escobar mentions that it would be a mistake to affirm that the product of this process was a power exercise imposed by the state. Rather, it was possible to see that even when there was a mediation from officials and their knowledge with perspectives from outside, there was also a clear agency from the participants in the formation of a political identity. To be able to prove the previous statement, he does a reference to several authors, among them Mouffe and Laclau (1985; Mouffe 1993; Laclau 1996) to say that in the case of the Pacific

“Discourses of ethnicity, cultural rights, and biodiversity played this role and made possible the interruption of subordination as usual, so to speak, and its articulation as domination. These discourses allowed activists to construct a novel narrative of the situation of the Pacific in terms of external impositions by the state, expert knowledge, and the global economy.”(Escobar, 2008. Pp:206)

Added to that, he quotes Comaroff (1996) to reinforce his idea of the agency of the communities during the process of identity definition by saying that there are always ‘power’ equations surrounding the ethnic identities in different dimensions. However, once constructed, they can become something forceful for the ones who bear them (Comaroff, 1996 in Escobar, 2008). Escobar concludes with Grossbergs (2003) argument that the “positivity of black identities cannot be reduced to an articulation of difference dictated by the dominant Euro-Andean order. To do so would not only reinscribe them into modern power (a form of coloniality), but also entail denying their otherness as positivity and exteriority.” (Escobar, 2008. Pp: 208)

With the process of defining *comunidades negras*, many autonomous movements were conceived, for the continuation of exploring their diversity and for the advocating of their rights, which is how Organización de Comunidades Negras (OCN) and extensive networks between the communities as Proceso de Comunidades Negras (PCN) started to be organized into powerful voices from the territories in the 1990.

The young people who I talked to are the sons and daughters of the 1990’s process, socially speaking, and they are now between 18 and 30 years old, meaning that some of them were born in that decade or were kids when this was happening, and they grew up with the process around them.

“I think that we have in terms of culture and identity, some factors that are not very common and that we have inherited. Thinking about the territory and understanding it from another logic. The territory for us is not a handful of land. For us, the territory is the life because it is where culture and the sharing are recreated, so that is a common point in the Pacific with the youth. We understand the territory as a space of life, as that space where we exchange knowledges. Understand how the context relates to the solidarity and our traditions.” (Leonard, 30)

During the sessions of work between the communities and officials, there was something key in the discourses that overlapped with land, identity, representation between other concepts, and as Leonard pointed, it is the notion of ‘territory’. Among the extended definition that PCN provides, they highlight it as “a space that is collective and composed for all the necessary and indispensable place where men and women, young and old, create and recreate their lives.” (PCN, 2007 in Arturo Escobar, 2014. Pp. 88) The territory goes beyond being a space, and it began to relate to the symbolisms of each community and their conception of life, that is how young people in Buenaventura embrace it and reproduce it, their attachment with the land and their rejection to be out of it.

2.2 The agency of being young in Buenaventura

On the other hand, the political participation of young people in the social issues has also opened a window of exploration in terms of the identity-making possibilities connected with the political heritage of processes such as the PCN. Studying the implications of young people as political actors becomes necessary in cases as the Buenaventura one, in which their position is key for the conduction of social processes that are relevant for the contribution of an ideal of Buenaventura in peace.

According to Skelton (2010) there is a contradiction on how societies are comprehending the young people and their contribution to political geography, as “states perceive young people as competent, responsible, and liable in some context (often in relation to criminal responsibility), but as incompetent, irresponsible, and unreliable in others.” (Skelton, 2010, pp: 145) She explains that part of this is due to a socially accepted vision of young people as individuals who can be related with ‘politics’ instead of ‘Politics’.

The first 'politics' is related with everyday exercises that can help the person engage with notions such as nation, state, and power, normally adequate to contribute to the social formation process of kids and young people. The second example is about directly holding the political responsibilities and exercise of rights that are more related with adulthood. (Skelton, 2010)

Therefore, young people stay in a contradictory position of a constant 'in waiting' in which they are not recognized as a valuable part of the Political Geography because they are not ready to hold the responsibilities that the people with legal age entails, but at the same time, they must be subjects that accomplish social rules and legal standards. (Skelton, 2010)

This theory can be partly considered in the context of the Colombian pacific, as it can be mentioned that the young people of Latin America are also living 'on waiting' until they turn 18, which is when they reach the legal age. They depend on their parents as a legal figure that takes decisions for them, and their participation is not required in the public social debate about issues that can be seen as concerns for adults. However, in the specific case of Buenaventura, besides having the heritage of strong political processes of identification and struggles as '*comunidades negras*', the young people have grown while they coexist with a combination of factors affecting them in a different way than other young people living in other parts of the country. In here, again the territory plays one of the main roles but also the vulnerabilities of living amidst war.

All these features force young people to have a dynamic position in society, because as youth that belong to an afro-community, they have acquired the responsibility to have a political position formed on their environment, and even more so to do something about it, meanwhile they are still young and do not have the political relevance to intervene in other issues. So, they were not taken seriously easily, and instead it required effort and their constant exposition. "I remember when I was part of the Ilakir² process, many times my father told me that I was wasting my time there, that instead of going I should be working or doing something positive. It was only after years that he understood that what I did all

² A collective movement that works with kids and young people tackling violence in the territory, Leonard participated in their processes when he was younger.

that time was to prepare myself for life, and then he asked me for forgiveness because he did not realize about that before.” (Leonard, 30)

Brayan also talks about this, “Previously, young people were not so involved in the processes, today we are, the youth is assuming the challenges, the leadership, critical postures, proactive postures are even assuming candidacies for decision-making scenarios and from there, well let's say that the main challenges are that the young people themselves have the maturity in those scenarios that we are winning today. This maturity must go through a process of understanding the importance of these spaces, no matter what they are, political, organizational, critical, etc., because opening doors for the new processes that are being constituted depends on that, but it also allows the youth to be consolidated with everything this historical moment that we are living as a youth has the capacity to face those challenges.” (Brayan, 26)

2.3. Identities out of the city

I previously mentioned the relevance that has Buenaventura as territory for the young people, now it is necessary to delve into other dimensions of the identities, that takes place outside of their creation place. “Identities are formed in dialogue, if not struggles, across difference, which in turn involves the creation and at times dissolution of boundaries between self and others.” (Escobar, 2008. Pp. 219)

When I asked the young people about how people in Buenaventura were conceived from cities such as Bogotá or Cali, their response was clearly directed to the different conditions of other places against Buenaventura and especially to the structural racism that they suffer. “I say that historically, the state has only privileged the port sector, the rest do not matter, the life in here do not matter, and less matter when we depart from the fact that we are mostly an afro community”. (Leonard, 30)

