

Geographies of Power, Subjectivity and Belonging: Campesino Land Claims in Inzá,
Cauca, Colombia

by

Sarah-Jane Hamilton

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Abstract

This project investigates how collective rights to land are rooted in blood and soil, and with what repercussions. In 1991, Colombia adopted policies of multiculturalism to codify rights for collective political subjects. Struggling against acute dispossession, social movements are using multiculturalism's openings in a bid to claim land. I argue that multiculturalism in Colombia spatializes and ethnicizes rights possibilities, particularly rights to land. The state privileges land claims by ethnicized political identity groups able to demonstrate an autochthonous presence in specific, delimited territories. Drawing primarily on semi-structured interviews with leaders of the Campesino Association of Inzá, Tierradentro (ACIT), I explore how the state simultaneously forecloses land claims by much of the subaltern population, while re-legitimizing its authority through a seemingly progressive agenda of rights protection. I also consider how recognition based on autochthony risks naturalizing divisions between similarly marginalized groups, and complements the oppressions and exclusions fostered by neoliberal globalization.

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Chapter One

Introduction:

Geographies, Subjectivities and Rights Claims

It is a struggle that emerges there, a disagreement about land that has distanced us...our ideal also would be to be able to live in a territory where there is space for every man and every woman; where there is space for all campesinos (men and women), but also for indigenous people. In other words, how it has always worked here...[Before], we managed to live together in peace in this same territory. On the other hand, let's say that it is also a manoeuvre of the state's policies, the bureaucracy, and the interests the bureaucracy has. Therefore, the conflicts do not even exist: they make us fight between people who are in the same conditions and that make up the same social base.¹

–Leidy Trujillo, Leader with the Women's Committee of the Campesino

Association of Inzá, Tierradentro

Reforms accompanying neoliberal globalization have dramatically upset how marginalized groups and the state negotiate claims to resources and claims of belonging.

¹ Es una lucha que surge ahí, una división por la tierra que nos ha distanciado...nuestro ideal también sería poder habitar en un territorio donde haya espacio para todos y todas; donde haya espacio para los campesinos y las campesinas, pero también para los indígenas. O sea, como siempre ha funcionado acá...[Antes] podíamos convivir en paz en este mismo territorio. Ahora digamos que es también un juego de las mismas políticas del estado, la burocracia, de los intereses que la burocracia tiene. Entonces, los conflictos ni siquiera son: nos ponen a pelear entre personas que estamos en las mismas condiciones y que hacemos parte de la misma base social.

With the adoption of the 1991 Colombian Constitution came a new slate of human rights couched in the rhetoric of multiculturalism. These new rights dramatically changed the environment in which civil society organizations and social movements are able to make claims of the state. Contemporary social movements in Colombia that are struggling against acute experiences of dispossession have adopted discourses of multiculturalism in a bid to claim land resources. Land is currently held by the few at the expense of the many. If substantially redistributed, resources would not appear nearly as limited as the state would like marginalized groups to believe. The Constitution has meant a substantial increase in the tools upon which recognized political groups can draw in their articulation of demands. However, it is imperative to consider for whom the tools of multiculturalism are available, and on what grounds. Further, such openings also raise a number of questions regarding the implications of how civil society uses multiculturalism.

For example, what are the risks for social movements that mobilize within the openings availed by multiculturalism? As one of the few routes through which to launch demands of the state, specifically claims to land, how is multiculturalism becoming a means through which the state facilitates the governance of a group's identity and relationships to land? And how does the state's alignment of protection regimes with specific constructions of ethnicized political identities impact the potential success of such claims?² For those marginalized communities who have restricted possibilities for

² Ethnicization is a process through which shared economic and/or political grievances shape political claims that refer to a collective identity (Eder, Giesen, Schmidtke & Tambini, 2002, p. 17). It involves the transformation of identities, and the development, "emergence and deployment of novel political subjects and subjectivities" (Restrepo, 2004, p. 710; Restrepo, 2011, p. 40). Through the process of ethnicization, populations constitute themselves, and are constituted as 'ethnic groups' (Restrepo, 2011, p. 40). Thus, processes of ethnicization entail ongoing acts of negotiation. They can emerge as interacting bottom-up

articulating land claims within the openings of multiculturalism, how does this exclusion impact their lives? Following from this, how then does the recognition on offer affect the interactions of civil society movements with the state, with other social actors, and within their own membership vis-à-vis their relationships with territory? And how are these processes aligned with, governed by, and supportive of neoliberal globalization? As indicated by these questions, at stake are assumptions about belonging, relationships to space, and the governance of political identities. Dependent on how groups negotiate these issues are the possibilities for launching rights claims of the state from various marginalized subject positions, and the always contested (re)entrenchment of exclusionary relations of power.

This project aims to take up these questions. It opens possibilities to discuss relationships between geographies of power, the complexities of identity, and the possibilities of articulating oneself as a rights-bearing subject in the current context of neoliberal globalization. I view globalization as "the historical, economic, social, and cultural processes through which individuals, groups, and institutions are increasingly interconnected on a worldwide scale" (Bickham Mendez & Wolf, 2007, p. 652). Neoliberal globalization is the current organization and arrangement of capital, characterized by the implementation of a neoliberal agenda (Glick Schiller, 1999, p. 108, 114). As a global process, it influences how states are structured, the relationships

struggles and top-down responses/closures (see Guyot, 2011). In Latin America, scholars often view ethnicization as a process of "ethnic recovery" in which political identity groups (re)articulate previously ignored or suppressed ethnic identities (Reina, 2007, p. 114).

between governments and populations, and how states manage different segments of the population distinctly (Glick Schiller, 1999, p. 114; Ong, 2006).

This study draws primarily on critical political economy, human geography, and transnational Latin American studies. My explorations are focused on how territories associated with a political identity group are governed by internationally circulating ideas about ethnicization, autochthony, and belonging. I seek to inspect how the potential for collective rights, autonomy and authority are quite literally rooted in blood and soil, and with what repercussions. These inquiries are broadly informed by concerns regarding the confines of novel rights openings. I argue that multiculturalism, as it exists in Colombia privileges the land claims of autochthonous groups who assert primordial belonging within a traditional, delimited territory. Through the spatialization and ethnicization of rights, multiculturalism (re)produces the cultural and physical rootedness of political identities in specific, ancestral territories. In doing so, it reinforces naturalized divisions between and around similarly marginalized subaltern political identity groups.

Consequently, I warn that seemingly progressive attempts to recognize diversity risk weakening alliances and solidarities amongst civil society organizations. My argument aims to demonstrate how recognition of spatially-rooted diversity is complementary to the oppressions and exclusions fostered by neoliberal globalization.

The 1991 Colombian Constitution

The support of the population for the re-drafting of the Colombian Constitution arose out of widespread frustration regarding the 1886's constitutional entrenchment of structural inequalities. Many complained that it favored the elite (particularly the Conservative Party), restricted access to government for groups outside of official

political parties, and created institutional blockages between the executive branch of government and the Supreme Court (Jackson, 2002, p. 112; Van Cott, 2000, p. 53-54). Moreover, violence in the country had reached critical levels causing the ruling elite to lose political and moral legitimacy as the inadequacies of the state became apparent (Jackson, 2002, p. 112). Battles escalated between insurgent groups on one side, and large landholders – protected by private "self-defense forces" and public security forces – on the other. Also, drug cartels waged a war on the state (injuring and killing many civilians who "got in the way") in a struggle for power (Van Cott, 2000, p. 48). Together, these fundamental crises of representation, participation, and legitimacy (Van Cott, 2002, p. 10) encouraged political actors and civil society groups alike to urgently re-think the political and social construction of Colombia.

The Colombia student movement deserves great credit for catalyzing the re-drafting of the Constitution. Following the assassination of the presidential candidate Senator Luis Carlos Galán in 1989 (one of three presidential candidates assassinated in the year leading up to the election), the student movement mobilized, demanding a constituent assembly (Van Cott, 2000, p. 53). A professor from Rosario University inspired the students' strategizing, convincing them that a constituent assembly was the most hopeful route to address the disconnect between the Colombian state and society through democratic reform (Torres Forero, 2007, p. 117; Van Cott, 2000, p. 53-55). Students urged the public at large to express their support for the convocation of a constituent assembly when they voted in local, regional and congressional elections in March 1990 (Van Cott 2000, p. 54-55). Approximately two million Colombians included an un-official ballot doing just that (Van Cott 2000, p. 54-55). The purpose of the ballot

was to create a "supra-constitutional' political fact", which would justify the argument of pro-constituent assembly forces that the Colombian population was convoking the assembly under their "primary constituent powers" (Van Cott, 2000,p. 55). The population's use of one of the key mechanisms of liberal democracies – that is to say, the popular vote – in a quasi-legal way (the legal framework did not allow for expressions of direct democracy) pacifically defied the 1886 Constitution.

Following the categorical expression in favour of constitutional reform by those who voted, then-President Barco issued a decree in order to include an official plebiscite in the May 1990 presidential elections. It would officially establish the public's willingness to convene a constituent assembly (La Semana, 2010, para. 2; Van Cott, 2000, p. 55-56). Thirty-nine percent of registered voters participated, and 86.6 percent supported the convocation of a constituent assembly (Van Cott, 2000, p. 56).

When the Constituent Assembly finally began its discussions, it paid unexpected attention to the need to codify minority rights for ethnicized political identity groups. Further, minority rights became a symbolic marker of progress. Indigenous groups in particular had unexpected success in advancing their demands.³ Scholars attribute this success to the effective deployment of human rights discourses by indigenous delegates, amidst substantial international support for indigenous peoples' claims (Sieder, 2002, p. 1). Moreover, a strong transnational network of supporters and allies helped raise the profile of indigenous demands for collective rights protection (Sieder, 2002, p. 3).

³ I intentionally do not capitalize the term "indigenous" in order to emphasize indigeneity as a fluid and heterogeneous process that is always changing, and always under negotiation (see de la Cadena & Starn, 2007). This is in contrast to the relatively fixed, homogeneous, and pre-modern political identity recognized in international law/transnational discourses around Indigenous rights.

According to Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa (1995 as cited in Van Cott, 2000, p. 72), the two indigenous delegates that participated in the negotiations became symbols within the national consciousness. He argues, "they represented tolerance and pluralism, a rediscovered national identity, historic reconciliation, justice, and the feeling that the past grievances should be redressed" (p. 105, as cited in Van Cott, 2000, p. 72, Van Cott's translation). The inclusion of indigenous negotiators was a notable about-face by President César Gaviria's administration away from its previous assimilationist policies (Jackson, 2002, p. 113). On the contrary, the government moved toward a reconceptualization of the nation-state as "pluriethnic," multicultural, and respectful (and protective) of diversity. By guaranteeing rights for an extremely marginalized population, the administration demonstrated internally – as well as to the international community – its commitment to political participation for all citizens. It also showed its belief in human rights as a solution to the decades-old conflict (Van Cott, 2000, p. 74). The rebuilding of state-indigenous relations "became an emblem of the overall goal of reconstituting relations between the state and the society as a whole" (Jackson, 2002, p. 113). The pillars of this reconstruction were reflected in the Constitution's aims to create a political system that was more open and legitimate through the de-centralization of power away from elites, and the imposition on the state of the duty to promote social justice and equality (Jackson, 2002, p. 112, Uprimney & García-Villegas, 2007). The final draft was decidedly "forward-looking" in suggesting and projecting a model for the society that was to be built (Teitel, 1997, p.214, as cited in Uprimney & García-Villegas, 2007, p. 72).

The territorial re-organization that the Constitution proposed and outlined was a key achievement for indigenous groups. It also had considerable implications for aspirations of many Colombian civil society organizations. By transferring some authority to indigenous peoples within indigenous territories, the Constitution suggested a path to relative autonomy for recognizable ethnicized political identity groups. In the next section, I describe these reforms and their implications, but before doing so, I define and describe territory as an analytical concept.

Land, Territory and Resistance

According to Walter Nicholls, Byron Miller, and Justin Beaumont (2013), territory represents a claim to a geographically coherent area over which the claimant(s) assert authority over both the populations and resources that are located within the area (p. 6). As a political technology, Teo Ballvé (2012) clarifies that territory acts as "both a medium and the 'result' of power-laden efforts to exercise strategic, social, and political-economic control over a circumscribed geographic space, including the subjects and things that constitute it" (p. 605). Implicit in both definitions are Nicholls et al.'s (2013) affirmations that possibilities to include or exclude actors are central to assertions of authority over territory (p. 6). Territory is often associated with the modern state and its sovereignty (Nicholls et al., 2013, p. 6). However, such a state-centric view neglects the overlapping of territories within states, and misses how territories are socially produced by flows and interactions between multiple scales, and multiple actors. Following Lefebvre (1991, p.88), Ballvé (2012) explains that territory consists of "The interpenetration and superimposition of social spaces ... [meaning] that each fragment of

space subjected to analysis masks not just one social relationship but a host of them..." (p. 605).

Questions of territorial control are often of extreme concern for social movements because of the extremely unequal distribution of land. Concentration of land ownership in Colombia is among the highest in the world, second only to Paraguay in Latin America (Oxfam, 2013, p. 3). Eighty percent of land is in the hands of 14 percent of landowners (Ibanez & Muñoz, 2011 as cited in Oxfam, 2013, p. 7), and this tendency toward inequality is increasing. According to the Atlas of Rural Property Distribution in Colombia, the Gini index worsened from 0.841 in 1960 to 0.885 in 2009 (as cited in Oxfam, 2013, p. 7).⁴ The inequality of land distribution and the limited access to productive resources – land being perhaps the most important – is a dominant reason that over fifty percent of the rural population is impoverished (National Statistics Department, 2013 as cited in Oxfam, 2013, p. 7). Further, tensions over land distribution are both a cause and a consequence of the five-decade-long internal armed conflict that has left 220,000 dead (80 percent civilians) and over 5.7 million forcibly displaced (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2012 p. 28; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2014, p. 41). This massive process of displacement has further exacerbated the historical concentration of land in the hands of large landholders, large business, drug traffickers and paramilitary forces (Oxfam, 2013, p. 7; Rincón García, 2009, p.75).

For social movements and states alike, the ability to control resources within a territory, and regulate resource flows across borders, is a central site of struggle (Nicholls

⁴ The Gini coefficient measures the income distribution of a country's residents. A value of zero indicates perfect equality, and a value of one perfect inequality.

et al., 2013, p. 7). Therefore, legal protection of indigenous territories (called *resguardos*) marked a substantial change in the organization of the national territory. Resguardos are inalienable, collectively owned indigenous territories that are governed by autonomous councils known as *cabildos*. These councils receive financial transfers from the state to facilitate the mobilization of autonomous development projects, and to provide services, such as bi-cultural/bi-lingual education and healthcare based on indigenous healing traditions. As an impetus for the transfer of land and resources, the protection of resguardos appears to have the potential to disrupt some entrenched inequalities for at least a small segment of the population.

In the past, *campesino* attempts to address unequal distribution of resources involved claims for land, while recently demands have shifted decidedly towards claims for specific territories.⁵ For instance, principally in the 1970's, one arm of the National Association of Campesino Users (*Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos – ANUC*; a list of all acronyms can be found in Appendix A), occupied portions of the massive estates of the elite in order to forcefully assert land claims (Zamosc, 1986). This was a grassroots effort at agrarian reform by the ANUC in pursuit of their demands for property rights for those that work the land (Plataforma Ideologica de la ANUC, 1971; Zamosc, 1986). As the largest and most influential campesino organization of that moment, the ANUC's struggles resonated throughout Colombia, and shaped the discourses of other campesino organizations (Zamosc, 1986). The ANUC's demands focused on the pursuit of land generally. More recent claims for territory seek authority

⁵ Campesinos are small-scale farmers and/or peasants who most often reside in rural areas. I provide a more detailed definition of the term "campesino" in chapter three, beginning on page 73.

and autonomy over specific, delimited spaces with which groups feel a cultural connection. The majority of campesino social movements articulate their demands for territory in their communications during public mobilizations, on their websites, in open letters to the government and the public, and on campesino-friendly (and/or operated) media.

Although Henry Caballero Fula is leader with the Indigenous Regional Council of Cauca (*Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca – CRIC*), he effectively articulates the importance of territory for all subaltern groups. He asserts that territory is the space within which subaltern groups belong, and within which they are able to live, and "to be in the world" (2011, p. 1). Caballero Fula outlines territory as a (threatened) space where subaltern difference has a chance to persist, and within which marginalized populations struggle for the right to stay put (2011; see also Zibechi, 2012, especially p. 14-15). Despite the hope that many social movement leaders have for the possibilities that can be cultivated within territory, in this study I question the limitations of pursuing such possibilities through the openings availed by multiculturalism.