According to Kwame Appiah a Ghanaian- British philosopher -who has analyzed from his own life a ‘social identities’- perspective, there is a disruption when the subject does not accomplish with what his/her/their identity frame requires, and that happens because “people use identities as the basis of hierarchies of status and respect and of structures of power.... The world is full of burdensome identities, whose price is that other people treat you with disrespect”(Appia, 2018. Pp:11)

In a conversation that I had with Andrés and Ezra, who were practicing their singing in the terrace of the house which young people of Eleggua use as office, they shared with me how music could be also a way of showing their connection with the city, and especially, the differences with the rest of the world. Emphasizing on the second, they mentioned that there are songs written and composed by singers from Buenaventura that are very successful within the city, but outside does not have the same scope neither recognition, they explained that the reason behind was the particular way that *bonavorenses* has to communicate with themselves. “We are too extravagant, we have even a strange language that sometimes people from Bogotá or from Cali do not understand, that is why those kind of songs ‘*no pegan*.” (Andrés (22) Ezra (30))

2.3 Identities between the sword and a hard place

Living in a territory that has been suffering the consequences of war also has an impact in the formation of identities of the young people. The vulnerability to be a victim of violence is another of the particularities that they mention when I asked them about being young in Buenaventura. All of the young people that I talked to had suffered experiences of violence in the territory in any dimension: some of them were displaced from the rural areas, and others had to move within the city because of gang-related threats. Most of them have a family member that was murdered or died because of the logics of the war. They have seen other young people of their ages to become a member of a criminal band or an armed group. They grew up living with the consequences of the war and that has marked them as more vulnerable than other youth that lives in other cities.

Jaramillo, Parrado and Loidor bring the concept of ‘violented geographies’ (Jaramillo Marín et al., 2019) to explain that in the context of Buenaventura the violence has imposed dynamics of terror and systematic fear from different actors and that has led to the inhabitants to have a “territoriality that is broken and [has] disjointed landscapes.” (Jaramillo Marín et al., 2019. Pp. 115).

Hence, the geography of Buenaventura for the inhabitants is determined also because of the imposition of invisible borders that are established by criminal bands -*Shottas and Espartanos*- that are constantly fighting for the control of the territory. According to Jaramillo, Parrado and Loidor and following Mbembe (2011), there are two main objectives with the installation of these violent dynamics in Buenaventura:

1) “stop thought, dry up the resources of the imaginary, impoverish language by instituting a mono-symbolic and anti-symbolic world, and thereby produce a “new” community that is silenced, absent, ghostly, amnesiac, and mutilated physically, bodily, and emotionally.

2) build a geography of fear that invades bodies and voices and that forces this new community to lose its sense of place and its spatial and territorial references through a large plexus of mechanisms, among others: displacement forced; dispossession of territories, knowledge, and practices; rupture of the routine and affectionate bond in the way of relating to others and the environment³.”(Jaramillo Marín et al., 2019. Pp: 115)

Brayan Montaña is one of the young people from Buenaventura well-recognized for his engagement with the territory and his intensive work to claim justice for the territory. He mentioned: “The simple fact of being young in Buenaventura is an absolute risk in every sense of the word. It is a risk because you have the possibility that an armed group will fall in love with you and want to recruit you. It is a risk because you have the possibility that any situation of moving from one sector to another with the famous invisible borders could allow your life to be lost.” (Brayan, 26)

On the other hand, Nia Valencia that is learning midwifery from the traditional *Parteras* who according to her work mostly in the rural areas, says that the advice from her *Mayora* - meaning the person she is learning from-, is usually to stay away from the rurality because the dynamics of violence outside of the urban are more strict: “If it doesn't rain in here, there are thunders, lightning makes tremors in there” (Nia, 25) referring to the risk that she takes by moving outside the city.

Young people acknowledge this vulnerability. They are aware about it, and that is why they articulate it to their responses, however, even when there are clear intentions of marking the bodies and force the young to follow arm actors, they highlight that they are not passive actors rather active individuals that are rethinking their territory and contributing to an ideal ‘their Buenaventura in peace’.

3. Chapter 3 Experiences of displacement and emplacement.

Angela, Julián, and John were three of the young people who I worked with when I went to Buenaventura. They decided to spend time with me separately and in group and among other things of their lives, they shared with me their experiences of displacement and what it caused to their lives. In Buenaventura, it is very common to find young people who moved from one place to another within the city or outside of it, many of the young people I met had memories that they wanted to share about their movement and how they got used to the new places. Here I choose these three cases because we had deep conversations about their experiences of displacement and because it allows me to do an extended analysis.

Thus, my purpose in this chapter will be to narrate what they told me, as they told me and with it do an effort to convey a perspective of displacement, focused on the impact that it has in the experience that makes part of an individual identity formation process. In addition, I'll refer to the emplacement as the settling and development of new attachments with other place, and with it, to the re-territorialization processes that are collective and relevant to understand the relation with 'territory' in the Colombian pacific.

3.1 Experiences of displacement

Julián picked me up in the hotel that I was staying in, and he showed me the surroundings of where I was staying, especially to point out the zones where I should not go, that were dangerous for someone like me -a mestiza, foreigner-. He had so much to share that he basically spent all day with me talking about his life, his projects and having fun in the *Verbena* at night.

He is a serious guy of 27 years old, focused on his projects, who has a passion for learning new things. He is always talking about football, his dream when he was a kid was to be a famous football player, his entire life has been about playing and through that, he has made sense of the city in his head. When he was little, he used to live in the Nueva Granada neighborhood, which he described as a place like a mountain a bit far

away from the other central places of the city: “it was a happy place with me, I had tons of friends and I was always playing in the streets with other friends, there was a lot of emotional connection with the place and with the people that I loved, that place was my childhood.” (Julián, 27)

When he turned ten years old, criminal bands had a strong presence in Nueva Granada and those were increasingly affecting people: “we had to leave the neighborhood because of the violence, we lost a member of our family by hands of armed actors, they went to my house and killed him and because of that we had to leave, basically as displaced people, running away because the armed groups were always threatening and intimidating the families”. (Julián, 27)

Julián says that knowing about someone being murdered is a normal thing in Buenaventura, “but when that person is someone from your family or close to you, it’s another thing, you know that it is a risk for you as well and for the good or for the bad makes you think in finding the tranquility and peace and moves you to take decisions.” (Julián, 27)

He moved to another neighborhood of Buenaventura, to El Firme and, after, when he turned 15, he moved to La Playita that is where he continues living until now. “Moving to the second one was a drastic change because the dynamics of how we lived together were different, how we led our lives in that place totally changed, it was not the same way of behaving as a child, we had other people around and a different perspective of the city, it was another way of behaving, another way of seeing life.”(Julián, 27) He says, referring to the establishment of new interactions with people while he was growing.

In La Playita he has lived more than ten years, he settled there, and says that thanks to the decision of moving, he had the opportunity to interact more with football, he was closer to places to practice and he got to know people that has to do with the sport as well, “at the end moving out of Nueva Granada allowed me to do my life and also for my family to do theirs.” (Julián, 27) Besides, in La Playita he had two children who are also passionate about football and who encouraged him to create his own school of football in which he works with more than 100 children using sports as a tool to tackle the dynamics of violence in the territory.

Continuing with Angela, she was one of the first young woman that I met when I got to Elegua's house, she looked at me in the way people look at total strangers, it took an effort to interact at the beginning but eventually we formally said hi and chatted for a short time. I saw her again at night when she got to La verbena in La Playita dressed completely different, with vibrant colors, ready for the party in the neighborhood. In that moment, she approached me, she was warm and talked to me as if we have known each other forever, she told me she was a dancer and a singer in her free times because even when she wanted to dedicate completely to arts and the activism it is impossible to have financial stability from it in Buenaventura.

During the party she was a great company always trying to explain to me how the ancestral parties work in the Pacific, she talked to me about '*arrullos*' and '*la embalsada*' but also taught me how to dance '*currulao*' in front of a group of women who were singing *cantos tradicionales*. Around 2:00 am, I decided that it was enough activity for my first day in the city so I decided to go back to the hotel and she went with me, the others took us to the corner to get a taxi safely (they were going with me everywhere to ensure that I was safe, because they knew I was an stranger in the territory), we shared the taxi and I stayed in my hotel while she continued.

Angela lives more than 40 minutes away from the *Malecon*, or the 'center' of Buenaventura. She mentioned that she lives in the entrance of the city and that she usually works in a casino because her activism in Buenaventura does not pay well enough to live from it. I finally got a last long conversation with her one day when she talked to me about her life, her expectations and what the city and the collectivity meant to her.

Her life got crossed by displacement multiple times, she was born in Buenaventura but because of the violence her parents decided to take her to Pereira, a region located in the west of the country, where she got separated from her mom, because she decided to leave without giving Angela and her father much explanation. After that, she faced a challenged situation because she did not have a good life with the father, hence, her uncles -who were still living in Buenaventura- decided to pick her up and bring her back.

Once in Buenaventura she remembers also her childhood in there and especially where she was living, "When I was little my family already had a house made of wood in the Cascajal neighborhood, but among of us we started the building and renovation

of it even I had to work as a man, breaking walls, loading bricks, cement, with my cousins and the whole family, we all put hands together for building our home.” (Angela, 26)

“We finished the first and second floor, the house was big, the people could have told you, downstairs there was the living room, the machines room -because my aunt was a dressmaker-, the kitchen and two or three bedrooms besides the backyard and bathrooms. On the second one, there was like eight or nine bedrooms, I don’t remember correctly and a terrace where we hung the wet clothes.” (Angela, 26)

She also remembers that the structure of the house had a reason and that it was connected also with the extended family, their traditions, and routines: “the weekends we were always expecting at least four of my other uncles and their families, my brother and his girlfriend, my sister with her husband and their kids, my other sister with her boyfriend and his niece and others. That is why my grandmother wanted to have the house like that, she wanted to keep the family together, so we were always making ‘*la frijolada*’ or ‘*la sancochada*’ [referring to the action of getting together people to eat traditional Colombian dishes, beans and sancocho that is a soup]”. (Angela, 26)

That was around ten years ago, according to Angela, at some point the armed actors or *amigos de lo ajeno*- as Angela calls them- started to have the control of the territory. They started to extort her family and to threaten them as well, one by one they had to abandon the house until the whole family was out of the neighborhood. “We had to go and leave the house alone, at the beginning we tried to sell the house, but nobody wanted to buy it because the neighborhood became very violent, so we rented the house to someone from there, but then the situation got worse. At the end, we were paying someone to take care of the house, but everything went from bad to worse, we had to leave the house alone.” (Angela, 26)

The consequences of it were devastating for Angela, she constantly referred to the sadness that she and her family felt every time they think about the house. “When the house was alone, the *amigos de lo ajeno* started using the house for their purposes. They were consuming drugs in there, they looted the house, basically knocked down the second floor, they damaged their walls even the ground they dug in the house because they thought we had money buried. After some years, my cousin that is a police officer could go and make a video of the house, that video broke my heart I was crying because

it took so much effort from us to build the house and then strange people who did nothing came and destroyed everything, there is nothing left.”

Angela says that she and her family moved to another neighborhood in Buenaventura, and they started doing the same, re-building here and there to have a home and start over, but that is not the same process because they know the destructive power of criminal bands in the city. She especially regrets that the armed actors who did this to her were the same children that grew up with her, that were her friends when they were little.

Finally, during *La verbena* the guys were introducing me to others that were part of different social organizations, one of them was John. They introduced him to me as a member of *Buenaventura Resiste* who suffered an attack from the Police during the protests in 2020. He made a weird face when the others mentioned but he explained to me later that his encounter with the police went viral and people were constantly talking about it and that he did not like it that much.

John was 18 years old, we talked in La Verbena but also after, he is a charismatic human being who also has experienced moving away and living apart, “My life has been wandering, I was born here, from here they took me to Cerrito Valle, from there I went to the coast because most of my family is on the coast in Guapi, Cauca and el Charco, Nariño.” (John, Buenaventura, 2022)

When I asked why he moved that much he responded as if it was something that has been said a thousand of times, a common topic of conversation, “because of the incredible amount of violence” he said, “I have been used to moving, since I can remember, I turned one year old and I had to move to a different place, change schools, every year I had to meet new people and leave the others behind, then leave the people with whom I was having a certain affection, certain ties.” (John, Buenaventura, 2022)

John talks about his experiences creatively, we laugh during most of the conversation, even when his story is not the easiest one. He has been living three years in Buenaventura, before that he was living with his mother in Guapi, Cauca -a municipality located in the coast next to Buenaventura but from another department of Colombia-,

he had to come when he was in eight grade of secondary school, the mother send him to live with his aunt in Buenaventura. Although, he did not move because he wanted to.