Re-Conceptualization and Re-Formulation

When initially imagining this project, my intention had been to consider how the 1991 Colombian Constitution's codification of differential rights through an ethnicized indigenous citizenship fails to disrupt exclusionary, state-driven membership practices. I was interested in determining how assertions of indigeneity reveal the contradictions and complications inherent to the recognition of an ethnic citizenry that is rooted and experienced in relation to a particular, delimited territory. My aim was to analyze how

articulations of "indigeneity" work as a strategy to garner particular rights from the state, in response to various patterns of accumulation by dispossession.

However, my research project eventually shifted away from a direct engagement with indigeneity to an emphasis on land claims asserted by campesinos. This shift was, in part, the result of the difficulties I had in identifying opportunities for fieldwork with indigenous groups. Thus, I decided to reconsider the specifics of the project as I had tentatively designed it, without straying substantially from the original debates and questions. However, these set backs in the initial stages of research ultimately led me to undertake a project that was much more complex, nuanced, and original. My focus on campesinos situates this study on the margins of current debates, and thus pushes and tests more established arguments and assumptions. Therefore, my research makes possible a complication of the debates over the relationships between identity-based rights claims, territory and governance (both by the state and international human rights frameworks and law).

Through friends and contacts, I had little trouble organizing my fieldwork with a grassroots campesino community organization called the *Asociación Campesina de Inzá, Tierradentro* (the Campesino Association of Inzá, Tierradentro - ACIT). The ACIT's work focuses on improving the quality of life for campesinos in the municipality of Inzá. The association attempts to do so by supporting and organizing productive projects, and advancing the community's claims to territory.

By shifting my focus to campesinos, I re-directed the investigation toward the limited possibilities to advance claims as a rights-bearing subject for a group largely excluded from multicultural reforms. This allowed me to investigate how those at the

margins of multiculturalism are responding to the changing environment of rights possibilities and protection. More specifically, the shift in the trajectory of my research facilitated a consideration of how campesinos are navigating experiences of exclusion in their efforts at resistance, articulations of political identity, and claims of the state. In what follows, I pay particular attention to the often over-looked impacts of differential rights protection on the fabric of civil society and the relationships and solidarities between similarly marginalized (yet differently recognized) groups. On a more general level, I explore how hierarchies of belonging in territory mask the (re)entrenchment of the oppressive relations of power that circulate through neoliberal globalization. In short, this study provides an in-depth investigation into the consequences of seemingly progressive rights reforms.

The ACIT: Struggles for Recognition within Neoliberal Globalization

The ACIT is a not-for-profit, grassroots organization that is grounded in principles of popular power and democracy (Figure 1 displays the organization's logo). It aims to improve the quality of life of its 3,500 member families who live in the municipality of Inzá, most of them living well below the poverty line. Composed principally of campesinos, the ACIT represents a multi-scalar resistance effort against neoliberal globalization, exploitation and accumulation by dispossession. At present, the organization is broadly focused on generating autonomous productive projects, and securing territorial rights for campesinos in Inzá.



Figure 1. The ACIT in Bogotá (ACIT, 2011)

Inzá is a municipality within which the many complications of specialized, rooted rights claims are playing out (see Figure 2 to view a map locating the municipality within the department of Cauca, and within Colombia). Drawing on an analysis of the ACIT's organizing allows me to address the complexities of efforts at resistance against neoliberal globalization within the context of multiculturalism. Through a close reading of the organizing and strategizing of the ACIT, I aim to reveal many of the challenges of claiming rights for those whose political identities are excluded from the Constitution. I also seek to demonstrate how social movements are negotiating the governance of identities brought about through rights possibilities.



Figure 2. Location of the Municipality of Inzá (Alcaldía de Inzá - Cauca, 2013)

This localized study is an important opportunity to analyze the broader implications of the ethnicization and spatialization of rights possibilities. This thesis focuses on an analysis of the arguments forwarded by the ACIT in pursuit of recognition. This focus permits an examination of how the organization is adopting and adapting circulating discourses of multiculturalism and autochthony in its rights claims. I centre the moments in which these arguments make visible the governance of identities, as well as the resistance against this governance. By highlighting the cracks within which to generate struggles, this study moves to consider how constructed divisions between subaltern groups might be subversively reclaimed, and oppressive geographies of power overturned.

I develop this thesis' argument through an analysis of the impacts of neoliberal globalization in a very particular location. However, engaging with experiences of oppression and efforts of resistance in Inzá acts as an entry into a broader interrogation of expressions of transnational forces of inequality. By looking at questions of belonging through the lens of multiculturalism, and the weight of ethnicization, I am able to make

connections to broader structures of oppression resultant from globalization. Thus, this study contributes to an understanding of the workings of a global system of oppression.

Methodology

This thesis seeks to reveal the tangled relations of power that impact marginalized groups' possibilities for struggle within the workings of colonialism and imperialism, as shaped by neoliberal globalization. I take the work of the ACIT in Inzá as an entry point to such explorations. I also aim to carefully analyze strategies of resistance that are currently in motion, and suggest how additional cracks or openings might become sites for future struggles. The methodology that informs this interdisciplinary effort is transnational feminism (TNF). It is a political and epistemological orientation to the world that weaves and extends upon theories of material, discursive and representational power. Moreover, as a way of knowing and resisting in space, it facilitates the bridging of theories of power in critical research projects that are committed to social justice (as I see this particular effort to be). To begin, I provide a brief description of the transnational, then, explain how feminists use it as a scale of analysis. Next, I explain how I used TNF as a guiding methodology in the project. While I do not focus specifically on gender, I draw on insights that TNF makes possible. Specifically, I explain how contemporary feminism's focus on intersectionality allows me to draw and extend upon this methodology to unpack how varying axes of social difference act as nodes of exclusion. Finally, I discuss in greater detail how the methodology's insights regarding hierarchies and struggles against exclusion were particularly useful in this project.

Feminist scholars in particular have drawn on the idea of the transnational in their analyses of globalization. Jane Conway (2008) describes the transnational as

encompassing relations (such as those of communication, coordination, knowledge, and collaboration) that stretch across space and difference (p. 224). She emphasizes that the transnational is a relatively fluid geographical scale that moves within and across the borders of nation-states (p. 224). Similarly, Nina Glick Schiller (1999) describes the transnational as composed of "political, economic, social, and cultural processes that extend beyond the borders of a particular state..." (p. 96). Specifically, for Glick Schiller, the processes that compose the transnational include "...actors that are not states, but are shaped by the politics and institutional practices of states" (p. 96). Additionally, M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2010) argue that the transnational is a way to differentiate between the global as a supposedly universal system, and cross-national interconnections (p. 25; see also Conway, 2008, p. 209-210). This is to say, in addition to disrupting the limitations of claims to the global, drawing on transnationalism as a scale of analysis also disrupts the centrality of the national scale in intellectual and activist analyses (see chapter four for more information regarding methodological nationalisms).

Further, the transnational is a useful lens through which to analyze relations of power within neoliberal globalization. Alexander and Mohanty (2010) explain that the transnational is closely tied to neoliberal globalization and the many exchanges of power that it makes possible (p.25). Thus, in the case of marginalized populations, reading their experiences as transnational takes into account the geographical locations of populations, and the exclusion and asymmetries resulting from globalization (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, p. xix). This is why Alexander and Mohanty underscore the potential of the transnational as "a spatialized analytic frame that can account for varying scales of

representation, ideology, economics, and politics, while maintaining a commitment to difference..." (p. 25).

In this thesis, I do not specifically address the gender-based aspects of globalization, which are the most common areas of investigation for those who utilize this methodology. However, TNF as a methodology, and more importantly, as a collection of epistemologies, need not exclusively focus on gender. On the contrary, it is a method of thinking, and a mode of knowledge production that is explicitly concerned with addressing exclusion based on difference. Therefore, I draw on certain insights and analytical openings of TNF as an epistemological framework, rather than adopting the methodology as a whole. This is possible in large part because contemporary feminist thought, with its focus on intersectionality, is concerned with how social difference (including but not limited to gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on) is a key node through which exploitation operates.

Intersectionality is the notion that multiple, interlocking and mutually reinforcing dimensions constitute one's subjectivity (Nash, 2008, p. 2). It underlines the numerous dimensions of the lived experiences of marginalized subjects, and is an important and influential approach to encounters with oppression and expressions of identity (Nash, 2008, p. 2). As a theory, it focuses on silenced and marginalized voices (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1299). Scholars have primarily used intersectionality to theorize the overlapping experiences of race and gender (see Nash, 2008). Nonetheless, the insights that the theory proposes regarding "technologies of categorization and control" and the diverse, multivalent workings of discipline across dimensions of social difference are especially useful for this study (Nash, 2008, p. 13). Because of these insights, intersectionality has

pushed feminist thought beyond closed, essentializing categories of study, and in the words of Judith Butler (1994), their respective "proper objects."

Moreover, Jennifer C. Nash (2008) suggests that intersectionality has the potential to clarify the complexity of identity, the messiness of subjectivity, and the tangles between personhood and relations of power (p. 13). These helpful insights require activists and scholars to read dimensions of identity within "certain historical, social, cultural, representational, legal, and technological moments" (p. 13). All of these factors are "co-constitutive processes and...distinctive and historically specific technologies of categorization..." (p. 13). This thesis takes up these insights and suggestions to carefully investigate how, within the context of neoliberal globalization, subjects experience their complex subjectivity and deploy their political identities strategically (see Nash, 2008, p. 11).

The centrality of intersectionality and its treatment of difference within transnational feminism tend to focus on embodiment and subjectivity. I extrapolate on such theories in my own work to think carefully about subjectivity in relation to identity, and more specifically, in relation to state-mediated identities. Through this extrapolation, I shift the scale of transnational feminism. Turning away from the conventional focus on the body, I focus my attention to the body in space, and how it circulates within state-mediated spaces of belonging.

Reading power and struggle through transnational feminism. As I developed the qualitative framework of this study and the subsequent analysis, I began to think about TNF as a collection of epistemologies. This proved to be an especially useful entry point through which to consider movements and expressions of power. In particular, it

helped me explore two central workings of power. The first is the construction of hierarchies and boundaries between and around political identity groups as technologies of exploitation and exclusion. This construction is aided by experiences of globalization. The second is the acts of resistance and struggle against these hegemonic structures of exclusion.

The analysis this thesis develops begins from the insights TNF advances regarding how boundaries emerge from hierarchies. As a method of thinking, TNF provides substantial insight regarding how social differences act as sites of exploitation, nodes of exclusion, and seeds for the construction of hierarchies and divisions. Transnational feminism's insights regarding exclusion based primarily on gender translate well to the investigation of other dimensions and experiences of exclusion – such as political identity and relationships to state-mediated space. The transnational as a scale of analysis, in combination with feminist epistemologies, and sensitivity to material relations of power, creates a lens through which to analyze the omissions and asymmetries resulting from globalization. For Sharlene Hesse-Biber and Abigail Brooks (2012), a transnational feminist perspective crisscrosses boundaries of nationality and geography (p. 516). The methodology stresses the need for analyses that acknowledge how subjects experience different degrees of disadvantage within systems of oppression (p. 516).

The thorough, boundary-crossing attention to various experiences of oppression is, for Alexander and Mohanty (2010), the strength of the methodology. It makes possible analytical openings through which one might examine "some of the most egregious effects of the political economic impact of globalization..." (p. 23). Also, it facilitates a

consideration of the workings of capitalist recolonization through which the state advances racialized and gendered relations of rule (p. 23). Therefore, this study draws on TNF in order to examine the common experiences of the "intertwined structural consequences of globalizing capitalist production" (Katz, 2001 as cited in Kim, 2007, p. 117). I investigate a specific experience of marginalization that has emerged from a particular history of exploitation based on difference. This is to say, drawing on the mobility of the methodology across scales, places, and social relations, I attempt to unpack how globalization processes play out on "particular grounds" (Katz, 2001 as cited in Kim, 2007, p. 115, 117). However, I consistently re-connect to the common experiences of marginalized groups based on the workings of capital (see Alexander & Mohanty, 1997).

This brings me to the second manner in which TNF guided this study. Just as the methodology illuminates hegemonic hierarchies of ruling, it also focuses on the struggles against these same hierarchies. According to Jennifer Bickham Mendez and Diane L. Wolf (2007), TNF attempts to re-connect local manifestations of globalization and global structures of oppression (p. 656). In doing so, it allows activists and scholars to create alternatives for resistance that oppose the neoliberal paradigm (p. 656). As these authors explain, "Spaces that permit and foster solidarity and exchange in which groups and individuals link local issues, grievances, and even identities to an understanding of global processes become fertile ground for the creation of counter-hegemonies" (p. 656). Following Eisenstein (1997), they argue that the process through which people produce these connections has subversive potential to connect scales of oppression and struggle (p. 656).

Specific to this thesis, TNF is an effective means to assess how experiences of domination are met with struggle in the formation of resistive social and political identities (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, p. xviii). It thus becomes a methodology through which to understand, and transform the hegemonies of power that regulate articulations of identity. As Alexander and Mohanty (1997) insist, TNF asks, "What kinds of transformative practices are needed in order to develop nonhegemonic selves?" (1997, p. xviii).

In considering the root of experiences of domination, Alexander and Mohanty (1997) emphasize the troubling role of capital. They urge the need for anti-capitalist struggles to guide (and perhaps precede) other claims for equality (see Brown [1993] for a warning regarding the problematic move of identity politics' away from anti-capitalist critiques of oppression). Therefore, in agreement with critical political economy, the contemporary workings of capitalism become the foundation of a common political struggle, which is able to respond to shared experiences of oppression. Yet, TNF also provides imperative guidance regarding how capitalism is lived by differently marginalized groups, in different spaces. Consequently, one is able to attend to the exclusions that capitalism fosters in a way that considers how experiences of structures of power and responding acts of resistance are (and must be) "multisited, ever shifting, and 'situated and contextualized within particular intersubjective relations'" (Bloom, 1998, p. 35 as cited in Hesse-Biber & Brooks, 2012, p. 516). Specifically – and of great importance to this study – it offers a manner of thinking through which groups in diverse situations are able to imagine themselves outside repressive state structures (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, p. xli). As an extension, TNF opens up possibilities for myriad new

alliances amongst groups in pursuit of anti-capitalist goals. Thus, struggles informed by TNF guide activists and scholars in the disruption of naturalized hierarchies and constructed boundaries.

Further, TNF situates activism in 'place-specific' contexts. It thus highlights the strategies of subjects to critique and transform hegemonic articulations of power relations in their daily lives through "discursive geographies" of resistance (Nasgar, 2000, p. 360 as cited in Kim, 2007, p. 116), "and to 'work out a situated, but at the same time scale-jumping and geography-crossing, political response to it'" (Katz, 2001, p. 1216; as cited in Kim, 2007, p. 117). Drawing on such insights allows me to position the struggles and rights claims of the ACIT as part of a transnational response to neoliberal globalization. My analysis is trained on everyday realities within a dynamic, fluid, transnational and interconnected place – a transnational place that troubles traditional geographical and disciplinary boundaries.

My use of TNF to analyze structures of power, and efforts of resistance, is complemented by the methods I employ. In chapter three I discuss in detail why I chose semi-structured interviews as my primary method, in addition to participant observation, and interpretive textual analysis as supporting methods. For the moment, I wish only to emphasize that these methods – particularly semi-structured interviews – act as effective and complementary tools to interrogate and disrupt the transnational circulations of power with which TNF is concerned.

Outline and structure of the project. In order to closely examine and analyze the work of the ACIT in relation to the limitations and opportunities that the organization

is navigating, this thesis is organized in four interconnected and mutually informing chapters.

Following on this introduction, chapter two offers a close analysis of the implications of the 1991 Colombian Constitution's adoption of policies of multiculturalism. I draw on debates regarding how multiculturalism and recognition impact subaltern populations as technologies of neoliberal globalization. Connected to broader themes of belonging, this chapter aims to contribute to conversations about the impacts of neoliberal globalization on the complexities of identity. The chapter primarily develops a discussion regarding how discourses of autochthony ethnicize and spatialize rights and rights claims, and with what effects. Chapter two sets the historical backdrop against which to contextualize the struggles of the ACIT.

The third chapter develops two central points. The first is a discussion of the methods that I use in this study. The second is an illustration of how a close study of the ACIT – an organization on the margins of recognition – is an apt opportunity to unpack how neoliberal multiculturalism governs relationships between land and identity. In order to explore these assertions, I outline the work of the ACIT, and illuminate its relationship to the broader campesino movement in Colombia.

In chapter four, I work through an analysis of how campesinos are navigating the limited spaces for political engagement within multiculturalism. I explore how the ACIT is attempting to launch rights claims that are hear-able to the state through various strategies and tactics. At the root of these efforts is a bid to (re)produce campesinos as an "ethnicized" and recognizable subjectivity. Troublingly, I suggest how such strategies risk (re)affirming the state's capacity to discipline and divide political identity groups.

However, I also highlight the moments and opportunities of potential within the ACIT's negotiations of neoliberal multiculturalism.

Finally, in chapter five, I explore how already-mobilized acts of resistance by the ACIT outline possibilities from which to challenge oppressive structures of power that are supported by multiculturalism. I focus specifically on how the ACIT's productive projects open alternative economic spaces dedicated to popular power. I suggest that these projects and spaces have potential to generate inclusive, grassroots, and collaborative resistance efforts and to turn into sites of becoming. Out of these spaces, shared experiences of marginalization may emerge as a means a means to dismantle geographical, ideological boundaries. Such alternative ways of being and thinking, nurtured in place, are sites within which to maintain a space of difference and resistance against the hegemony of neoliberal globalization.

Chapter Two

Ethnicization and Spatialization of Rights:

The Impacts of Neoliberal Multiculturalism on Marginalized Groups

...[W]hen a certain sector has – let's say, in quotations – 'privileges' due to its ethnic character...this is the source of many difficulties. And...during the last few years some conflicts and tensions have worsened.⁶

– Gerardo Peña, leader with the ACIT

Having established the primary argument and outline of this thesis in the introduction, this chapter analyzes the implications of the 1991 Colombian Constitution's adoption of policies of multiculturalism. This analysis illustrates how such policies privilege land claims made by groups that are able to demonstrate a rooted, autochthonous, and ethnicized belonging in a particular, delimited territory. To conduct this analysis, I draw on recent theoretical commentaries regarding how multiculturalism oppresses subaltern populations. Doing so allows me to examine how the prioritization of discourses of autochthony ethnicize and spatialize rights and rights claims. Further, this line of inquiry facilitates an analysis of how such discourses construct divisions between and around similarly marginalized political identity groups, thus limiting broad, collaborative political mobilizations. The analysis advances an understanding of how policies of neoliberal multiculturalism re-entrench exclusionary structures of power. This

⁶ "...cuando cierto sector tiene – digamos, entre comillas – 'privilegios' por su carácter étnico...ahí es de donde vienen muchas dificultades. Y...durante los últimos años se han agudizado algunos conflictos y algunas tensiones."

chapter unfolds in three parts. First, I briefly discuss the Constitution and its complementarity with neoliberalism. Second, narrowing my focus to the Constitution's recognition of diversity, I illustrate how policies of neoliberal multiculturalism re-legitimize the state in the current moment of neoliberal globalization. They do this through the limited recognition of groups that fall in line with the hegemonic discourses of the state. Third, I deconstruct how said possibilities for recognition support the entrenchment of neoliberalism through the prioritization of naturalized discourses of autochthony. These discourses work to ethnicize and spatialize rights and rights bearers, and facilitate the ideological and physical division of civil society along lines of recognition.

The 1991 Colombian Constitution

As discussed in greater detail in the introduction, the Colombian student movement successfully motivated roughly two million Colombians to express their support for the convocation of a constituent assembly through a popular vote. Following this expression of public support, President Barco included a plebiscite in the May presidential elections, which voters approved with 86.6 percent of the vote (Van Cott, 2000, p. 56). The elected Assembly began negotiations in February 1991, and passed the newly drafted Constitution on July 4th, 1991.

Most Colombians saw the resulting Constituent Assembly as an opportunity to re-think the political and social construction of the nation-state. The entire process of re-drafting the Colombian Constitution was greatly motivated by the state's confrontation of crises of representation, participation, and legitimacy (Van Cott, 2002, p. 10). The monopolization of governing structures by two powerful, traditional political parties

limited opportunities for political representation and participation for those outside of the circles of the elite (Van Cott, 2002, p.48). This pressured the supposedly democratic state to undertake dramatic reforms (Bocarejo, 2009, p.311; Van Cott, 2002, p.48). Further, the spike in violence in the late 1980s (at the hands of guerrillas, paramilitary groups, drug traffickers, and the Colombian armed forces) was a clear indication that the state was unable to protect its own citizens (Van Cott, 2002, p.48, Cruz, 2010, p. 275).

In response, members of the Constituent Assembly drafted the constitutional reforms in such a way so as to decentralize state power and create a more open, legitimate and representative political system (Jackson, 2002, p. 112). The main tenets the Constituent Assembly brought forth as goals for constitutional reform (and as a result, the de-escalation of violence) included: a new regime of rights protection focused particularly on the economic and social rights of marginalized groups; the extension of the rule of law throughout the national territory; and the catalyzation of institutional change to offer all actors (particularly non-traditional actors) a stake in the political process (Van Cott, 2002, p.48).

Praise for constitutional reforms. Many commentators celebrate the constitutional reforms as an important attempt to rectify inequalities in power and representation in Colombia, and as a moment of restructuring relations between the state and society. For example, Enrique Sanchez, Roque Roldán and María Fernanda Sánchez (1993) assert that the Constitution is one of the most democratic of those that were drafted in Latin America during the transition to democracy that took place during the 1980s and 1990s (as cited in Jackson & Ramírez, 2009, p. 523). Additionally, while Jean Jackson and María Clemencia Ramírez (2009) critique the ways that the Constitution acts

as a technology to shape and produce the subjects that multiculturalism recognizes and protects, they also acknowledge the openings it created. They point out that the constitutional reforms confronted prevalent imaginaries of the ideal citizen as Catholic, Spanish-speaking, and "modern" (2009, p. 523). It also opened spaces for citizens to "rethink the state" and contest parameters of political institutions in novel ways (2009, p. 523).

The international strengthening of the impact of identity politics on political and socio-economic relations before and during the drafting of the Constitution facilitated the opportunity to (re)consider the relationship between the Colombian population and the state. Emerging movements focused on subaltern agency created novel spaces within Latin American civil society, and enjoyed a new importance and weight in their engagements with the state. Simultaneously, previous movements grounded in Marxist challenges of imperialism, class domination, and class struggle lost much of their traction (Mallon, 2005, p. 277). In Colombia, this meant that the importance of campesinos and workers diminished, despite their previous prominence as resistance groups (see Urrea & Hurtado, 2002). As new voices warning of other forms of hierarchy and oppression became hear-able to the state and society, a moment emerged in which it became possible to focus more inclusively on a broader scope of problematic social complexities and contradictions (Mallon, 2005, p.277).

Aided by the growing weight of ethnicity within international human rights discourses during the 1970s and 1980s, as well as decades of concerted campaigning by indigenous peoples, demands for greater indigenous rights gained momentum in Colombia. At the time, commentators such as Sánchez et al. (1993) argued that the

Constitution was the most radical with respect to indigenous rights protection (as cited in Jackson & Ramírez, 2009, p. 523). For example, Article 13 of the Colombian Constitution recognized the citizenry as being “pluriethnic.”⁷ This marked a watershed moment for indigenous Colombians. Many intellectuals and civil society actors interpreted this acknowledgment as an genuine attempt to offer greater recognition, autonomy, and specialized rights protection to indigenous peoples, while concretizing the "institutional framework for the realization of indigenous aspirations and the legal and material basis for the exercise of all other rights" (Van Cott, 2002, p.46, 47). Thus, beyond recognizing of the importance of indigenous peoples to the Colombian nation, the Constitution offered substantial material concessions to indigenous peoples. These include the recognition of the collective and inalienable nature of existing resguardos as spaces over which indigenous peoples hold pre-constitutional jurisdictional and have rights to autonomy, (Constitución Política de Colombia [Political Constitution of Colombia], 1991, articles 63, 329). Further, the Constitution increased political autonomy at the municipal level, such that it became possible for indigenous councils to propose and carry out local development projects with funds from the state (Rathgeber, 2004, p. 109; Van Cott, 2002, p. 85; Constitución Política de Colombia, 1991, articles 286, 330). Importantly, the Constitution also states that the exploitation of natural resources in indigenous territories will be done in a way that does not bring harm to the cultural, social, or economic integrity of indigenous communities. Article 330 encourages that projects of this nature should be planned and implemented with the participation of a

⁷ Article 7. The state recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Colombian nation.

representative from the communities affected. Unfortunately, the Constitution's simultaneous entrenchment of neoliberal reforms contradicts and limits many of these gains.

The Constitution as a tool of neoliberalism. Despite the praise that the Constitution received, many intellectuals have critiqued its role in entrenching neoliberal reforms within Colombia's legal and political structures. Before outlining these critiques, I will briefly outline the fundamentals of neoliberalism.

According to Charles Hale, neoliberalism is:

...a cluster of policies driven by the logic of transnational capitalism: unfettered world markets for goods and capital; pared down state responsibilities for social welfare of its citizens; opposition to conflictive and inefficient collective entitlements, epitomized by labour rights; resolution of social problems through the application of quasi-market principles revolving around the primacy of the individual, such as assessment based on individual merit, emphasis on individual responsibility and the exercise of individual choice. (2002, p.486)

Behind the policies of neoliberalism is what David Harvey calls "accumulation by dispossession." He describes it as the firm internalization of the predatory aspects of primitive accumulation into the workings of capitalism (2006, p. xvii). For Harvey, this is most visible through processes of privatization, and the erosion of the welfare state through the credit system (2006, p. xvii).

Neoliberal ideology suggests that free, self-regulating markets are the ideal means to optimally allocate investments and resources. However, Neil Brenner and Nikolas Theodore (2002) point out that in reality, "Neoliberal political practice has generated

pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarization, and a dramatic intensification of uneven development at all spatial scales" (p. 352). Moreover, despite the support by neoliberal ideology for unregulated free markets that are liberated from the meddling of the state, its everyday societal and political operations and effects suggest otherwise. In practice, Brenner and Theodore argue that neoliberalism has "entailed a dramatic intensification of coercive, disciplinary forms of state intervention in order to impose market rule upon all aspects of social life" (p. 352). This is to say, the intervention of the state has been key to the global implementation of neoliberal reforms.

The societal effects of neoliberal governance, in the Foucauldian sense, have dramatically re-shaped social relations. Neoliberal reforms focus on the diffusion of state power, so that social control is exercised at multiple scales within the architecture of the state, and by civil society actors themselves. This has problematic implications for the role of some political/social groups – particularly non-governmental organizations – to which the state transfers the responsibility of governance, and which subsequently become integrated into the machinery of neoliberalism. In Colombia, the state has a tenuous grasp over large sections of the national territory, and therefore the role of non-state actors in entrenching state policy has been substantial (see Ballvé, 2012; Wade, 2010, p. 140).

On a similar note, Laura María Gutiérrez Escobar (2011) emphasizes that the hegemony of neoliberal discourse has been extremely damaging because it closes down alternative discourses. She warns how it entrenches:

...the supposed impossibility of thinking of other types of economic systems and types of society because it is argued that, on one hand, capitalism is inevitable

and, on the other, economic difference or all those non-capitalist economic forms or forms subsumed within capitalism are inferior.⁸ (p. 60, my translation. All translations from this point onwards are mine, unless otherwise noted)

Referring back to my previous point, it is likely that the loss of alternatives to the status quo is closely associated with the gradual, yet through absorption of sections of civil society into the apparatus of neoliberal governance.

Returning to the Constituent Assembly, during the late 80's and early 90's, the Colombian state adopted international financial institutions' neoliberal ideologies. For instance, during the drafting of the Constitution, the Gaviria government was simultaneously negotiating a structural adjustment program with the World Bank (Soler Gómez, 2000). Numerous intellectuals have warned that neoliberal ideologies were solidly entrenched in the final draft of the Constitution. Consequently, this ensured that the elite who stood to benefit most from neoliberal reforms would face few legal/political obstacles to their implementation (see de la Barra & Dello Buono, 2009, p. 135; Zambrano, 2007, p. 201). One such author, Luis Edgar Cruz (2010), argues that the Constitution "elevated economic opening to the level of the Magna Carta in order to deny the rights of the people and guarantee the implementation of the neoliberal model in Colombia" (p. 276).⁹ According to Cruz, the Constitution facilitated the privatization of the state's services (particularly those of education, and health [Constitución Política de

⁸ "...la supuesta imposibilidad de pensar otros sistemas económicos y tipos de sociedad al argüirse, por un lado, la inevitabilidad del capitalismo y, por el otro, la inferioridad de la diferencia económica o de todas aquellas formas económicas no-capitalistas o subsumidas dentro del capitalismo."

⁹ "...elevó a la categoría de Carta Magna la apertura económica para negar los derechos del pueblo y garantizar la implementación del modelo neoliberal en Colombia."

Colombia, 1991, articles 48, 49]) (p. 276).¹⁰ It also opened the country to foreign capital and entrenched market logics of supply and demand into the functioning of the state (articles 334, 335, 365),¹¹ and ensured that these changes all "trickled down" to local governance structures as a result of decentralization (article 311) (p. 276).¹²

¹⁰ Article 48. Social Security is a mandatory public service which will be delivered under the administration, coordination, and control of the state, subject to the principles of efficiency, universality, and cooperation within the limits established by law...

Social Security may be provided by public or private entities, in accordance with the law.

Article 49. Public health and environmental protection are public services for which the state is responsible. All individuals are guaranteed access to services that promote, protect, and rehabilitate public health.

It is the responsibility of the state to organize, direct, and regulate the delivery of health services and of environmental protection to the population in accordance with the principles of efficiency, universality, and cooperation, and to establish policies for the provision of health services by private entities and to exercise supervision and control over them...

¹¹ Cruz argues that the opening of Colombia to foreign capital and the free market was solidified in Article 334 (2010, p. 276). It reads: "The general management of the economy is the responsibility of the state. By means of the law, the state will intervene in the exploitation of natural resources, land use, the production, distribution, use, and consumption of goods, and in public and private services in order to streamline the economy with the purpose of achieving an improved quality of life for the inhabitants, the equitable distribution of opportunities, and the benefits of development and conservation of a healthy environment.

The state will make a special effort to ensure full employment and to ascertain that all individuals, especially those of low income, may have effective access to basic goods and services, and to *promote productivity and competitiveness* and the harmonious development of the regions" (my emphasis).

Article 335. Financial activities, the stock exchange, insurance, and any other activities related to the handling, exploitation, and investment of the resources referred to in letter (d) of paragraph No. 19 of Article 150 are of public interest and may only be exercised following the prior authorization of the state, *in accordance with the law, which will regulate the government's form of intervention in these areas* and promote the equitable distribution of credit (my emphasis).

Article 365. Public services are inherent to the social purpose of the state. It is the duty of the state to ensure their efficient provision to all the inhabitants of the national territory.

Public services will be subject to the juridical regime determined by the law, may be provided by the state directly or indirectly, by organized communities, or by individuals. In any case, the state is responsible for the regulation, control, and application of such services...(my emphasis).

¹² Article 311. As the basic entity of the political-administrative branch of the state, it is the responsibility of the municipality to provide those public services determined by law, to build the projects required for local progress, to arrange for the development of its territory, to promote community participation, the social and cultural development of its inhabitants, and to perform the other functions assigned to it by the Constitution and the laws.

Notably, critiques of the Constitution's alignment with neoliberalism have largely overlooked how the often-celebrated recognition of Colombia as a pluriethnic state – and the rights that follow from this recognition – also align with neoliberalism. I address this connection in greater detail in the coming section.

The Governance of Diversity through the Constitution

This era of neoliberal globalization, according to Jean and John L. Comaroff (2005), presents a growing paradox for states: in order to participate in the global economy, governments must simultaneously open and secure their boundaries (p.129). The state must provide free passage for the movements of currencies, goods, and services to facilitate the influx of wealth into the country, while simultaneously regulating frontiers so as to establish enclaves of competitive advantage in order to attract capital (p.129). The state as it once functioned no longer fits into the realities of neoliberal globalization. Its power is more dispersed, its legitimacy is tested by debt and poverty, and its declining grip on executive control is being pushed to its limit (p.126). Although they raise valid points, Comaroff and Comaroff over-estimate the decline in the role of the state in the advance of globalization. On the contrary, Nandita Sharma (2005) urges that the state is central to the organization of globalization. In her view, one cannot overlook how the state facilitates and supports the emergence of global capital. The "coordinating and organizing work" done by the state has increased (p. 46). By reducing corporate tax rates, and cutting public services, for example, the state works to deepen hierarchies of class and inequality, and as a result, guarantee that capital is able to access to reserve army of exploitable, surplus labourers. Sharma explains that "rather than a

successive decline in national state powers...there has actually been a 'consolidation and extension of the national state'" (Picciotto, 1991, p. 53 as cited on p. 46).

The state's role in relation to neoliberal globalization that is of most concern to my project relates to how it governs internal diversity as a strategy to re-establish its prominence, and to maintain hegemonic relations of power. As David Spener and Kathleen Staudt (1998) explain, the processes of "debordering" economies within globalization also involves a "rebordering" of racial-ethnic boundaries within nation-states. I am not only concerned with lines of inclusion and exclusion. As the state shifts boundaries of inclusion/exclusion in an era of neoliberal globalization, Aihwa Ong (2006) warns that this results in "disquieting ethicopolitical implications for those who are included as well as those who are excluded in shifting technologies of governing and of demarcation" (p. 5).