“In Guapi, there are moments in which the armed groups go to take the young people by force and from the moment they follow them, they already belong to the group and in consequence to them. One day, these actors announced that they were going to do a ‘social cleansing’ in which they were planning to kill drug addicts, thieves, and all that. But everyone knows that in those situations they were also taking young men who saw with potential, with more character.” (John, Buenaventura, 2022)

John gave me the contextual background and explained their reactions to justify his movement, “My mom was always really concerned of me being taken away, because I was always outside, in your town you have your freedom and also I loved the adrenaline, that is why I was always with my friends on boats going in the water, but the members of criminal bands also were always coming and going in that kind of boats”. (John, Buenaventura, 2022)

“My mom was telling me all the time, ‘for being on those boats all the time they are going to take you, they are going to take you’, until it happened. Once there was an event and I wanted to go in a boat, but there were two boats and one was full of people meanwhile the other one just had three persons and I did not know those three persons, so one guy started to push me hard to get on the empty boat, even with violence pulling my arm but then a friend of my mom was crossing around the place and I asked him for help. After saving me, he took me to my mom’s house and told her that I was about to being taken by those people, so she immediately sent me to Buenaventura, to live with my aunt.” (John, Buenaventura, 2022)

He remembers how he escaped and described that moment as the shock of his life, moving with his aunt was hard for him, especially because it was difficult to meet new friends and to establish himself again. According to him his aunt made it a little bit harder because she did not let him go outside, she wanted him always inside of the house. Even with that, he joined *Buenaventura Resiste* collective, and he is very proud of it, he wants to continue working for the city.

3.3 Agency in displacement

The accounts of Angela, Julian and John shared the description of places that have a meaning connected to their formation of identity and of something that they remember as happy and crucial for them such as football, the family, and their freedom and that helped them to construct an image of a place that was part of them. Hence, they transmitted to me how those places were dispossessed from them, their houses, their routines, the people that they loved. They were forced to move to another place of the city that was different and required another process to be able to adapt to it.

Ramsey (2019) argues that anthropological theorizations of displacement have taken for granted the temporality to which the subject is exposed when displaced: “that incommensurable temporality is one that situates them perpetually in crisis, indefinite indeterminacy, unable to project themselves into a certain or stable future.”(Ramsay, 2020. Pp.3)

As Ramsey, other authors have referred to the need of understanding displacement beyond what the impact of movement implies for the places to better focus on what it causes to the individual experience. Bjarnesen and Vigh (2016), aligned to Ramsey by mentioning that it is necessary to see the complete picture of displacement, analyzing its dynamics, but also the emplacement that generates, especially in war contexts where is so easy to relate migrants with crisis. “Conflict and warfare may disconnect and disrupt, but they also connect and realign, creating alternative orders and social formations in the process. They not only spur displacement but simultaneously facilitate emplacement.” (Vigh & Bjarnesen, 2016. Pp: 9)

This current of thought provides several tools to understand experiences of displacement connected to the formation of identities in the young people of Buenaventura. This is important because young people in Colombia are tired of talking about the consequences of war in their territories, they want to be listened to as actors with agency, capable of a transformative change for their city. That is why, I am acknowledging the premise of the violent dynamics from the armed groups as the ones that generates a forced movement from the afro communities in the Pacific and as a form of pressure that forces people to move, but also, I am doing an effort to go beyond

by connecting their experiences with their responses to the contextual issues of their territory. (Escobar, 2004)

In this scenario it is more interesting to explore how this displacement within the city or outside was captured by the young people and how these experiences are connected to their current actions. Accordingly, in this analysis the definition of displacement that Ramsey provides is central:

“...Displacement is a fundamental disruption to the teleology of life: an experience, whether acute or chronic, that pulls a person out of the illusory comfort of a life with stability and into a reality of a future that is not only uncertain, but which is determined by forces that are outside of their direct control.”(Ramsay, 2020. Pp:4)

Julián, Angela, and John’s experiences of displacement are not something that they like to highlight when they talked, rather something that they relate with as a sad part of their lives and specifically something that was unjust, a consequence of a war in which they did not take any side or any action and that they suffered and survived. In line with Ramsey’s understanding of displacement, when Julián had to run away from Nueva Granada, Angela from her family house and John from Guapi, it was a difficult moment in which they had to take the decision of going, leaving the lives that they used to know, when they did not know anything else because they were children without much experience somewhere else.

Their future was taken away because their stability in Angela’s house was challenged, she and her family had to go and start over somewhere else, but in the moment, they did not know for sure what would happen with them; in the case of Julián, he was also sad of moving because of the risk that he was taking and for John it meant being away from his family.

Although, it did not last forever, they started to live in another place, with different dynamics that brought new circumstances for Julián he was closer to football, Angela started a new house and John met new friends, they do not continue identifying themselves as a displaced person, they did not continue to be in crisis their whole life because of the experiences that they had before.

On the other hand, Vigh and Bjarnesen also talk about how mobilities are not a completely isolated issue from displacement due to it also being an exercise of power, conceiving it as a choice where there is a hostile environment as the violent context in Buenaventura. Quoting Hammar and Rodgers they mention, “mobility may be a key social practice for achieving a sense of normality and belonging, as opposed to an unsettling and anomic threat to those very sentiments, and an inability to pursue movement may engender an experience of displacement- in-place”(Vigh & Bjarnesen, 2016. Pp: 12)

In the three cases, they took the decision to move due to the violent coercion of the territory, in here it is visible the connection between displacement and mobilities, they took an urgent decision that would contribute towards the idea of stability and their life’s preservation. “The value of mobility is, thus, a question of what it affords in relation to people’s ability to lead fulfilling lives.” (Vigh & Bjarnesen, 2016. Pp: 11)

3.3 Emplacement as transformative

Vigh and Bjarnesen also mentions that beyond settling, the concept of emplacement is connected to the formation of stability and an ideal of future that can be different to which the individual had before: “Emplacement implies a conceptual move away from place as location toward place as a process of socio-affective attachment, as a point of valued or tenable being, as “a vast, intricate complexity of social processes and social interactions at all scales from the local to the global.” (Massey 1994 cited in Vigh & Bjarnesen, 2016. Pp. 13).

Moreover, the connection that the young people of Buenaventura have with their city can be seen from this perspective, in the cases of Julián, Angela and John they emplaced in other neighborhoods towards which they developed other attachments, and besides continuing with their lives, they found inspirational aspects about themselves that highlighted in their stories. For instance, Julián could continue playing football, Angela could continue enjoying her extended family and John could graduate and continue in processes of learning.

"The experience of being displaced can, as such, be caused by being forcefully moved physically, just as it may be caused by crisis, *déclassement*, or change in one’s position relative to others, entailing that less immediate forms of coercion may lead to involuntary (im)mobility, just as a trajectory that may have been initiated involuntarily may result in new opportunities of

empowerment in or liberation from suppressive social hierarchies.”(Vigh & Bjarnesen, 2016. Pp. 12)

Julián, Angela, and John were facing an immediate threat that forced them to take the decision of moving, they were threaten with dead by the armed groups, Julián even got a member of his family killed, the sense of stability and an idea of a future in those places was lost for them. Despite this, after having to live under these risky conditions, they found places in which they had guarantees to recover a life without fear and continue building a future related with their expectations and aims in the city.

3.2 Emplacement as the beginning of re-territorialization processes

Until now, the theories to which I have referred in this document have guided a path of understanding about the individual processes of displacement and emplacement, thus, the three experiences of Julián, Angela and John have allowed us to see what it meant to live under the category of displaced for a young person, who had a clear image of the environment in which they lived, and practices associated with it. But also, the theoretical currents have distinguished the relevance that they -as afro-communities from the pacific- give in their speeches to the new places they found, in which they learned other ways of living, the establishment of new links and feelings of belonging with the space they came to inhabit.

However, considering the *comunidades negras* emphasis on the ‘territory’ as notion of life that is an essential part on the formation of identities, the frame of displacement and emplacement might not get the whole picture, due to the lack of lack of scope to incorporate the collectivity, the intersection among territory and the new ways of living. Lombard, Hernández, and Salgado that displacement, as “spatially and temporally bound moments of dispossession”(Lombard et al., 2021. Pp.2) is not enough to understand the impact of the dispossession of the territory for the *Bonavorenses* and, that is why, they explained the de-territorialization concept as “processes occurring at different times and places which affect communities in multiple ways, and their everyday experience of these along diverse temporal and spatial dimensions.”(Lombard et al., 2021. Pp.2)

Therefore, my proposal would be to capture emplacement experiences as the ones that allows young people to settle, and to develop another attachment (symbolic and material) to further being able of begin a re-territorialization process. This process will let the young people incorporate the territory in a different way by the formation of a collective identity and, creating liberating responses against the oppression that it is being exercised in the territory. “Re-territorialization can be ‘a form of power’ for communities who have experienced the double displacement of rural–urban and intraurban forced moves. (López, 2019, p. 257 in Lombard et al., 2021 Pp. 6)

To have a better understanding of what re-territorialization processes means, it is necessary to keep in mind the differentiation between territory, territorialization and territoriality, in this regard, Escobar quotes Porto’s definition, “territory is a dense category that assumes a geographical space that is embraced, and that process of embracing (territorialization) creates the conditions for identities (territorialities) which are inscribed in processes, being therefore dynamic and changing, materializing at each moment a certain order, a certain territorial configuration, a social topology.” (Porto 2002, p. 230 in Escobar, 2014. Pp.91).

In the next chapter, I will continue exploring the re-territorialization processes, the agency that young people have had to conform a collective conception of a place and their responses surrounding the condition of Buenaventura as a city hardly hit by violence and institutional abandonment.

4. Chapter 4 From Re-territorialization processes to R-existence practices.

4.1 Re-territorialization by the youth

In Buenaventura, there has been many factors that has forced citizens to break their relationship with the territory. The historical violence of several armed actors that has been disputing the control of the territory is the most evident, but also, they have suffered the consequences of a vision of development that was imposed by the state years ago. “State narratives present an imaginary of a global city, linked to international economic circuits, with the prospect of wealth and a high quality of life.” (Lombard et al., 2021. Pp.7)

Therefore, this perception has prioritized those actors outside of the city, who do not understand their way of living, take decisions over the city, and privileged the economical port activities from above the life of the citizens. For instance, since 1990 the port association has been property of private actors and that has caused the social disengagement with communities and the increasing of precarious working conditions of labor for the citizens in the port.

“This interpretation implies thinking of the Colombian Pacific as a structuring territory structured by these orders, by dispute logics associated both with prophetic visions of development and with violence inserted more in dynamics of armed conflict. It means assuming that violence can lead development, be a strategy of imposition or a consolidation curtain for an armed actor and political clientele, or a generator of grammars of death and terror.” (Jaramillo Marín et al., 2019. Pp. 118)

Lombard, Hernández, and Salgado talk about the daily practices from individuals to rebuild their lost territorialization, and name the process re-territorialization, “we argue for this reconceptualization in order to refocus attention on territorial processes that affect urban communities in terms of power, social relations, identity and representation, with a temporal dimension that accounts for everyday experiences.” (Lombard et al., 2021) In this regard, the agency that the individuals have in the process of appropriation of the territory is revealed in the daily routines, hence, even when people in Buenaventura understands the panorama, they highlight their ways of living, the need of peace and opportunities for their city and the exclusion of the dynamics that being a port city has imposed on their lives.

The people of Buenaventura do not accept this imposition of development, they have clear responses about it and, as I mentioned in the identity chapter, the 1990 processes were key for their rejection to the violence in their territories in the name of the port. From there, their collective initiatives for protecting their territory have been growing, one of the most recent ones was in 2021 in which the citizens led by the young people staged massive public demonstrations against the government of Iván Duque Marquez government and his inaction on the escalation of violence in the city, hunger, unemployment, among other issues. Besides the public demonstrations, that moment was important because young people decided to block the port for almost a month. One of the leaders of the protest was Leonard, about it, he mentions:

“The last year when we went to the streets our claim was directed at the injustice against the workers of the port that were living in neighborhoods full of violence, among shootings but they were forced to go to work, people in San Francisco were literally sleeping under the bed due to the shootings every night, but the rest of the country was normal because the goods from the port were moving as if nothing was happening. When we closed ‘El Piñal’ - one of the main points for the port activities- immediately the media outlets were saying that with the protest the people of Buenaventura were shooting ourselves in the foot and sabotaging ourselves, they were saying that they had to get us out, no matter what. So how is it possible that they are highly concerned for one hour of closing the port but not because of all the deaths that we have accumulated and the people under their own beds listening and receiving the bullets. There is no empathy, they just care about the well-functioning of the port, nothing else.” (Leonard, 30)

Leonard’s response allowed us to see how the structural inequalities around Colombia has prioritize the economic activities above their life’s, he mentions the big impact that had closing the port, it immediately brought the attention of the most important media outlets, public officials called them and travelled to Buenaventura, because it was unthinkable the damaged that the closing was causing to the rest of the country.