In essence, I am interested in how the Colombian state – while supposedly embracing its complex diversity – is (re)considering how to organize and govern the "internal multiplicity" (Cowan, 2006, p.11) of Colombian society in such a way so as to re-secure its own authority. Along these lines, Comaroff and Comaroff (2005) argue, following Anderson (1983), that the up-surge in identity politics post-1989 has led to a lack of "deep horizontal fraternity" within nation-states (p.127). Although nation-states have always been complex and diverse sites of multiple narratives and struggles, in situations privileging difference – particularly when said difference is a stage from which to make rights claims – states' efforts to render legible (and thus manageable) their own diversity are changing. As Elizabeth A. Povinelli (2002) writes, "we are witnessing a global adjustment of the constitution of public and legal national imaginaries as state

institutions and public sympathy attempt to address the multiplicity of social identities and traditions constituting and circulating through the contemporary nation" (p.26; see also Zambrano, 2007, p.111). States are turning to a controlled heterogeneity, raising questions about the implications of this resulting shift for relations and structures of power. As the Colombian state recognizes the pluriethnicity of the country in such a way so as to align its policies with globally circulating ideas of multiculturalism, how does this impact the possibilities for marginalized groups to make their demands hear-able to the state?

Multiculturalism as tactic of (re)legitimization. Prominent intellectuals have argued that policies of multiculturalism address some of the problematic shortfalls and contradictions of liberalism. They insist that these policies have become a predominant means for the state to protect the rights of national minorities and ethnic groups through differentiated collective rights (Kymlicka, 1996), and to negotiate tensions in liberalism between the rights of the individual and those of the community, while attending to the harms of misrecognition (Taylor, 1994). However, I argue that these policies have increasingly become a tool for the state to manage, govern and discipline diversity in neoliberal societies. A rubric under which political identity groups produce claims about/for culture, which are then evaluated by the state (Cowan, 2006, p. 12), multiculturalism is "the decision-making process through which plurality is recognized, rendered visible and accountable" (Bocarejo, 2011, p. 667). As an official collection of policies, Elizabeth Povinelli (2002) asserts that multiculturalism is situated within (inter)national human rights standards of (un)acceptable social and cultural difference, and therefore shapes ideas of who deserves reparative legislation of the state (p. 24).

In Latin America, multiculturalism took the place of previous policies of *mestizaje* (biological and cultural mixing). States revised their policies regarding diversity from a focus on assimilation, to an appreciation for ethnic and cultural plurality (Hale, 2002). Multicultural reforms have focused primarily on the recognition of indigenous peoples as a unique population (Jackson & Ramírez, 2009, p. 522). These reforms were a substantial and impressive achievement after decades of struggle by indigenous peoples to assert their cultural difference and seek collective, cultural rights. Authors such as Juliet Hooker (2005) also point out that multicultural reforms paralleled an upsurge in the value of the attributes associated with indigenous peoples as central to the national *mestizo* identity (p. 303).

Other predominant cultural groups, such as Afro-descendants, have had some limited success in achieving collective rights protection under multicultural reforms. However, in Colombia (as in most of Latin America), Afro-descendants have not gained the same rights as indigenous peoples, nor have these rights been extended beyond a small subset of the population (Hooker, 2005, p. 286).

In Colombia, multicultural reforms were a strategy to "improve the legitimacy and governability of the state..." and to push back against the damaged image of Colombia internationally as a nation-state ravaged by violence, corruption, and drug trafficking (Van Cott, 2002, p. 32). Reforms were also a tool to position the nation-state as a champion of human rights by specifically engaging with some of the most marginalized populations in the country (Van Cott, 2002, p. 32).

As Wendy Brown explains, "multicultural rights, like any other rights, can be 'both a vehicle of emancipation, of political disenfranchisement or institutional servitude'

as well as 'a mode of securing and naturalizing dominant social powers'" (1995, p.99, as cited in Bocarejo, 2011, p.667). The crux of this distinction references larger debates regarding the possibility for redistribution that cultural recognition does, or does not facilitate, and as an extension, the possibilities for (re)securing or disrupting relations of domination. For instance, some authors insist that cultural recognition, as a central concept of justice, is a path to redistribution (see Honneth, 1996; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Young, 1990). Others argue that recognition and redistribution must be addressed together. Fraser (1995, 1998, 2000), for example, warns of the limitations (and dangers) of a pursuit of recognition divorced from political economy. Recognition of this nature, she argues, risks eschewing substantial structural reforms that make possible the redistribution of resources. While still others maintain that cultural recognition is always already a question of political economy, and that drawing a distinction between the two misses their inherent entanglement (see Butler, 1998).

In the case of Povinelli (2002), she emphasizes that by drawing on a multicultural imaginary, the state is able to defer the problems that capital, and (post)colonialism present to the national identity. She asserts that "an embeddedness, implication, and engagement in the nation's historic brutality toward its colonial subjects is rewritten as the necessary condition of nation-building in later modern liberal democratic societies. It is the crucial affective element in the definition of its borders, interiors, discourses, imaginaries, and identities" (p.161). This process of re-shaping the relationships between the state, the national imaginary, and different marginalized cultural groups is a process of restructuring that seeks to re-construct structures of power in order to preserve systems

of domination. Similarly, the state is able to draw on a controlled diversity as a tool of re-legitimization.

Charles Hale (2002, 2004, 2005) analyzes how multiculturalism re-inscribes exclusionary relations of power in Latin America (principally Guatemala). He suggests that the controlled manipulation of diversity by the state has the ultimate goal of (re)entrenching relations of domination. Hale's work challenges the notion that the recognition of indigenous peoples' collective rights in Latin America through discourses of multiculturalism is a progressive step away from racist, assimilationist policies of the past. He draws on Marxist analyses of resource distribution, as well as Foucauldian approaches to governmentality and subject formation to link policies of multiculturalism tightly with neoliberal political-economic policies (see 2002). He terms this partnership "neoliberal multiculturalism," which I will now explore in relation to this study.

Neoliberal multiculturalism. For Hale, multiculturalism is neoliberalism's "cultural project" (2002). Policies of multiculturalism, he argues, entail the recognition of a limited collection of cultural rights, paired with a vigorous rejection of further-reaching political and economic rights. The goal of such reforms for the state is to harness and redirect the political energy of cultural rights activism, rather than directly opposing it (p. 498). Therefore, as the state opts to cede some carefully chosen ground to fend off more far-reaching demands, it is able to shape future cultural rights negotiations (p. 488). It does so in such a way so as to configure the spaces that cultural rights activists might occupy, and the appropriate forms of political action they might undertake (p. 490). The state does not merely recognize communities, Hale insists, rather, it actively attempts to

"reconstitute" cultures in a de-radicalized form, while transferring the work of subject-formation to civil society groups themselves (p. 496).

For example, expanded space for civil society and self-governance must fall under the logic of globalized capitalism, thus foreclosing demands that move toward envisioning a distinct economic order. Although recognized groups' unique economic systems are protected by the Constitution (Constitución Política de Colombia, 1991, article 332. 2),¹³ the extent of such protections is subsumed to the predatory expansion of global capitalism. The Colombian state's support of large-scale mining is an apt example of these limitations. Resistance by indigenous peoples against rampant expansion of extractive activities in their territories is cut off by the state's maintenance of subsoil mineral rights. Further, the Constitution does not oblige the state or corporations to consult with indigenous peoples before undertaking the exploitation of natural resources. However, Colombia is a signatory to the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which does oblige the state to obtain free, prior, and informed consent before undertaking any projects in indigenous territories (Portalewska, 2012, p. 15).

Further, the specialized rights on offer for recognized political identity groups foster a civil society in which these groups and their representative organizations take on the distribution of social services in order to replace those cut through government reforms (Alvarez et al., 1998, p.22 as cited in Jackson & Ramírez, 2005, p.552; Hale, 2004, p.17). In Colombia, for example, recognized indigenous groups have the capacity

¹³ Art. 332. 2. Design the policies, plans, and programs of economic and social development within their territory, in accordance with the National Development Plan.

to administer and deliver bicultural education. Cabildos receive funding directly from the state to do so. However, the state, after downloading the provision of a social service to a private actor, maintains its power to oversee the supposed quality of service provision (Espinosa Alzate, 2000). As well, funds must be filtered through municipal governments before reaching cabildos (Van Cott, 2000, p. 239), thus curbing the power of indigenous governors to implement plans autonomously.

These examples demonstrate how powerful political and economic actors are able to use neoliberal multiculturalism to commemorate cultural difference while retaining the authority to discern between cultural rights (and the cultural actors advancing these rights) that align with the ideal of liberal, democratic pluralism, and those that are antagonistic to that ideal (Hale, 2002, p.491). Cultural recognition does not seek to rectify economic disparities through substantial resource redistribution. Multiculturalism as it exists in most Latin American countries – Colombia included – offers little potential to address inequality because it leaves economic structures untouched. Rather, possibilities for recognition bring marginalized, recognized groups in line with neoliberal ideologies, and allow to the state to use limited rights protections as a means to discipline those who challenge neoliberalism. Not only are multicultural rights unlikely to address structural inequalities (see Hooker, 2005, p. 308), they work to embed them within civil society.

In addition to leaving economic structures untouched, the recognition of marginalized groups as cultural populations raises questions about how the subjectivities of such groups are shaped and governed by recognition. From Hooker's (2005) perspective, multiculturalism privileges certain kinds of subjects that assert their subjectivity in a certain way (p. 306). This, she emphasizes, excludes a substantial

portion of the marginalized population who have limited potential to make their claims hear-able to the state.

The following section extends upon this point to question how neoliberal multiculturalism is governing subjectivities and with what implications. Primarily, I explore where marginalized political identity groups fall within the spectrum of recognisability, how this positioning is assigned/evaluated by the state, and with what implications.

Autochthony and the Ethnicization and Spatialization of Rights

As tools of spatial organizing and ordering, policies of multiculturalism in Latin America tend to prioritize discourses of autochthony when evaluating rights claims – especially claims to territory. Autochthony elevates "to a first-principle the ineffable interests and connections, at once material and moral, that flow from 'native' rootedness" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2005, p.128). Often compared to ethnicity, Peter Geschiere and Francis Nyamnjoh (2000) describe autochthony as being less specific, and "more elusive and more easily subject to political manipulation" (p.424), while asserting a more forceful claim to land than can be put forward in the name of ethnicity. Jean and John Comaroff (2005) add that autochthony lends itself to the construction of "unambiguous social boundaries" which act to exclude populations from a changing group of autochthones (p.144). In this way, autochthony fits well with the shifting, politically manipulated boundaries of globalization, and functions as an ultimate, naturalized line of difference (p.128).

Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000) explore this connection between autochthony and globalization in greater detail. They suggest

If globalization is to be understood in terms of a continuing 'dialectic of flow and closure', notions of autochthony, with their paradoxical combination of staggering plasticity and celebration of seemingly self-evident 'natural givens,' become an almost inevitable outcome of such dialectical tensions. Their very plasticity makes them geared to a rapidly changing situation in which, indeed, even the Other is constantly becoming another. (p. 448)

It thus follows that globalization's shifting and opening of borders is met with simultaneous efforts toward the erection of boundaries, as expressed through the language of belonging. As Comaroff and Comaroff explain (2005), the national political subject is embedded in a political community based on "endemic difference" (p. 145). Each subject is hierarchically positioned along lines of autochthony as opposed to attachment or connection to a certain community (p.145). How, then is the emerging weight of autochthony and autochthonous discourses reflected in Colombian experiences of neoliberal multiculturalism? Which political identity (or identities) does the state read as autochthonous, and to what end?

Nandita Sharma and Cynthia Wright (2008/2009) stress that ethnicized autochthonous identities, have become "possessive identities" because they are usually the only avenue through which marginalized populations are able to make group claims to resources (p. 124). Thus the boundaries of autochthony usually mark the edge of collective rights claims.¹⁴ Sharma and Wright's point is useful in the case of Colombia to

¹⁴ Pablo Jaramillo (2011) strongly argues that the rights made available by the state through policies of multiculturalism have come to be symbolized by material objects (i.e. identification cards) that authorize

analyze how the state's reading of a recognizable ethnicity reveals the current limits of autochthony, and subsequently, the edges of possibilities for rights and recognition by marginalized groups.

The Colombian Constitution's respect for pluriethnicity, in reality, is geared toward a specific articulation of ethnicity that the state reads as autochthonous (Zambrano, 2007, p. 43). That is to say, the Constitution seeks to protect ethnicized political groups who are able to construct themselves as possessing rooted relations to a similarly ethnicized space. Groups mobilize these constructions and connections in interaction with the state, and with transnationally hegemonic discourses of difference and indigeneity. Betina Ng'weno (2007) insists that the Constitution's conceptualization of recognizable ethnicity is shaped by that which is currently "in vogue" in international conventions. This conceptualization is closely related to experiences of colonialism, and emphasizes an unchanging, non-modern cultural, social, and economic difference that is rooted in territory, and "intimately tied to anthropological conceptualizations of... 'Otherness'" (p. 432). Thus, ethnicized peoples must demonstrate a difference – and a purity of that difference – that stands apart from "the rest of national society" in order to credibly pursue recognition and specialized rights (p. 415, 416). Aspects of this difference include unique cultural practices, beliefs, languages, and relationships to territory couched in firstness. For example, the *Ministerio del Interior y Justicia*,

the "identity" of the holder and act as a ticket to inclusion (p. 337-338, 344). In other words, an indigenous identity is, for many individuals, a literal possession.

Dirección de Etnias (Ministry of the Interior, Justice, Office of Ethnic Groups) assumes an ethnicized political identity to include:

A common history as well as group cohesion, a deep-rooted affiliation with the ancestral territory, worldview, traditional medicine, kinship ties and characteristic normative system that makes them different from the rest of the Colombian population. (Ministerio del Interior y Justicia, Dirección de Etnias, as cited in Chaves & Zambrano, 2006, p. 16)

These factors all shape marginalized groups' possibilities to advance rights claims. Making demands of the state depends on performances of the types of ethnicized and spatialized "otherness" I have just described. However, if recognition hinges on the construction of autochthony that draws on an ethnicized identity grounded within a so-called "ancestral territory," how do political identity groups make this spatial relationship visible to/for the state?

According to Ng'weno (2007), previous colonial categories of race that legitimize claims to ethnic identity, and thus, to land, inform the nature of the relationships of ethnicized groups to territory (p. 418). For instance, colonial-era land titles that declare the presently inhabited space to have been officially recognized as indigenous by Spanish rulers greatly facilitate claims to territory and indigeneity (Chaves & Zambrano, 2006, p. 15). Therefore, official, state-approved first-ness at the moment of colonization is pivotal to possibilities of constructing a claim to autochthony and the rights that flow from it. Moreover, the state recognizes mostly rural spaces as ancestral territories, within which identities, cultures and traditions are supposedly deeply rooted (Bonilla Maldonado, 2011; Sevilla Peñuela & Sevilla Casas, 2013, p. 22). Further, this signals that the state has

adopted globally circulating ideas of "authentic," autochthonous indigeneity forwarded by multilateral institutions and non-governmental organizations. These ideas are subsequently entrenched within the parameters of neoliberal multiculturalism. Of course, while the ability of ethnicized groups to claim land is greatly influenced by how the state perceives them to fit (or not) within the structures of autochthony, communities do not necessarily think of ethnicity in the terms laid out by the state. While groups may draw on legal and policy openings, ideas of indigeneity and autochthony are sites of ongoing contestation that ethnicized political identity groups transform as they utilize them (Ng'weno, 2009, p. 418).

To review, the construction of autochthony that policies of neoliberal multiculturalism reflect is ethnicized and spatialized in a very limited way. As an extension, possibilities for recognition are accessible to the very narrow subsection of Colombia's marginalized groups that are able to fit themselves within this construction. I now explore how neoliberal multiculturalism – as the primary means available for marginalized groups to mobilize rights claims and assert belonging – problematically closes down struggles to make claims of the state.

Implications of autochthony as matrix of belonging. The first implication of the entrenchment of autochthony as the predominant means to claim rights is the enclosure of difference and belonging within bounded territories. A weighty part of the performance of an ethnicized identity is the association of difference with space. Diana Bocarejo (2011) explains: "ethnic populations are rendered legible by creating fixed associations between an ethnic group and a territory" (p. 664). Such a link to territory, she insists, fixes subjectivities in a particular space, therefore aligning recognition with

the boundaries of a particular territory. In her terms, this generates a "spatial exceptionalism of multicultural rights" in which rights appear to be inherently linked to legally and physically bounded territory, thus shaping multiculturalism's *raison d'être* as the close interconnection between an ethnicity and a place (p. 671; see also Bocarejo, 2009, p. 311, 312). Such a connection assumes an uncomplicated ethnicization of space, free of overlapping and tangled claims to belonging (see also Brown, 2007, p. 186; Hale, 2002, p. 491, 494; Mamdani, 2001, p. 659).