Angela also talked about the closing, and she remembered how dangerous was for them to keep the blocking and the critics that they received, “the public force did whatever they wanted with us, they dragged us, just because they had the order of taking the merchandise inside of the port. In those moments, for the rest of the people we were the jobless and *vagos*

who did not have anything else to do, we were just causing problems.” (Angela, 26) Leonard and Angela highlighted how they were also pointed as young people causing clumsy, pointless actions the rest of the country had the look on them and classifying their actions as problematic without an understanding on the relevance of the port.

4.2 Figured worlds and R-existence practices

In his analysis about identities in the Pacific Arturo Escobar also explored the development of an identity into the social spectrum, for doing that, he developed the concept of ‘cultural worlds’ to explain that the building of an identity in the interaction with others also involves an entanglement of different aspects such as history, symbolism, language that reinforce individual and collective identities. He especially refers to the *‘figured worlds’*, “In some cases, such as that of activists, these cultural worlds can be thought as “figured worlds,” defined as locally situated, culturally constructed, and socially organized worlds that make visible people’s purposeful and reflective agency, that is, their capacity to remake the world in which they live.” (Escobar, 2008. Pp. 218)

In other words, he talks about the capacity of imagining together worlds and specifically the one they live in to reinforce an individual identity, part of the whole process is also the ‘history in person’ that directs to the capacity of history to shape identity and the use of resources of individuals to create meanings; ‘local contentious practice’, that refers to the participation of the individuals in practices that produce identity and ‘enduring struggles’ that are long processes that claims for structural changes. (Escobar, 2008. Pp. 219)

The young people have imagined Buenaventura in peace, in which they can freely exercise their traditions, the sharing and the extended family. “I remember a lot, when I was a kid and my mom were going to work, she told my godmothers that were also my neighbors, here I live the children. So, I knew that I could not do whatever I wanted because the neighbors were watching me and my siblings, they were feeding us while my mom was gone, and the other mothers used to do the same. There was a unity that departs from seeing ourselves as an extended family. I was always calling all the adults in my neighborhood ‘tia’ or ‘tio’, if it was elder ‘abuelo’ or ‘abuela’ without caring about if we were sharing the same blood or not, that was the least important, the important thing was that we had a big family.” (Leonard, 30)

This idea of family to which he refers to, has been progressively forgotten because of the logics of violence in the territory that had made the people fight with each other and living under a constant fear. In their collectivity they put efforts to prevent their customs from being forgotten, so they call among themselves ‘manito’ or ‘manita’ referring to brother or sister and the encounter of them in spaces as *verbenas* or *arillos* continues to be a moment of euphoria in which the risks do not matter, only the release of energy and the encounter with others.

Lombard, Hernández, and Salgado mention how communities had challenged politically every day the violent structures and calls them re-existence practices. “Through the creation of ‘new spatial relationships and subjectivities’, the exercise of organizing and self-managing territory, in urban as well as in rural settings, produces ‘new ways of being.’” (Claire et al, 2018 in Lombard et al., 2021. Pp. 6)

The figured worlds and re-existence practices are linked in this case by the formation of an identity that is not afraid of the confrontation with actors that have threaten their territory for decades, that do not regret of talking out loud about the historical damage caused by the state, and that is ready for contributing to the reconstruction of the social fabric. So that, they have been focused on the creation of innovative solutions that allows them to preserve life in the neighborhoods, to give other opportunities to children and young people like them to defend their territory and their ways of living.

This experiences of re-existence in Buenaventura have been historically known. For example, Jaramillo, Parrado and Loudior mention the formation of *cimarronazgo* -as communities instituted by the afro-descendants who were slaved that scaped from the mining enclaves- and the establishment of *palenques* -organized social formations formed by the afro-descendants who escaped from the mining enclaves to the jungle- in XVIII century, the numerous civic strikes for decent living conditions and more institutional care and the continuation of the fights in hands of the priest Gerardo Valencia Cano with the Afro-Colombian Social Pastoral, among others (Jaramillo Marín et al., 2019. Pp. 124).

This struggle continues to be remembered by the afro communities in the Colombian pacific, the fight that they ancestors enforced during the times of conquest and colonization. Young people talk about the liberalization from colonial structures and the need of the communities to empower in their territories.

4.3 Their Initiatives for r-existing

Previously, I mentioned that Julián shared with me since we met the first time, his passion towards football, however, he did not have the access neither the resources to follow a professional career as a footballer, so he just continued playing by his own. In his twenties he had two children meanwhile he was living in *La Playita*, and he started to teach them how to play, until it became a regular exercise in the public park of the neighborhood.

"While I was training with my son, children from the neighborhood approached, they didn't have shoes or anything, but they wanted to participate, so I let them practice with us. At some point, I realized that there were approximately 40 children who regularly came to meet us in the park. The exercise had a lot of strength, the children continuously were looking for me at my house, day, and night, calling me -teacher, teacher, teacher -they called me teacher and I felt so strange- where are we going to play again? They were saying. So, we borrowed a ball from someone else and then, I asked some friends for help to design the project. We started, and the madness began, people told me that I was crazy, that I was wasting my time with those children, that I should look for a job, people criticize me a lot for this project." (Julián, Buenaventura, 2022)

Julian's projects consist in a football training in his neighborhood, but beyond a practice he wanted to provide a safe space for the children, so they can avoid the logics of violence and build networks to overcome the structural abandonment from the family and the institutions. "Most of them are children who live neglected by their parents, 80% do not have accompaniment from them, or from any family member to guide them on the right path or to play sports. It has been a hard task, with the low resources that we have, because parents are not interested in the participation of children in these spaces, but we are the ones who have put ourselves in this task of accompanying them." (Julián, Buenaventura, 2022)

So far, he has been looking for support, because he is also working on having a basic alimentary plan, so the lack of basic needs around food problems can be tackled at least meanwhile the kids are in the football training, it is a project that is already moving but that needs financial resources to continue.

At the same time, the projects of Eleggua are focused solely on social issues in Buenaventura, they have divided their strategic plan into three lines: communications, action, and production. In each line they have different projects, some in the initial stages of design and other ones are in the process of implementation.

One of the projects is focused on free time occupation directed at children between six and 13 years old in four neighborhoods of the city; San Francisco, La Playita, Miramar and Vista Hermosa and the project consists of providing food, help with homework, leveling in different classes -such as math, science, and others- and developing artistic skills, they called the project *Externado* and they are currently implementing it.

Besides, another one of their big projects is *Narrativas*, focused on preventing young people from two zones of the city from dynamics of use, linking and recruitment from criminal bands through art workshops, audiovisual production, contributing to the consolidation of life projects, psychosocial support, and vocational guidance.

The organization Eleggua emerged from gathering creative initiatives from young people, from the friendship and the commitment with peacebuilding in Buenaventura, they have no expectations of making profit from the projects that they do, instead they are looking for the preservation of their culture, their customs, and the life in their territory. They want to create an opportunity to escape from the violence that has been structurally inserted in the city.