Hence, policies of multiculturalism are able to bind "a geography of imagination to a geography of governance, that is, the construction of an other to the consolidation of an apparatus to govern and regulate difference" (Bocarejo, 2009, p. 312). That is to say, the state relies upon a constructed "other" – in this case, an autochthonous group – around which to assemble its architecture of governance, and thus entrench exclusionary structures of power. Discourses of autochthony behind neoliberal multiculturalism reproduce a spatial isomorphism in which "each group is supposed to have its corresponding place and each place its corresponding group" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992 as cited in Bocarejo, 2011, p. 670, 684; see also Appadurai, 1988; Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1994; Malkki, 1992). Ethnicized groups are anchored as constructed "others." Their existence is delimited and governed by the possibilities and limitations of the group itself, the state, and the population at large to imagine its being in space. Therefore, neoliberal multiculturalism's re-conceptualization of the socio-political grid of populations and their spaces also marks an emergent strategy of governance (see Bocarejo, 2009, p. 312).

Rights for recognized autochthonous populations can become conditional to the maintenance of physical presence in a particular territory. This acts as a disciplinary tool to enclose bounded and divided political identity groups into what the state constructs as their proper ethnicized spaces (see Bocarejo, 2011, p. 669). Therefore, as the Colombian state seeks congruence between space and ethnicity, outside a group's unique and limited space, their recognizable ethnicity risks being extinguished. For example, members of the re-indigenizing Yanacona community in southwest Colombia ran into difficulties asserting their indigeneity because of its tenuous blood and soil connections to the space it claims (Jackson & Ramirez, 2009). Similarly, numerous urban indigenous peoples who have moved to cities, or who have been displaced because of violence and struggles for resources have faced multiple challenges claiming rights as ethnicized groups (MiningWatch Canada, CENSAT-Agua Viva, & Inter pares, 2009; Sevilla Peñuela & Sevilla Casas, 2013, p. 93). These examples demonstrate that recognition is spatialized, boundaries are erected around diversity, and rights claims become increasingly complicated to launch for those who are perceived by the state as being out of place, or for those who have no place to claim.

The second problematic implication that emerges from the entrenchment of autochthony as the predominant means to claim rights is the subsequent governance and discipline of the articulations of political identities. Promises of recognition and rights end up becoming "productive (of subjectivities, of social relations, and even of the very identities and cultures they claim merely to recognize)" (Cowan, 2006, p. 10). The state expects groups to construct and perform a particular kind of recognizable difference or alterity in a packaged form that aligns to the national imaginary (Povinelli, 2002, p. 13,

180). Populations must "inhabit the tensions and torsions of competing incitements to be and to identify differentially" – navigating lines of "acceptable" difference – along which they are neither too shockingly distinct, nor "too hauntingly similar" to non-ethnicized citizens (Povinelli, 2002, p.13, 180).

The navigation of these lines inevitably brings groups into a direct relationship with the state as they attempt to translate the demands of neoliberal multiculturalism into recognizable, everyday articulations of difference as technologies of securing rights. The resulting relationship works to "bureaucratiz[e]" groups and their political struggles, and leaves organizations responsible for their own administration within the limitations and oversight of the state (Wade, 2010, p. 142; see also Zambrano, 2007, p. 27). Such a closeness with the state thereby distorts (and dismantles) the fabric of civil society. Moreover, those whose relationship with autochthony is contradictory and/or ambivalent have few options beyond an attempted (re)articulation/ethnicization of their identity (see Hooker, 2005, p. 306-307).¹⁵ The Constitution ends up foreclosing possibilities for many marginalized groups to claim collective rights as neoliberal multiculturalism recognizes few at the expense of many. If the Constitution's possibilities for recognition break Colombian civil society down into populations that are recognizable and those that are not, what then are the implications for relationships between similarly marginalized groups?

¹⁵ Despite an amendment to the Constitution (Law 70) which recognized Afro-descendants as an ethnic population deserving of special protection, experiences of Afro-Colombian's navigations of collective rights have been much more complicated and challenging in comparison to those of most indigenous peoples. Unfortunately a thorough examination and comparison of these differences will be beyond the scope of my thesis. See Escobar (2008), Hooker (2005), Ng'weno (2007), and Rojas Martínez (2004) for more information about the struggles of Afro-descendants.

This question leads me to the third implication of the naturalization of autochthony as the primary pathway to rights and recognition. It ends up breaking-down possibilities for collaboration and solidarity between similarly marginalized political identity groups. John Jairo Rincón García warns that as civil society groups draw on the possibilities available through neoliberal multiculturalism, simultaneously, these efforts reinforce difference and deny interconnectivity (2009, p. 82). As a result, drawing on neoliberal multiculturalism entrenches social and spatial boundaries between groups. A constructed dichotomy emerges between those groups who are suitably and sufficiently ethnicized (*vis-à-vis* the lines of recognition afforded by state bureaucracies), and those who are not. In agreement, Hale (2006) asserts, "neoliberal multiculturalism constructs bounded, discontinuous cultural groups, each with distinct rights that are discouraged from mutual interaction" (p. 275).

For instance, indigenous peoples' claim to a unique, traditional culture is often weakened, and thus too their pursuit of recognition by the state, if they share a spatial community with mestizos ("mixed-race" people) (Chaves & Zambrano, 2006, p. 13; Muehlmann, 2009, p.476). In the department of Putumayo, despite being born within the physical boundaries of an indigenous community, the state excludes non-indigenous, Colombian campesinos from the rights afforded to their neighbours (Ramírez, 2002, p. 142). The basis of this exclusion is the historical migration of campesinos' ancestors to the area (Ramírez, 2002, p.142). Moreover, the state rejects efforts at recognition as multi-ethnic indigenous communities – composed of both "migrants" and "Natives" – as an instrumental effort to take advantage of the material benefits of multicultural policies (Chaves & Zambrano, 2006). The ethnicized spaces of recognition established by the

Colombian Constitution encourage the separation (and rooting) of autochthonous identity groups in particular territories, which risk developing into monoethnic enclaves exclusive to "Natives" (e.g. Bocarejo, 2009, 2011; Chaves & Zambrano, 2006; Ramírez, 2002).

In the situation that I have just described, many commentators would argue that indigenous peoples, because of their priority, are justified in demanding rights that should not be extended to those who arrived later. Other marginalized groups such as campesinos, are migrants that have settled in indigenous territories. The problem with such lines of reasoning is that they ingrain the notion that cultures are always separate, distinct and incommensurable entities. Therefore, this risks overlooking the violences of migration. It denies histories of how natives/non-natives ended up living together because of modern colonization's dependence on the mobilization of "newly expropriated and soon-to-be exploited proletarians" (Sharma & Wright, 2008/2009, p. 126). Ethnicizations of populations that centre indigeneity and call for each people to have their own place draw on historical articulations of racism and nationalism because of their perpetuation of forms of differential inclusion (Balibar, 1991, p. 50 as cited in Sharma & Wright, 2008/2009, p. 125). The divisions between populations along lines of ethnicity and autochthony sustain structures of ruling, and therefore are unlikely to instigate the sort of radical disruption of power that many who advocate for indigenous groups' rights seek. The question at hand is not whether or not indigenous peoples should be granted specialized rights (of course they should), it is rather a question of how such rights might be envisioned and practiced so as to not reinforce and re-create structures of oppression.

In light of these limitations, it is troubling to think about how ethnicized spaces of recognition tip power relations in favour of "authentically" autochthonous indigenous

peoples at the expense of other groups on the margins. Michael F. Brown argues that this occurs in such a way so as to drive apart politically subordinate groups that might otherwise mobilize a united front of resistance against political and economic elites (p. 178). He warns that such a dramatic shift in the dynamics of civil society "stifles critiques of neoliberal economics by severing the links between indigenous peoples and ordinary peasants, all of whom are trapped by the same system of exploitation" (p. 178). Quoting Sangeeta Kamat, Brown insists that:

Such claims to [indigenous] identity and autonomy...serve to empower individuals on the basis of being different from others and construct a new elitism, but provide little opportunity to build solidarity for a new cultural politics. In this way, they help contain the discontent of the subaltern who can refer to a new romanticized identity of tribal that is placed in a new hierarchy with other subaltern groups. (2001, p.44 as cited in Brown, 2007, p.178)

Nandita Sharma and Cynthia Wright (2008/2009) share these concerns about fragmentation. Focusing on the linkages between autochthony and neoliberalism, they explore how the latter divides those who share the same space into opposites and opponents in a dualistic hierarchy. This hierarchy, they assert, is experienced most acutely through claims to territory in which first-ness in place takes priority. For Sharma and Wright, within this division, differences become insurmountable and ethnic boundaries are naturalized. Consequently, claims to land are legitimized through autochthonous discourses that regard the presence of those that move as less valid, thus working to separate individuals and groups who share the same space by creating an "ethnicization of the polity" in which each people has its own place in which it must

remain (p. 125). At the same time, members of autochthonous groups become increasingly limited as lines and boundaries are politically manipulated by the state to continually augment the number of displaced "others" (p. 125). The result, in their view, is that the state is then able to enforce and monitor interpretations of culture in such a way as to produce a type of community that normalizes exploitation. This community also obscures how unequal distributions of power construct these divisive standards vis-à-vis colonial histories and the expansion of global capitalism. As the state recognizes and grants rights to an increasingly limited and disciplined section of a nation-state's marginalized populations, it sifts "ethnicized" identities into a rigid, naturalized, and divisive hierarchy of deserving "others."

The reorganization of political identities resulting from the emergence of autochthony as a divisive standard of belonging reveals the complex and often messy interplay between spatiality and identity formation ongoing in (post)colonial nation-states. Groups that are able to (re)present an autochthonous identity that is comprehensible to the state benefit from tenuous victories at the expense of other marginalized groups. For those unable (or unwilling) to fit within the boundaries of neoliberal multiculturalism, exclusion means a denial of basic rights. It thus follows that the division of populations along lines of recognition echoes Foucault's (2003) conception of biopower: some are made to live, while others are allowed to die (p. 247). Through shifts in exclusion, the conditions of life (or at least the conditions for political life) are removed or revoked (p. 256).

These processes of exclusion result in a rupture of social relations that are in actuality highly interdependent (Sharma, 2006, p.149). Elites construct and reinforce

ethnicized borders to enforce the version of "culture" most conducive to sustaining relations of exclusion (Sharma & Wright, 2008/2009, p. 124).

Conclusion

In sum, the Colombian Constitution has increased social tensions, and augmented both armed and unarmed conflict. While paradoxically "promoting peace, the neoliberal state legitimized itself, and in doing so, it promoted certain social, political and cultural changes, reproducing its hegemony" (Zambrano, 2007, 201).¹⁶ The Constitution's governance of diversity, and the subsequent implications of neoliberal multiculturalism for the articulation of rights claims is the starting point for my analysis of the organizing and struggle of the ACIT. The association represents a political identity group with limited possibilities for recognition within the parameters of neoliberal multiculturalism. In the following chapters, I focus on how the ACIT responds to the extreme challenges facing Colombian civil society resultant from the ethnicization and spatialization of rights along the constructed lines of autochthony. In the coming chapter, I contextualize and situate the struggles and goals of the ACIT within the broader social fabric in Inzá, and in Colombia. Specifically, I focus on its navigation of neoliberal multiculturalism from the margins of recognition.

¹⁶ "...promoviendo la paz, el Estado neoliberal se legitimaba y, al hacerlo, promovía ciertos cambios sociales, políticos y culturales, reproduciendo su hegemonía."

Chapter Three

The Campesino Association of Inzá – Tierradentro:

Resistance from the Margins

...[U]nfortunately, this is how it is in this country...you [are either] campesino, indigenous person, black...This is what causes other problems. By being identified, then [they say], 'you do have this privilege, you do not'...Knowing that we all have the same problem...¹⁷

– Manuel Mulcué, leader with the ACIT

...[T]hese conflicts will allow capital to encroach, taking advantage of these differences between indigenous peoples and campesinos...encouraging them, leading them to violence.¹⁸

– Henry Caballero, leader with the CRIC

In chapter two, I demonstrated that the 1991 Constitution has played a significant role in the implementation of neoliberal multiculturalism in Colombia. Specifically, I explained that it has led to a spatialization and ethnicization of the possibility for rights claims by marginalized groups. This chapter turns to a contextual discussion of the

¹⁷ "...desafortunadamente así es en este país:...usted [es] campesino, indígena, negro...Ahí ya nacen otros problemas. Con el hecho de usted ser identificado, entonces [dicen], 'usted si tiene este privilegio, usted no'...Sabendo que todos tenemos el mismo problema..."

¹⁸ "...esos conflictos lo que van a dar es para que el capital se vaya metiendo, aprovechando esas diferencias entre indígenas y campesinos...incentivándolos, llevándolos a la violencia."

struggles of the ACIT as an organization representative of a population on the edges of recognition. I develop this discussion in order to illustrate how a close study of the ACIT is positioned to reveal the ways in which neoliberalism facilitates the governance of relationships between land and identity. Drawing on research data and academic literature, I explore how the state's adoption of neoliberal multiculturalism influenced the work of the ACIT, as an organization largely representative of the broader campesino social movement. In doing so, I advance our understanding of how the ethnicization and spatialization of rights disadvantageously positions unrecognized marginalized groups in relation to the possibility of rights claims. The chapter is divided into four sections. I begin by discussing the methods used in this study. Second, I outline why the ACIT is a case illustrative of the complex relationships between governance, resistance, identity and land within neoliberal multiculturalism. Third, I discuss the location of campesinos on the margins of recognition, and how this positioning – and the ACIT's response to it – impacts their relationships with other political identity groups. Finally, I describe the *campesinado* in Colombia, and the history and mandate of the ACIT in relation to the wider campesino movement.¹⁹

Methods

I chose to develop a qualitative analysis of the struggles of those on the margins of recognition in order to closely investigate the power dynamics at work as political identity groups attempt to claim rights to territory. Within the study of political economy, a focus on narrative reveals tracings of complex structures of power through the

¹⁹ "Campesinado" refers to the social class of campesinos as a whole.

collaborative exploration of meaning. Narratives "are sites of the exercise of power," Annick T.R. Wibben (2011) affirms, in which grand narratives restrict meanings, and counter-discourses disrupt established orders (p. 2, 43). Personal narratives specifically act as a way to make sense of the world and produce meanings in addition to creating opportunities to attend to multiple contexts simultaneously: "the collective and the personal, the intersubjective and the individual" (Mattingly et al., 2002, p. 745 as cited in Wibben, 2011, p. 2). With these possibilities of narrative in mind, I primarily conducted semi-structured interviews with leaders of civil society organizations. My secondary methods included participant observation and interpretive textual analysis. In this section, I discuss how and why I utilized these methods, as well as the challenges that I encountered in their use.

Semi-structured interviews. In-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were the principle base of my primary research (the consent forms reviewed with all research participants are found in Appendices B1 [Spanish] and B2 [English]). Open-ended questions that built on the responses of research participants guided the interviews (see Appendices B3 [Spanish] and B4 [English] for examples of a basic interview guide). In total, I interviewed 26 people. I carried out most of the interviews one-on-one, although in a single case, I interviewed two people simultaneously at their request. Interviews generally ran between one and two hours at a place of choosing by those interviewed (e.g. an organization's office, the home of the interviewee, a public place such as a café or plaza, a restaurant, or the home of an acquaintance/friend). Most interviews took place in the municipality of Inzá, with some in Popayán, the capital city of Cauca. I interviewed one individual three times and another twice, but otherwise, I

only conducted one on-the-record interview with each research participant. Upon the completion of fieldwork, I transcribed and inductively coded all of the interviews.

I chose semi-structured interviews as the primary method for this project because of their potential to become a space of imagination and experimentation between research participants and interviewer. Interviews are a "basic mode of knowing" and a "basic way of constituting knowledge and a view of the human world" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 302, 303). Interviewing "is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow human beings" (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 645) and their experiences and opinions (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2011, p.529). To explore these subtle and complex dynamics through thorough and mutually patient exchanges offers research participants space to weave together historical and contemporary occurrences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Moreover, interviews can overcome the challenges of distance in space and time, and access events, and experiences through the narratives of those who participated in them (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2011, p. 529). I prioritized such a direct exchange because I sought to identify how the ACIT's leadership manages the complex and contradictory internal logics of relationships between identities and land. It was through the commentary of the ACIT's leadership that I primarily identified the ways in which these relationships are governed and resisted by the pressures of neoliberal multiculturalism.

I consider interviews to present a powerful means to analyze how the ACIT's work has developed and changed over time, and how it moves across and within different geographical scales. By moving across time and space during interviews, I was able to pursue a more holistic view of the ACIT's arguments. Exploring the workings of power in

this way allows a consideration of how all of these dynamics have come together to form the messaging, and goals of the organization in the current moment (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

I generally opened each interview with a broad theme that I wanted to address, but the topic at hand would often shift at the guidance of the interviewee. However, cognizant of my position as an outsider, much of my time as a researcher was dedicated to understanding the context within which this research is situated. During contextual interviews, participants shared information that they felt pertinent to the project. This proved a helpful space within which key themes, priorities and arguments of the ACIT emerged in ways I had rarely anticipated.

The support of Gerardo Peña, my key informant, made this study possible. He is an extremely knowledgeable, well-connected, and well-respected leader. Peña, and to a lesser extent, other leaders of the ACIT, supported my pursuit of a snowball sample, leading to the identification of further participants. In general, most participants were also leading members of the organization.²⁰ However, through the ACIT's extensive network of contacts, Peña also facilitated interviews with other leaders of civil society groups. These included local representatives of cabildos, leaders of other campesino organizations located in the department of Cauca, and an employee of the Government of Cauca.

Those from the ACIT who I interviewed had often held a variety of leadership positions, but most were predominantly involved in the grassroots work of the association

²⁰ The only contact that the ACIT's leadership did not facilitate was with an indigenous leader in the neighboring municipality of Páez. In that case, a professor at the University of Cauca connected us.

within their own communities. Thus, these research participants were representative of the organization's base and commitment to popular power. For example, some individuals have been involved in the leadership of the ACIT within their own region, in which they held positions within local sub directorates. Others are (or were) leaders within different committees/initiatives. Still others have contributed to the various research projects that the organization has undertaken. In some cases, these individuals have conducted workshops to collect the thoughts, memories, goals and comments of community members; undertaken academic-style research into the historical, legal, ecological issues implicating campesinos in Inzá; or coordinated and compiled information for these projects. All of these leaders are still closely connected to grassroots work in their communities, but those who have had the opportunity to pursue higher education normally live in improved material conditions in comparison to other leaders and members.

My goal in interviewing leaders was to focus on the strategies, arguments, and discourses that the ACIT is mobilizing as a form of resistance against dispossession and invisibility. Further, I spoke with leaders who were active historically with the organization during key moments of struggle, and whose involvement has changed over the history of the organization. This approach offered a very holistic vision of the many aspects of the ACIT's work at different scales and moments. Consequently, it permitted me to track the changes the organization's struggles, goals and strategies as dynamics between land and identity consolidated around the pursuit of territory.

As contextual, social endeavours, those who participated in the interview exchange produce this experience in a specific environment, and in specific interpersonal,

relational situations (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 55, 303). The context of the interview is mutually co-created, and re-negotiated during the interaction, and the interviewee is a co-participant in the construction of the discourse and content of the exchange (Briggs, 1986, p. 3, 25). As a result, the process of interviewing influences, and is influenced by the larger social situation in which it takes place and can "contribute to shaping, supporting, or changing its social context" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 309, 313). Thus, workings of power within research relationships need to be carefully considered and accounted for when using interviews as a data collection method. On one hand, many authors argue that interviews present a unique opportunity to disrupt oppressive relations of power as a cooperative, collaborative exercise of co-authorship (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 54, 302). For instance, DeVault and Gross (2007) suggest that the powerful and relatively direct exchange interviews make possible between researchers, participants, and readers opens space to re-consider and challenge relations of oppression. Further, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) believe that the practice of interviewing "may become a form of radical democratic practice that can be used to help create a free democratic society (as cited in Kvale and Brinkmann, 2011, p. 311). This is to say, the mutual experience of knowledge creation and exchange have the potential to disrupt and confront exclusionary relations of power.

To re-iterate the points that I have raised up to this point about the strengths of semi-structured interviewing as a research method, I would like to briefly re-connect these comments to this thesis' broader methodological framework. As a method that directly engages with architectures of exclusion, semi-structured interviews facilitate knowledge production within a framework of TNF. As I explained in the first chapter,

TNF as a methodology focuses on the ways that power erects boundaries and hierarchies across difference. It also illuminates how social movements resist these structures of exclusion. In support of such analyses, semi-structured interviews facilitate the tracing of power through a close narrative account of dispossession and struggle. Research participants and interviewers are together able to collaboratively explore local manifestations of transnational dynamics of power. Interviews also facilitate a forum within which to explain, describe, and justify strategies of resistance. Moreover, by centring the epistemologies of exclusion that TNF makes visible, interview exchanges also shape the knowledge-making process itself and urgently prioritize a disruption of power dynamics. As an interviewer, I thus attempted to unsettle patterns of exclusion by re-imagining and re-making power through the mutual analysis of oppression, and the co-creation of knowledge.

However, just as interviewing as a method might challenge marginalization, it can also reinforce existing inequalities and reinforce the status quo. For example, although interview exchanges may appear conversational (Blee & Taylor, 2002, p. 92), they are perhaps more accurately described as "one-way pseudoconversation[s]" (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 658). Interviews are mostly a unidirectional "instrumental dialogue" between unequal partners. The researcher defines and controls the exchange's pace, focus, depth, and discourse, and holds substantial power of interpretation (Briggs, 1986, p. 27; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.3, 33-34; Wolf, 1996, p. 19).

Similarly, Charles Briggs (1986) contends that interviews as a method limit the possible exchanges in research encounters. He describes interviews as an "unusual communication event" (p. 3). Researchers often overlook how interviews as

informational exchanges are constrained by the rules and limitations of systems of metacommunication. These rules may restrict the information that can be shared during interviews because of – amongst other factors – the social status of the participants, and the relatively rigid expectations of the method (p. 3, 23). He argues that researchers often neglect to attend to these constraints. In short, Briggs warns that assumptions about how information can be exchanged (and between whom) severely constrain research projects. These assumptions, he suggests, also reveal a "communicative hegemony" in which intellectuals view certain communicative norms as superior (p. 121, 125).

Some authors suggest that fostering a longer-term relationship of collaboration with research participants that allows for reflection and for the analysis of communication norms can help unsettle some of these dynamics (see Briggs, 1986, O'Reilly, 2010). Unfortunately, in most cases, due to time restrictions (mine or those of research participants), in addition to my need to travel to conduct most interviews, multiple conversations were not a possibility. While I managed to speak to a fascinating variety of leaders, only occasionally did I have the chance to ask follow-up questions after reviewing my notes.

Although I was only able to speak with most leaders once, I nevertheless managed to interview a wide variety of people in various hamlets in Inzá, and in the city of Popayán. Many of these people have been involved with the ACIT in different ways throughout its history. Even though some of the conversations might have lacked depth, this was compensated for by the fact that I lived with and near some of the participants in my research. Therefore, I was able to clarify details and comments on a more informal basis as I reflected on my transcriptions and field notes. Further, my key informant

reviewed all of my research questions before I began conducting interviews, and provided guidance on how to rephrase some of the questions he evaluated as being unclear or confusing.

These concerns regarding unequal power relations signal how, on a broader scale, colonial power relations complicate the interview process.²¹ As a researcher (and a research instrument) from the Global North, I am "engaged in fissiparous and highly complex gendered and racialized relations of power at global and regional levels" (Radcliffe, 1994, p.31). Processes of marginalization experienced in Colombia are fuelled by the inequalities manufactured and entrenched by the Global North. These "structural, political, and cultural environments" are always at work during the research and interview processes (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007, p. 496). For instance, my ability to carry out face-to-face interviews is indicative of the possibilities of movement that my positioning in global political economic and neo-colonial hierarchies enables. Further, the Canadian state has vested interests in the development of extractive projects in Colombia. Many research participants were quick to link their worries about the possible advance of transnational mining corporations into Inzá to Canada. On one hand, some worried about how individuals or groups might utilize my research in ways that disadvantage the ACIT's goals (a concern that I address in the following paragraph). On the other hand, some chose to highlight the role of Canada (or North America) in the challenges they are

²¹ See the introduction for a broader discussion about my use of transnational feminism as a guiding methodology facilitates a consideration of how colonial relations of power are at work in a study of this kind, and how such relations can be addressed and diminished.

living. In both cases, it is undeniable that my positioning as a researcher from Canada impacted the themes that emerged during interviews.

None of this is to say that power is a unidirectional force. For instance, during the interview exchange, research participants may always withhold information, avoid questions, or intentionally mislead the interviewer (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.34). Aaron Cicourel (1974, p. 88) insists that interviewees' remarks "are often the product of a carefully monitored kind of presentation" (p. 88 as cited in Briggs, 1986, p. 25). In the case of the ACIT, most people who participated in interviews had previous experience doing so as representatives of the organization. The majority of my research participants could be described as practiced communicators within the potentialities and limitations of this method. This is in large part due to the fact that concise, clear communication during interviews as an important skill through which the ACIT is able to explain their position to the state.

In regards to the process of creating the possibilities for interviews to take place, this study was heavily dependent upon the support of Peña.²² Without his support, conducting interviews would have been nearly impossible in large part due to the founded suspicions of unaccompanied researchers from the Global North. Peña arranged most interviews and opportunities for me to participate in some of the ACIT's meetings. Therefore, his guidance largely shaped the direction of my research. Peña and other leaders also provided helpful feedback and suggestions during the development stage of the research proposal and interview guides, data collection, and the drafting of an initial

²² As a campesino that has had opportunities to pursue higher education, he is familiar with the interview process, as well as the research process as a whole.

roadmap outlining my findings. His and others' collaboration ensured that the research aligned with the organization's long-term goals and current challenges, thus disrupting some power imbalances.

Peña, as well as other leaders of the ACIT, were clear in their hopes that my research might lead to a greater awareness in North America of the struggles and challenges facing the organization. The ACIT is very conscious of the need to make the campesinado visible as a collective political identity group at national and international scales. The organization hopes that by doing so it can build support and solidarity within and between social movements. Peña insisted that garnering both national and international awareness, support, and solidarity for campesino struggles is an area in which the organization needs to focus. He emphasized that the ACIT might address its limited success in its engagement with the state through transnational pressure. The ACIT's desire to take up struggles transnationally allowed me access as a researcher, and made me part of these issues of politicization and enactment of particular strategies. The transnational visibility that I can offer to the ACIT is, as one participant put it, my contribution, my "grain of sand."²³ I am thus located within, and implicated in the political work of the association.

To compensate for some of the short fallings of interview as method, and to generate the most holistic view possible of the ACIT's work, I drew on two other supporting methods.

²³ Leaders with the ACIT would like their struggles to become part of the North American academic conversation. Therefore, for them, the presentation of my work at various academic conferences, as well as the publication of this thesis represent key steps in this direction.

Participant observation. The first of two supporting methods that I employed was a variety of participant observation. As a method that "opens a window on lived experience" (Lichterman, 2002, p. 121 as cited in Maddison, 2007, p. 398), participant observation involves "observing and participating in social action as the act is happening" (Lichterman, 1998, p.401). It usually implies the extended immersion and active participation of the researcher in social settings of interest, which facilitates the collection of data through a variety of complementary methods (Bernard, 2006 as cited in DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 2; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 5; Devine, 1995, p. 137 as cited in Maddison, 2007, p. 398; Kawulich, 2005). Consequently, it enables "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 79 as cited in Kawulich, 2005, definitions section, para. 1). Due to time restrictions, I was limited to conducting what Kawulich (2005) calls "focused observation": a style of participant observation that combines observation with interviews such that participants' insights guide decisions regarding what to observe (The processes of conducting observations section, para. 3). For example, I attended and observed meetings and workshops that the ACIT and other key organizations put on for their membership and/or leadership. Research participants flagged these events as being of particular importance during my time in Inzá. By attending, I was able to gather further information about the contexts in which organizations are struggling, and observe intra-organizational communications regarding goals and challenges. These events served primarily as a means to complement the information gathered during interviews, build my network of contacts, and develop a more robust picture of the dynamics of local struggles/organizing.

Participant observation and semi-structured interviews are complementary

research methods. Paul Lichterman (1998) insists that interviews as events of interaction elicit particular types of interactions and exchanges (citing Mischler, 1986; Briggs 1986, p. 412). Participant observation, on the other hand, accesses different discourses, and reference points, thus presenting an opportunity to reconsider and revisit data collected during interviews (p. 412). Together, information gathered through the two methods can be mutually complimentary, and can be combined "judiciously to create a richer account of lived experience" (Lichterman, 2002, p. 141 as cited in Maddison, 2007, p. 309). Together, interviews and participant observation ultimately offer a more robust understanding of the research context (Kawulich, 2005, see also DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 3).

Participant observation is a method that allows an examination of underlying assumptions and motivations, and therefore is a particularly useful tool for the analysis of social movements and their construction of collective identities (Uldam & McCurdy, 2013, p.942). It offers opportunities to learn about group life, the everyday meanings of activism (Lichterman, 1998, p. 402), processes through which groups form, and their collective identities (Whittier, 1995, p. 17 as cited in Maddison, 2007, p. 399). In the case of this study, participant observation was a tool to examine how organizations form and debate arguments for territory as a political identity group, and negotiate intra-group power dynamics.

Further, participant observation can support the struggles of marginalized groups. Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) assert that "Observation-based research can certainly play a role in the pursuit of an agenda of human rights-oriented social justice, if only by producing vivid, evocative descriptive analyses of situations" (p. 474). For them, such

descriptions can encourage a process of consciousness-raising (p. 474). As well, Angrosino and Rosenberg suggest that observation can lead to the empowerment of peoples and communities if conducted in a participatory/collaborative way (p. 474). This is achieved through the distribution of ideas, and information to a variety of public forums in order to air non-mainstream positions (p. 474). Although the ACIT leadership's primary goal in relation to my research was to circulate their struggle within North American academic channels, they share Angrosino and Rosenberg's optimism regarding the potential of descriptive analysis to advance their claims.

Interpretive textual analysis. Another secondary method I utilized is interpretive textual analysis. Textual analysis most usually involves the reading of texts for their implicit cultural meanings vis-à-vis larger narratives circulating in society (see McKee, 2003). In this study, I specifically approached texts as extensions and technologies of the everyday struggles and careful political positionings pursued by social movements. I was motivated to do so by Bannerji's (1995) assertion that "texts produce and carry ideology" (as cited in DeVault & Gross, 2007, p. 189). Moreover, as Dvora Yanow (2000) discusses in relation to policy analysis, texts (or in her case, policies as texts) construct and create reality and meaning as much as the texts inform them (see p. 17).

I drew from reports, publications, and videos produced by the ACIT, other campesino organizations, and indigenous cabildos in Inzá. These texts provided me with important background for situating interviews, and allowed me to supplement and clarify information gathered through other methods (see Maddison, 2007, p. 401). Drawing on texts of this nature is an opportunity to centre the narratives and meanings that organizations produce. Therefore, I am able to more closely align my analyses with the

political motivations of leaders. Moreover, a focus on texts facilitates the tracing of changing dynamics in rights claims, divisions and alliances. It clarifies how organizations position themselves in relation to other organizations and/marginalized groups when constructing and launching their appeals to the state.

Interpretive textual analysis is particularly useful in the study of social movements. Sarah Maddison (2007) asserts that interpretive textual analysis, as a tool of triangulation in combination with other methods, substantially increases the amount of detail on which researchers are able to draw in their analyses (p. 401). Similarly, Blee and Taylor (2002) argue:

The combination of participant observation or document analysis with semi-structured interviewing can be a useful means of analysing the specific contexts within which participants in social movements construct their understandings of these movements. (p. 112)

Textual analysis of documents and reports prepared by organizations helped me to construct a more robust contextual panorama within which to situate this study. It also became a means to access and track different scales and articulations of struggle.

Now that I have outlined the methods I used to gather qualitative data, in the next section I develop a justification of my decision to approach the ACIT as a contemporary case study of how neoliberal multiculturalism governs civil society groups. This discussion of methods grounds the coming section by offering the reader a clear roadmap for how I approached and investigated issues of power and governance.

The ACIT: Case Study of Land-Identity Governance

As an organization on the margins, the ACIT is an important example of how seemingly progressive human rights legislation can actually foster further marginalization and conflict. Exploring a case study of its work is illustrative of wider trends emergent as a result of neoliberal globalization. In this section, I outline three key reasons why the ACIT is a particularly strong case through which to illustrate the workings and effects of the ethnicization and spatialization of rights. First, the ACIT is in the process of creating a novel subject position from which to advance rights claims of the state. Second, as the ACIT directly engages with constructed boundaries, it reveals how those on the margins are creatively responding to the closing space available to un-recognized groups. Third, the ACIT's struggles are not isolated acts of resistance; many other groups are facing similar challenges, and are looking to the ACIT for strategies and motivation.

Before I develop these three points, I offer a brief explanation of some of the factors that scholars and activists use to define campesino as a political identity group. Campesinos are generally identified through their predominant work/economic activities as small-scale farmers. Their production is focused on both subsistence, and the pursuit of profit; however, campesinos' emphasis on production for family use marks the distinctiveness of the campesino economy (Tobasura Acuña, 2005, p. 65-66). They are also identified through their position as members of the rural working class, and their geographical location in rural areas (see Gutiérrez Escobar, 2011, p. 64; May, 2014).