The projects of Leonard and Julián are just some of the initiatives that are being developed on the territory, they have focused on aspects such as the lack of opportunities for kids, the need of reinforcing their education and their talents, but there are others that have being recognized from other institutions and that tackles urgent social issues in Buenaventura. those help us here to see their engagement with providing solutions for struggles that have being present for many years in the territory.

Whereas these projects illustrated the formation of an identity, that has prioritized the territory as the land for living, for transmitting that way of seeing life and, to interact with others, in the case of Julián through football and in Leonard through the protection of the kid's life. This identity has been discovered through the dialogue with other young people

within the city and has been shaped also by a similar feeling of recovering what was lost, in different experiences of displacement and deterritorialization that they had.

The encounter with others has allowed them to imagine the Buenaventura in which they want to live, as a peaceful city, in which they can preserve and replicate their culture without being an afraid of the consequences of violence for them or for their families and in which they are connected to the nature. So that, they are challenging the structural orders that have marked their lives, they are r-existing against the speech of development, privileging their own, saving their own. The young people of Buenaventura have embodied Escobar's theory and transcends to creatively other ways to connect to the world and to demand what is theirs.

4.4 Their relationship with institutions and their work in the national peacebuilding process

When I went to the *verbena*, there was a group of members of the police and the army around the place, they were monitoring the behavior of those attending the celebration, but there was no interaction between the citizens and them at all, there were only talking among them. When I asked the young people, why there were so many of them in the celebration, the answer was a sign of resignation and they mentioned that the public force in Buenaventura do not work as in other territories, they have never intervened in the territorial disputes between criminal bands nor have they helped people under the threat they have suffered because of the violence around them, but they were always in the celebrations “to kick everyone out as soon as is finished.” (Daniela, Buenaventura, 2022)

Later, that feeling of distrust was more and more evident in the discourse of the citizens and in their actions as well, for instance, in terms of youth Brayan recognizes the difficulties that the institutional abandonment has, “one of the challenges that the young people in Buenaventura have is to overcome the institutional abandonment that has left us as victims, since a long time ago the law established spaces of youth participation but the district and the local institutions never took it seriously neither put it in practice. That has contributed that today we have no job opportunities, no recreation scenarios, the lack of many elements that, let's say, constitute today that the youth in Buenaventura they resist, but do not live”. (Brayan, 26)

He referred to the lack opportunities for the young people who participates in projects because they do not get money out of it for living which means they have to dedicate to other jobs to survive as well. However, they understand that to walk towards ‘the dream of Buenaventura’, they need to have a strong dialogue with officials and institutions that is why, there is a constant effort for finding synergies and improving the relations, especially now that they have been part of the national peace agreements signed in 2016.

5. Conclusions

“Development is radically inhospitable: it imposes a universal definition of the good life and excludes all others. We need to hospitably embrace the thousand different ways of thinking, being, living and experiencing the world that characterize reality.”(Esteva & Escobar, 2017)

Throughout this investigation I have done an effort to understand what it means to be young in the Colombian pacific, so far it has been important to highlight the different layers that composed that response. Firstly, there is an inheritance of strong processes of self-determination that make young people belong to Buenaventura, their territory matters for them, not only as a place but as their own life, crossed by their relations and their attachments. Furthermore, this attachment becomes a shield out of the city for the ones who are carrying it, marking the difference between them and the others.

On the other hand, living in a ‘violented geography’ has impacted into their relationship with Buenaventura, in their speeches they relate the vulnerability that implies to be young in the city, and that exposed partially a broken territoriality, that is aware of the difficulties of the territory. With the intention of looking a little closer on how the experiences of dispossession has to do also with the forming of an identity, I brough three cases (Julián, Angela and John) that helped me to illustrate how the young people of Buenaventura faced intra-urban and rural displacement at some point of their lives, and their emplacement in other neighbourhoods as a powerful first step to rebuild and create other meanings related with new sense of belonging.

Moreover, I pointed out to the particularities of the context and the need of observing the notion of territory in these processes, so that, I connected emplacement -as an individual frame- with the re-territorialization processes that are the initiatives of rebuilding, collectively the embracing of territory and the production of territorialities. In this regard, I used the concepts of ‘figurative worlds’ and ‘r-existence practices’ to illustrate the decisions that young people take of going beyond the conditions, organizing themselves for challenging power structures and as a way of having the opportunity to imagine a Buenaventura that lives in peace in which they recreate their knowledges and traditions.

To explain my limitations, I would say that it was difficult to find studies on young participation into decision-making scenarios in contexts such as the Buenaventura one, and

that made me use a theoretical frame from outside of Latin-American studies. However, even when the cultural dynamics in the city are different from the rest of the country, it is possible to observe the pattern of social relegation of young people to spaces far from essential political decisions for their life project, they get constant critics and even dead threats because of their advocacy work and that is for sure something that is worth it to be deeply analysed.

Besides, I must say that I did not delve into territorial processes, rather on re-territorialization ones, this because I focused only on the process that came after having lost a place of living but also a space of symbolic attachment to continue with a process of rebuilding. Hence, Lombard, Hernandez, and Salgado mentions that territorialization processes are not the same for everyone, depends on different reasons, generally talking, on relations of power with the individuals but with the territory as well. (Lombard et al., 2021)

In this research, I chose to work with young people who have dedicated themselves to advocate and work for social justice in Buenaventura, whereas there are other young people who have decided to join the armed groups and from their experience they have build another kind of relationship with the territory and other identities (territorialities), this would be a great issue of analysis considering the current political context.

This year, the people of Colombia elected their first leftist president, Gustavo Petro and their first afro-Colombian vice-president Francia Marquez, the young people of Buenaventura was happy, in my visit they were expectant about the things that this would bring to the city. On September sixth, Petro visited Buenaventura and installed a ‘Puesto de Mando Unificado por la vida’ or and Unified Command centre for Life in which the population and the officials will be working on alternatives to solving the historical lacks in the city, added to that, he mentioned the urgency of offering possibilities for the young people and invited the *Shottas* and *Espartanos* to be part of a peace dialogue to reach the total peace in the territory. (el País, 2022a)

One week later, the people from both criminal bands showed interest in Petro’s proposals and committed to stop the violation of human rights against the city. (el País, 2022) For the first time in decades, they stopped guarding the invisible borders and the people could walk freely through their neighbourhoods.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Eleggua's Office

Source: Fieldwork 2022.



Appendix 2 Buenaventura's port from the Malecon

Source: Fieldwork 2022.