However, the ACIT cautions that articulating a single, comprehensive definition of campesino is nearly impossible because of their unique occupations, approaches to political participation, and ways of organizing. Nonetheless, the ACIT emphasizes their distinct economic systems to describe campesinos as follows:

They work in rural areas but agriculture is not necessarily their core activity; they combine strategies of subsistence with those of the market, and the latter are even predominant; their communities can be found far from centres of development, but they are not necessarily cut off; they use family labour in their field in combination with wage labour, or their incomes come entirely from their work as waged rural labourers.²⁴ (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 12)

Further, campesinos rely on collaboration and support within communities to meet basic needs. The logics underlying the economic system of campesinos present alternatives to that of the "rational individual" whose motivation is driven entirely by cost-benefit analyses (Gutiérrez Escobar, 2011, p. 64). In sum, campesinos are a political identity group that is grounded in a unique economic system that directly opposes many of the predatory tendencies of neoliberalism in favour of collaborative, small-scale efforts at survival.

Keeping in mind this basic understanding of campesinos as a political group, how then does the ACIT present a useful and revealing case study about the workings of neoliberal globalization?

Active construction of a novel subject position. The ACIT, in collaboration with other members of the campesino movement, is in the midst of a process of "visibilization." These efforts are in response to their position as a collective with limited

²⁴ "Se desempeña en el ámbito rural pero la agricultura no necesariamente es su actividad fundamental; combina estrategias de subsistencia con las de mercado, e incluso son preponderantes estas últimas; su comunidad puede encontrarse alejada de los centros de desarrollo mas no necesariamente incomunicada; hace uso de la mano de obra familiar en su parcela en combinación con el trabajo asalariado, o bien sus ingresos provienen en su totalidad de su trabajo como asalariado del campo."

currency within the legal structure of international/national human rights norms. For the ACIT, a process of visibilization involves the construction of a subject position from which recognition becomes plausible. This process presents an opportunity to observe and analyze the assemblage of the campesinado as a collective located (partially) outside the naturalized boundaries of permissible ethnicities, and yet close enough to launch claims of the state.

The efforts of the ACIT are representative of other campesino organizations in the department of Cauca because of how its organizing runs up against that of recognized indigenous groups. As the ACIT develops its position as an ethnicized collective – therefore making specialized claims possible – the organization distances itself from the indigenous residents and cultures of Inzá. However, in a seeming contradiction, the ACIT simultaneously mobilizes many ethnicized characteristics closely associated with indigeneity and firstness, which the state recognizes and rewards. I detail these aspects of the ACIT's work in more detail in chapter four. For my purposes here, what is important to accentuate is that the ACIT's strategizing and mobilization of claims are unique specifically because of their proximity to claims by another extremely marginalized group. Thus, engaging with the ACIT is an opportunity to consider how the organization is simultaneously implicated in and impacted by the divisive work of neoliberal multiculturalism. It also presents possibilities to analyze the implications of changing relationships between land and identity. Patterns of governance, discipline, and resistance can be read through these claims, as well as the (re)building and dismantling of boundaries.

Implications of boundaries. Despite attempts to draw lines around political identity groups, histories and identities overlap within Inzá, and within the ACIT. It is not uncommon for people to move between groups and identities within a single lifetime. The always-present fluidity, fuzziness, and uncertainty of boundaries are particularly visible in the everyday complications that arise in Inzá because of these overlaps. The assertion of primordial ties to territory becomes especially problematic as groups stake out constructed, and always-problematic boundaries around "us" and "them." Consequently, this forces residents to choose a side. It is important to look at the ACIT's approach to these boundaries in order to ask how its work both entrenches and resists the construction of binaries within Inzá. The complex and at times contradictory organizing by the association illuminates many of the divisions that state-based recognition generates. However, it also suggests that broader strategies of resistance – built on the margins by and for excluded groups – are indeed possible.

Investigating strategies of resistance that directly engage with constructed boundaries allows me to ask how those on the margins are creatively responding to the closing opportunities available for un-recognized groups to claim rights. Also, it permits a consideration of the possible implications of the ACIT's demands as a diverse political identity group on the state's attempts to govern political identities. These demands, and how groups articulate them shed light on the cracks and weaknesses in the ethnicization and spatialization of rights. Thus, such a line of questioning suggests where broader challenges to neoliberal governance of political identities might begin.

Analyzing the ACIT allows me to consider what an unrecognized, heterogeneous group offers to efforts that seek to disassemble the relations of power that shut down

diversity. Imperfect attempts to gain recognition as a fluid political identity group on the margins render operations of power – riddled, as they are with contradictions and inconsistencies – particularly visible. It is not only the struggles themselves that are revealing, but also *how* the organization conceives these acts of resistance. The association's strategies of resistance prioritize the practice of horizontal decision-making rooted in direct democracy. Therefore, the ACIT presents the opportunity to consider how the impacts of neoliberal globalization might be disrupted by foregrounding the exercise of popular power.

ACIT as regional leader. Other municipalities in the department of Cauca are in the midst of similar disputes over territory. In some cases, these disputes are further complicated by active conflicts between armed groups, and/or claims of additional subaltern groups, such as Afro-descendants.²⁵ In many respects, the ACIT is emerging as an exemplar organization, to which other campesino groups are turning for guidance in their struggles. In other words, the actions of the ACIT likely have a substantial ripple effect in campesinos' organizing, claims to territory, and indigenous/campesino relations.

The issues with which the ACIT is engaging, and the ways in which it is doing so, make it an important case study from which to launch a close reading of neoliberal globalization. It is also an entry point into an analysis of regional and national campesino struggles that have emerged in response to the 1991 Constitution.

²⁵ Afro-descendants are another marginalized group that achieved (retroactive) recognition in the 1991 Constitution. Law 70 was passed in 1993 officially granting specialized rights to Afro-descendants, and recognizing their collective land holdings. The legislative frame largely follows the indigenous model of rights protection. According to Juliet Hooker (2005), Afro-descendants must shape their cultural identity into ideas of first-ness using rhetoric mobilized by indigenous peoples in order to successfully claim specialized rights protection (p.293, 295, 304).

At the Margins of Recognition: Consequences of and Responses to the "Invisibilization" of Campesinos

Many research participants expressed the sentiment that the Colombia state has forgotten or "invisibilized" campesinos. According to the interview data, the exclusion of campesinos from the drafting and text of the 1991 Constitution is the primary reason for this invisibilization. Most see this this exclusion as an attempt by the state to eliminate campesinos from possibilities of specialized rights protection.²⁶ The ACIT argues that the invisibilization of campesinos was due in part to the fact that the campesinado is not a minority population:

...the campesinado was not recognized by the Constitution, to the extent that [the campesinado] is not mentioned in its text, there are no effective guarantees for its legal recognition or protective measures for its rights... In a word, [the campesinado] has been invisibilized on the grounds that it is the majority. Thus we have a state that recognizes rights to minorities, while systematically ignoring those of the majority.²⁷ (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 895)

²⁶ In reality, campesinos do appear once in the text of the Constitution. Article 64 states "It is the duty of the state to promote the gradual access of agricultural workers to landed property in individual or associational form and to provide services involving education, health, housing, social security, recreation, credit, communications, the marketing of products, technical and management assistance with the purpose of improving the incomes and quality of life of the campesinos" (Constitución Política de Colombia, 1991, article 64). Rather than claiming that campesinos had been excluded all together, it might be more accurate to emphasize that campesinos as a self-identified collective with territorial connections were not recognized in the text. However, for my purposes, most important is the *perception* of research participants that they had been excluded from the Constitution.

²⁷ "...el campesinado fue desconocido por la Constitución en la medida en que en ella no es mencionado, no existen garantías efectivas para su reconocimiento legal, ni medidas de protección para sus derechos... En una palabra se ha invisibilizado, bajo el argumento de que hace parte de la población mayoritaria. De esta manera tenemos un Estado que reconoce derechos a minorías, al tiempo que desconoce sistemáticamente los de las mayorías."

In a seeming contradiction, because campesinos are a sizable part of the population throughout Colombia, they are invisible as a group that might claim specialized rights/recognition. This implies that the constitution's recognition of a particular type of political identity depends on the exclusion of most. Campesinos have few available options in a context that favours a precise type of primordial, rooted, rural, ethnicized group as the archetype for specialized rights protection. With very precarious possibilities for recognition as an autochthonous minority, campesinos are left with a flimsy foundation from which to launch attempted engagements with the state.²⁸

These limited platforms from which to articulate rights claims have provoked widespread organizing by the campesinado in Colombia in order to address this gap in protection. In the years immediately following the adoption of the 1991 Constitution, campesinos in Inzá (and in Colombia more generally) began organizing as a distinct political group with a unique, recognizable culture. Melba Arias, leader with the Women's Committee, argues that:

...rooted in the exclusion from the Constitution of 1991, [the campesinado] begins to react. They said, 'shit, we were left out, the state does not recognize us, and in

Campesinos are estimated to total between six and seven million people, composing between 12.96% and 15.12% of the population (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2011, p. 47-49). The Colombian state does not specifically track campesinos as an independent population, and consequently, estimates regarding the total population vary.

²⁸ Another reason for which the ACIT's leaders suggest the campesinado was excluded from the Constitution is the state's argument that campesinos support and/or belong to guerrilla groups. I discuss this in more detail in chapter four.

addition, they displace us, they take our land'. From here on the campesinado began to have a visible role in Colombia.²⁹

Arias' comments are important as she raises the point that it was not simply that the campesinado was excluded from the Constitution and its subsequent rights protection. Rather, according to campesinos, this exclusion put their very existence at risk, and left them open to attacks from the state.

Interestingly, in Inzá, campesinos' claims are further complicated by the state's view of the region of Tierradentro as first and foremost an indigenous space. This implies a double-invisibilization against which the ACIT struggles. Troublingly, this implies that the organization is not only asserting its visibility as an un-recognized population, but also doing so in Inzá *against* indigenous peoples and indigeneity. Since the proposed expansion of resguardos within Inzá, if successful, would absorb campesinos into indigenous populations, the ACIT sees this potential expansion as a "threat" to campesino ways of being. Many campesinos indicated that they did not "feel" indigenous and did not want to set aside their unique campesino culture and identity. On multiple occasions, research participants indicated that their unwilling inclusion in resguardos would end in displacement for campesinos, as they refused to live under systems of indigenous government. The relative strength of indigenous recognition generally, and in Inzá specifically, has caused some campesinos feel that their indigenous neighbours' successes

²⁹ "...a raíz de la exclusión de la constitución del año 1991, es que empieza a reaccionar. Es decir, 'mierda, nos dejaron por fuera, el estado no nos reconoce, y mas encima, nos desplazan, nos quitan la tierra'. Entonces, a partir de ahí es que empieza todo ese protagonismo del campesinado en Colombia."

have come at the expense of campesinos. Alix Morales - leader with the Women's Committee - summarizes this feeling well:

From '91, the indigenous peoples ... with recognition as a minority population, managed to gain a lot more space; also ... all the international and national human rights organizations have their eyes on them. So it is not as easy to cause them harm, because there are many people watching and defending their rights, while the campesinado [does not have this protection].³⁰

Thus, relations between indigenous peoples and campesinos have changed substantially. Indigenous peoples have increasing power to make claims of belonging to specific territories, over which they are able to exercise autonomy (see Rincón García, 2009). Similarly marginalized groups now have different possibilities for making claims, and as an extension, for addressing their conditions of marginalization. As a result, tensions have emerged between campesinos and indigenous peoples, subsequently limiting possibilities for collaboration.

This being said, most campesino research participants communicated their respect for indigenous peoples' struggles and the rights protection they have achieved. A lawyer who contributes to the work of the ACIT, Miguel Arias, underlined that campesinos' push for recognition is not intended to "ignore indigenous communities, but rather also to establish a position as campesinos."³¹ Yet, he goes on to insist that the state "cannot

³⁰ "Los indígenas a partir del 91...con el reconocimiento como población minoritaria lograron ganar mucho más espacio; también...que todas organizaciones internacionales y nacionales de derechos humanos tienen sus ojos puestos en ellos. Entonces no es tan fácil hacerles daño, porque hay mucha gente observando y defendiendo sus derechos, mientras que el campesinado no."

³¹ "...desconocer las comunidades indígenas, sino también, a fijar una posición como campesinos."

recognize the rights of some at the expense of others.³²" Arias explains that the key frustration for campesinos is their perception that the rights of one marginalized group are negatively impacting the well being of another group living in similar material conditions. Further, as Peña explains, "they guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples...but not at the expense of...the large landholders, rather at the expense of campesinos' or Afro's territories."³³ The ACIT's position is that it is unfair that indigenous claims over the lands of other marginalized groups are often facilitated, while those that target large landholders, or multinational corporations are rarely successful. Therefore, despite campesinos' explicit support for indigenous peoples' struggles, feelings that these advances are unfairly impacting campesinos have generated acute tensions in Inzá. Consequently, recognition and its implication for rights have generated a complicated conflict in the municipality.

Interethnic conflict. Until relatively recently, campesinos and indigenous peoples regularly collaborated and mobilized together against the actions of the state. For example, between 2009 and 2011, the ACIT, Inzá's Juan Tama Association of Indigenous Cabildos (*Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas Juan Tama*), and the Nasa Çxhãçxa Association of Indigenous Cabildos (*Asociación de Cabildos Nasa Çxhãçxa*) from the neighbouring municipality of Paéz, co-managed and co-executed a project funded by the European Union called the "Peace Laboratory." Peña was heavily involved in the project on behalf of the ACIT. He summarized it as follows, "...for nearly two and a half years

³² "...no pueden reconocer los derechos de unos a costa de los otros."

³³ "...los derechos de los pueblos indígenas...los garantizan, pero no a expensas de...los latifundios. Sino a expensas de los territorios campesinos o los territorios afros."

we were carrying out actions: in production, in infrastructure, and in the political-organizational area. This is the last big project that we developed together.³⁴ In addition to the Peace Laboratory, campesinos and indigenous peoples also mobilized together to protest the advances of neoliberalism. The two largest series of actions and protests were focused on the signing of a free trade agreement between Colombia and the United States (in 2006), and the systemic dissembling and privatization of Colombia's public health system (actions occurred between 2007 and 2010).

However, currently in Inzá, these partnerships have broken down. This collapse, and the conflict that has emerged in its place, is largely attributable to the changing dynamics in the municipality resultant from the Constitution, and the overlapping land claims of the two groups.³⁵ Although tensions over land have been ongoing, the situation became acute in 2012 when the six indigenous cabildos in Inzá (collectively represented through the Juan Tama Indigenous Cabildos Association) began the process to expand their six respective resguardos into areas that campesinos see as theirs.

Land tenure and distribution in Inzá. To provide some context in regards to current structures of land tenure, I turn to John Jairo Rincón García's work. Although statistics regarding size and makeup of the municipality's population are conflicting, according to the National Population Census conducted in 2005, the municipality had a

³⁴ "...estuvimos durante casi dos años y medio realizando acciones: en lo productivo, en infraestructura, y en la parte política-organizativa. Es el último proyecto grande que se ha desarrollado así, conjuntamente."

³⁵ The conflict between indigenous groups and the ACIT has been mostly non-violent. The exception is a series of events that took place in the spring of 2013. These occurrences were related to control over the high school - and the region as a whole - in the town of San Andrés de Pisimbalá. One student was killed, and between five and ten community members were injured. Fortunately, the situation was calmed through the coordinated action between indigenous and campesino leaders. While relations in Inzá between indigenous peoples and campesinos are tense, they have by no means broken down entirely.

population of 27,172 inhabitants, of whom 24.75% (2,182 people) live in towns, and 72.26% (24,990) in rural areas (as cited in Rincón, 2013, p. 92). By 2011, the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE, 2011) predicted that the population had reached approximately 29,000 people (as cited in Rincón, 2013, p. 18). In 2005, self-identified indigenous peoples composed 47% of the population (Rincón, 2013, p. 92). The Colombian state does not survey the population in order to track populations who self-identify as campesino, and therefore it is difficult to determine the exact percentage of Inzá's population that is campesino. Some authors suggest that all those who do not identify as indigenous are by default campesinos according to the state. Thus, in 2005, the campesino population could have been approximately 53% of the total (Rincón García, 2013, p. 92). The ACIT has presented its own estimates that it developed using data it collected during its own surveys, and publically-available municipal data. In one instance, it argued that the campesino population is closer to 60% of the total (ACIT, 2004, p. 6), and 66%, in another report (ACIT, 2005, p. 37).

In regards to land tenure, the collective property of indigenous peoples occupies 29,617 hectares, which is close to 33.82% of the municipal territory (Rincon, 2013, p. 95). A further 28,790 hectares, or 32.87% are vacant lands (ACIT, 2005, p. 37). Campesinos hold 29,174 hectares, or 33.31% of the total municipal territory (ACIT, 2005, p. 37). Most of Inzá's residents struggle to meet their daily needs because of the acute land shortage in the municipality, and the poor fertility of the soil. In the case of campesinos, 81% of the population possesses less than 3 hectares of land, which is insufficient to support an average family (ACIT et al., 2013, p.965).