Appendix 3
altar to the virgin during the verbena
Source: Fieldwork 2022.



References

- Appiah, K. (2018). Talking identity. In Liveright (Ed.), *The lies that bind: rethinking identity* (pp. 3–32).
- BBC News. (2019). *Paro nacional en Colombia: 4 motivos detrás de las multitudinarias protestas y cacerolazos en Colombia contra el gobierno de Iván Duque* - BBC News Mundo. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-50503455>
- Bravo, N. (2021, February 9). En Buenaventura los jóvenes se toman la vocería que antes tenía el Comité del Paro. *La Silla Vacía*. <https://www.lasillavacia.com/historias/silla-nacional/en-buenaventura-los-jovenes-se-toman-la-voceria-que-antes-tenia-el-comite-del-paro>
- Buenaventuracomovamos.org. (2020). *Informe especial sobre la pobreza multidimensional en Buenaventura 2020*.
- Cairo, A. (2021). *Holding Space: A storytelling approach to tramplng diversity and inclusion*.
- Castañeda, L. (2021, July 7). *Paro Nacional en Colombia: cuerpos en resistencia, ética del cuidado y cuestionamientos a la democracia*. <https://demoamlat.com/paro-nacional-en-colombia-cuerpos-en-resistencia-etica-del-cuidado-y-cuestionamientos-a-la-democracia/>
- Comisión de la Verdad. (2019, September 16). *Buenaventura, un territorio lleno de contrastes*. <https://comisiondelaverdad.co/actualidad/noticias/buenaventura-los-contrastes-del-puerto-pobreza>
- Colombia. Constitución Política de Colombia (1991). Artículo 7
- Crossa, V. (2012). Relational positionality: Conceptualizing research, power, and the everyday politics of neoliberalization in Mexico City. *ACME*, 11(1), 110–132.
- el Espectador. (2021, February 4). Crisis en Buenaventura: bandas criminales desplazan a cerca de 30 familias. *El Espectador*. <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia/cali/crisis-en-buenaventura-bandas-criminales-desplazan-a-cerca-de-30-familias-article/>
- el País. (2022, September 6). *Balance: Así fue la visita de Petro a Buenaventura*. <https://www.elpais.com.co/judicial/balance-asi-fue-la-visita-de-petro-a-buenaventura.html>
- el País. (2022, September 28). *Dos grupos delincuenciales de Buenaventura levantaron sus fronteras invisibles, según la Iglesia*. <https://www.elpais.com.co/judicial/dos-grupos-delincuenciales-de-buenaventura-levantaron-sus-fronteras-invisibles-segun-la-iglesia.html>
- el País.com.co. (2021, May 12). *Bloqueos tienen a Buenaventura al borde de la crisis*. <https://www.elpais.com.co/economia/bloqueos-tienen-a-buenaventura-al-borde-de-la-crisis.html>
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Escobar, A. (2004). Displacement, development, and modernity in the Colombian Pacific n. *International Social Science Journal*, 55, 157–167.
- Escobar, A. (2008). Identity. In Duke University Press (New ecologies for the twenty-first century) (Ed.), *Territories of difference: place, movements, life, redes* (pp. 200–253).
- Escobar, A. (2014). *Sentipensar con la tierra: nuevas lecturas sobre desarrollo, territorio y diferencia* (Universidad Autónoma Latinoamericana UNAULA, Ed.).

- Esteva, G., & Escobar, A. (2017). Post-Development @ 25: on 'being stuck' and moving forward, sideways, backward, and otherwise. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(12), 2559–2572. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1334545>
- García-Rincón, J. E. (2020). Educación y resistencia: la creación de un campo epistémico por la intelectualidad afrocolombiana. *Revista CS*, 17–45. <https://doi.org/10.18046/recs.i30.3843>
- Jaramillo Marín, J., Parrado Pardo, É., & Edson Loudor, W. (2019). Geografías violentadas y experiencias de reexistencia. El caso de Buenaventura, Colombia, 2005-2015. *Íconos - Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 64, 111–136. <https://doi.org/10.17141/iconos.64.2019.3707>
- Leyva, X. (2021). Walking and Doing About Decolonial Practices. *Collaborative Anthropologies*, 4, 119–138. <http://jkopkutik.org/>
- Lombard, M., Hernández-García, J., & Salgado-Ramírez, I. (2021). Beyond displacement: territorialization in the port city of Buenaventura, Colombia. *Territory, Politics, Governance*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2021.1908160>
- Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of/ the world system: The emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol*, 24, 95–117.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2009). Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26(8), 159–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276409349275>
- Mutua, M. (2001). *Savages, Victims, and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights*. 42(1).
- OCHA. (2022). *Desplazamientos forzados masivos y confinamiento de comunidades afrodescendientes e indígena en el municipio de Buenaventura (Valle del Cauca)*. https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/18022022_flash_update_no_1_desplazamientos_masivos_y_confinamiento_en_buenaventura_vf.pdf
- Patel, L. (2016). Research as relational. *Decolonizing Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability*, 48–70.
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215–233.
- Ramsay, G. (2020). Time and the other in crisis: How anthropology makes its displaced object. *Anthropological Theory*, 20(4), 385–413. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499619840464>
- Rodríguez Castro, L. (2021). Sentipensando and Unlearning. In *Decolonial Feminisms, Power and Place* (pp. 59–80). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-59440-4_3
- Salazar, M. (2016, September 16). The Problem with Latinidad. *The Nation*. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/hispanic-heritage-month-latinidad/>
- Schiller, N. G., & Faist, T. (2009). Introduction: Migration, development, and social transformation. *Social Analysis*, 53(3), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2009.530301>
- Skelton, T. (2010). Taking young people as political actors seriously: opening the borders of political geography. *Source: Area*, 42(2), 145–151. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j>
- UNFPA. (2021). *Análisis de la situación de la juventud en Colombia 2021*. https://colombia.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/infografia_juventud-version_11_agosto.pdf
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR. (2021). *Situación Colombia Afrodescendientes*.

https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/RefugiadosAmericas/Colombia/2013/SituacionColombia_Afrodescendientes_junio2012.pdf?view=1

Vanguardia. (2014, June 11). *Buenaventura, un puente para las redes de tráfico de migrantes*. <https://www.vanguardia.com/colombia/buenaventura-un-puente-para-las-redes-de-trafico-de-migrantes-BFvl264317>

Vigh, H., & Bjarnesen, J. (2016b). The Dialectics of Displacement and Emplacement. *Conflict and Society*, 2(1), 9–15. <https://doi.org/10.3167/arcs.2016.020104>