Moreover, a lack of clarity regarding existing land titles is also augmenting disagreement, as 17% of campesino landholders have no documentation supporting their ownership (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 963). Even more complicated are the areas of vacant land in the municipality. In theory, these lands have never ceased to be under state ownership. However, in some areas, people have occupied these plots for up to eighty years. These inhabitants' presence is not officially registered in any capacity, and they have no official claim to their homes and farms. According to Peña, the current tensions over land between campesinos and indigenous peoples may end up being solved through a re-negotiation of the boundaries of the resguardos. The goal would be to exclude areas that are primarily populated by campesinos. However, in this scenario, resguardos would expand into these supposedly vacant areas, which could disadvantage many extremely marginalized campesinos. All of this indicates that the informality regarding the ownership and history of many properties complicates attempts at large-scale clarification of territorial rights.

Campesino reserve zones as territorial strategy. In response to indigenous attempts to expand their territories, the ACIT has launched its own collective land claim in the form of a Campesino Reserve Zone (*Zona de Reserva Campesina*, hereafter ZRC). Protected by Law 160 of 1994, a ZRC is "A geographic area selected by the Governing Board of INCORA (*Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria* [The Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reform], now called the *Instituto Colombiano de Desarrollo Rural* [The Colombian Institute of Rural Development – INCODER]), that takes into account its regional agro-ecological and socioeconomic characteristics" (Rincón García, 2013, p. 169). INCODER calculates the number of people each ZRC is able to support according

to its minimum and maximum Family Agricultural Unit (*Unidad Agrícola Familiar* – UAF) (Rincón García, 2013, p. 169).³⁶

From the perspective of the state, ZRCs benefit campesinos in a number of different ways. Some of these include: improving access to land, services and development opportunities; offering increased participation of rural communities in the planning and execution of their own development; preventing the concentration of land; and limiting the indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources through the promotion of environmental protection (INCORA, 1996 as cited in Rincón García, 2013, p. 171; *Ministerio de Agricultura y Desarrollo Rural et al.*, 2005, P. 9).

Varona Osejo (2011 as cited in Rincón García, 2013) asserts that ZRCs have been a key tool in the reconfiguration and empowerment of campesino identities and cultures. She affirms that this is the case precisely because of the space that ZRCs open for the possibilities of territorial claims, and the mobilization of social movements (p. 169). For campesinos, ZRCs offer at least minimal refuge against displacement, dispossession, degradation of the environment (through the actions of multi-national extractive corporations, for example), and the further concentration of land in the hands of the few (see Rincón García, 2013, p. 169-170; Rincón García 2009).³⁷ Importantly, they also

³⁶ The UAF, according to Law 160 of 1994, is a the minimum size of small, basic family farm or forestry operation which, according to the agro-ecological conditions of the area, allows the family to remunerate their work, and produce a surplus which can be saved for the future. The UAF varies dependent upon agricultural conditions and production potential (Oxfam, 2013, p. 9). In Inzá, the state has determined the UAF to be between 4 and 25 hectares, dependent upon the area in question (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 966). The ACIT reports that 96 percent of campesinos surveyed for the Land Tenure Study do not possess the minimum UAF (ACIT et al., 2013, p.966).

³⁷ Recent data compiled by Rincón García (2009) indicate that 40.33% of the landowners own 0.91% of the land in the department of Cauca (p.62). This information is even more shocking if one considers that those whose properties total less than one hectare equal 23.56% of the department's landholders, yet own only

provide some protection to campesino economies and ways of being (see Rincón García, 2013, p. 169-170; Rincón García 2009). In sum, ZRCs are primarily a tool for campesinos to respond to the impacts of neoliberal globalization. In Inzá, they are also a proposed means to draw a line around campesino populations, indicating the point to which indigenous resguardos might advance. In doing so, ZRCs act to calm the fears of many campesinos that their deeds might soon be lost.

Despite all of the complications and conflicts emergent from possibilities for recognition, interview data indicate that both indigenous peoples and campesinos emphasize how the conflict in Inzá is representative of fundamentally problematic relations of power. Both groups agree that the divisions between their communities act to tear apart the fabric of civil society in the municipality. Indigenous and campesino leaders share concerns about the potential advance of multinational corporations into Inzá (principally in pursuit of mineral interests). For many, the paving and widening of the mountain road that links Inzá with the Panamerican highway foreshadows the advance of corporations. Leaders from both organizations worry that the conflict over territory will squash unified resistance efforts, to the benefit of national and international elites. They emphasize the need to work together to push against "what is coming."

In review, in this section, I discussed the major forces shaping the relations of power within which the ACIT operates and strategizes. I turn now to a closer description of the historical and current motivations of the organization. I begin by briefly sketching

2.43% of the available land, (p.62). Plots over 2000 hectares concentrate 24.16% of the department's land in the hands of only 0.10% of the landowners (p. 62). These figures do not include indigenous or Afro-descendant's communal lands.

out the national context in which these motivations have developed, and to which they respond.

The Colombian Campesinado and the History and Mandate of the ACIT

Historically, campesinos have occupied a position of marginalization in Colombia. The Colombian elite's successful resistance against a comprehensive agrarian reform has perpetuated campesinos' marginalization. Beginning with the division of land into massive estates for the elite in the nineteenth century, most campesinos able to claim a plot of land (i.e. if not solely working as landless labourers) have been pushed into the infertile and difficult-to-cultivate highlands (Zamosc, 1986, p. 11). Large estate owners monopolize the more fertile areas in the plains and valleys (Zamosc, 1986, p. 11). This trend toward the dispossession and displacement of the campesinado (increasingly toward cities) continued throughout the 20th century to present day due to violent struggles for land, and the industrialization of agricultural production (Bohórquez & O'Connor, 2012).

Multiple challenges have had an inhibitory effect on sector-wide organization and mobilization against structural inequalities. For instance, perhaps the most acute of these issues has been the dispersal and diversity of the campesino population. Regardless, campesinos have maintained a strong presence within Colombian civil society. Revolutionary trends throughout Latin America, particularly those of the second-half of the twentieth century, largely influenced campesino organizations. As a result, many organizations expressed their demands through discourses of class struggle. One of which was the ANUC. It emerged as a semi-official campesino organization in 1967 (Zamosc,

1986, p. 2-3).³⁸ It was the first group that was able to autonomously articulate at the national scale campesino demands for land, and the protection of small landholders (Zamosc, 1986, p. 2-3). The ANUC expressed the predominant identity of campesinos as a unique agrarian member of the lower class (Zamosc, 1986, p.4).³⁹ This class-based identification remained strong until after the implementation of the 1991 Constitution, when campesinos began emphasizing the uniqueness of their identities in cultural terms.⁴⁰

In Inzá, the history of campesino population is varied; however, most campesinos have links to indigenous groups,⁴¹ as well as ties to "settlers" who arrived from other regions and departments. Migration to Inzá for most was a result of violent displacement,⁴² forced relocation as soldiers during the Thousand Days' War between 1899 and 1902, work as labourers on large farms or plantations, or the search for agricultural land (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 437-449; Zamosc, 1986, p. 2, 18).

³⁸ While the ANUC was created by the administration of President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, the organization later broke into two groups. One of these groups continued to have a close relationship with the state, while the other sought greater independence (Bohórquez & O'Connor, 2012).

³⁹ Campesinos' isolation as a class independent from the proletariat occurred largely because of the fragmentation of the left. Workers were deeply disorganized, and most parties/groups had little popular support (Zamosc, 1986, p. 119). Thus the impossibility of broader class alliance led campesinos to break off on their own under the ANUC (Zamosc, 1986, p. 119).

⁴⁰ This is not to say that campesino organizations have abandoned class-based organizing altogether. For instance, one of the most influential wings of the campesino movement, *La Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria* (the National Federation of Agricultural Farming Unions, FENSUAGRO) continues to organize as a labour union focused on a working-class struggle for justice and equity (Brittain, 2007).

⁴¹ The most prominent indigenous group in Inzá is the Nasa. The Guanacas were historically present in the region as well (Rappaport, 2000), but few self-identifying members of this group remain.

⁴² Many campesinos in Inzá arrived as a result of a civil war known as *La Violencia* (The Violence), which occurred between 1948 and 1958. During *La Violencia*, members of the Liberal and Conservative parties fought for political and economic control of the country (see Bailey, 1967). The war largely played out between neighbours such that entire families assassinated each other in spirals of violence. In many regions, Liberals faced extreme violence and revenge (Bailey, 1967, p. 570; Kirk, 2005, p. 52). The widespread conflict forced many people to leave their homes and their land. As a consequence, many of the country's elite profited, particularly at the expense of campesinos (Kirk, 2005, p. 52). Since Inzá was a relative safe haven for Liberals, many of the party's supporters re-located there to escape violence in areas dominated by the Conservative party.

Before the 1990's, Communal Action Boards (*Juntas de Acción Comunal* [JAC]) anchored campesino organizing in Inzá. JAC's were (and still are) a unique administrative form of local governance established to give communities a way to promote local improvement projects (Ballvé, 2012, p. 612). The JACS are citizen-initiated, locally elected bodies legally defined as "civil-society" organizations that mainly initiate and manage minor infrastructure projects, as well as the provision of some services (Ballvé, 2012, p. 612). Projects and service delivery are usually cooperative efforts with local governments that support community development initiatives (see ACIT et al., 2013, p. 472, 594).

More recently, campesinos formed the Campesino Association of the Municipality of Inzá (*Asociación Campesina del Municipio de Inzá – ACMI*) in 1993 in the village of Turminá. In 2002, at the San Francisco Assembly, the membership of the ACMI voted to include campesinos from throughout the municipality of Inzá in a new, expanded organization called the ACIT.

As grassroots civil society organizations, campesinos intended the ACMI and the ACIT to defend campesino land claims. The ACIT's current work emphasizes four key goals: a) position the campesinado as a political and social actor (in their terms, a holder of rights or *sujeto de derecho*) that is deserving of recognition by the Colombian state; b) protect the individual and collective land rights of campesinos through a focus on the recognition of small-property holders' titles; c) assert collective campesino territorial claims and territoriality in the face of attempts by indigenous peoples to expand their resguardos into areas populated by campesinos; and d) create an environment in which popular power can thrive in order to foster direct democracy at all levels of the

organization. My key informant, Gerardo Peña, summarizes these goals for autonomous territorial development well:

But I believe that the ACIT thinks of itself as a popular organization that aspires to democratize power and decision-making. And [it also aspires to] hopefully be able to collectively build a territorial project where the communities could autonomously decide on their development plans. Where they could autonomously manage their resources, carry out their projects, and bring about this whole project that is called the Campesino Development Plan. This is the dream, and for this they are fighting, although there are political and economic interests against this. There are very powerful groups for which these types of proposals are not convenient, but [the leaders of the ACIT] are giving a good fight, and they have taken up the cause with a lot of discipline, a lot of commitment, and with a lot of faith, too.⁴³

To realize these objectives (and respond to the challenges that the organization faces from the elite), the ACIT mobilizes in multi-scalar political, social and academic circles. The ACIT aims to contribute to broader social processes with the goal of addressing the structural inequalities built into capitalism, and affecting systemic change

⁴³ "Pero yo creo que la ACIT se piensa cómo una organización popular que aspira a democratizar el poder, y a democratizar la toma de las decisiones. Y, ojalá, a poder construir colectivamente un proyecto territorial en donde las comunidades puedan autónomamente decidir sus planes de desarrollo. Donde puedan autónomamente gestionar sus recursos, ejecutar sus proyectos, y llevar a cabo, pues, todo ese proyecto que se ha llamado Plan de Desarrollo Campesino. Ese es el sueño, y por esto se está peleando, aunque políticamente y económicamente hay intereses en contra de esto. Y hay grupos muy poderosos a los que no les conviene este tipo de propuestas, pero se está dando la pelea y se ha asumido la causa con mucha disciplina, con mucho compromiso y con mucha fe también."

(ACIT et al., 2013, p. 12). It focuses in particular on the legislative process, the development of public policy, and the election process. In more concrete terms, the organization also strives to mobilize sustainable, collective initiatives for local economic development that are in harmony with the needs of the community. At its root, the ACIT aims to improve the quality of life for campesinos in Inzá, particularly for its approximately 3000 affiliates and their families.

Committees and areas of work. The scope of the ACIT's work is extremely broad. It has seven committees that seek to respond to various challenges facing campesinos (see Figure 3). For example, the Women's Committee has mobilized campaigns aimed at combating gender-based violence. The Youth Committee educates young people regarding oppressive structures of power, and builds responses through artistic and productive projects. The Political Committee is the force behind the ACIT's participation in municipal politics, and the improvement of the political literacy of the organization's leadership.⁴⁴

A central Board of Directors coordinates the activities of the organization as a whole. As well, each of the seven geographically delimited sub-directorates has their own local leadership structure. Leaders from the local sub-directorates and committees participate in the General Assembly with the central Board of Directors. All of these bodies contribute to decision-making and execution in relation to the strategies and goals

⁴⁴ The ACIT decided to enter municipal politics shortly after its formation as a municipality-wide organization. In 2004, Eliecer Morales was elected as mayor as the ACIT-backed candidate. Representatives of the ACIT also won the majority of the seats in the town council. Consequently, the ACIT was able to mobilize a number of programs and projects in collaboration with the municipal bureaucracy until the end of its term in 2007. While many of these initiatives concluded after Morales was no longer mayor, the ACIT gained substantial support and momentum during this period.

of the organization as a whole (see Figure 3). Structuring the organization in this way reinforces the grassroots nature of its work, and its commitment to make accessible the decision-making process to as much of the membership as possible.

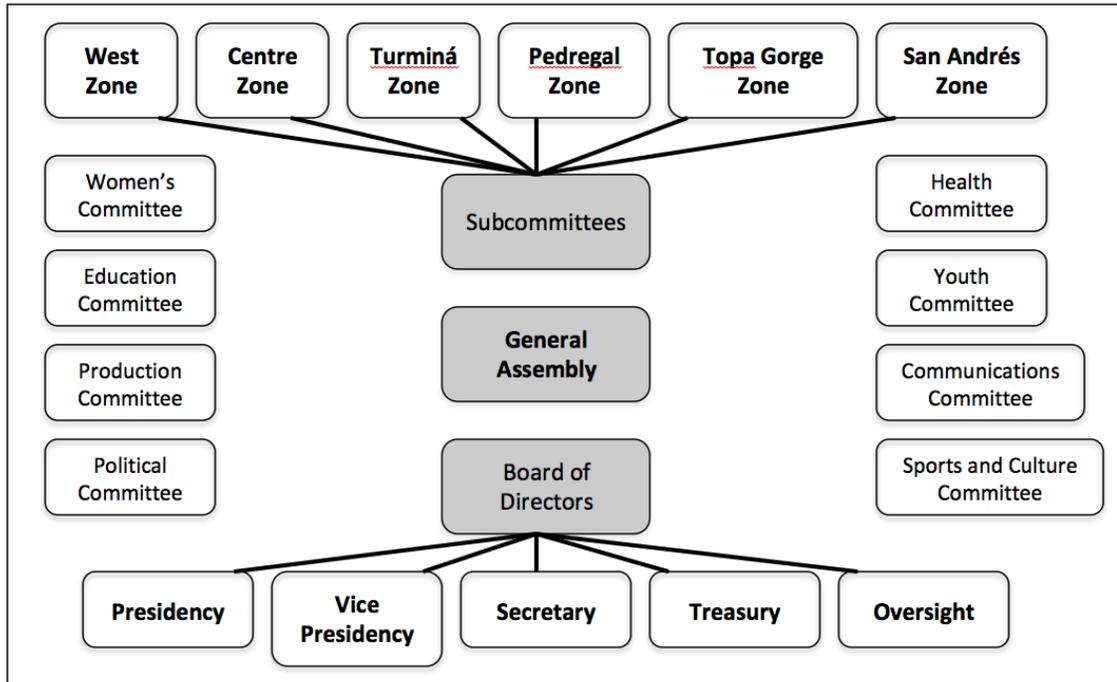


Figure 3. The ACIT's Leadership Structure (adapted from ACIT, 2014)

In sum, building on earlier efforts to improve the possibilities for Colombian campesinos, the ACIT represents a new stage of organizing that responds to the 1991 Constitution. The ACIT continues to focus on the disruption of shocking inequalities in the distribution of land and power. Notable, it aims to do so by claiming rights and territory from a novel subject position that responds to the limited openings for expressions of diversity. In addition, the organization is seeking to re-imagine the functionings of power so as to (re)position its base at the centre of its efforts for change. Therefore, it is not only asserting a challenge to structures of oppression, but also suggesting new ways of relating that might take their place.

Conclusion

The ACIT's goals and mandate squarely position it within debates about neoliberal multiculturalism. It is implicated in and impacted by the construction and reinforcement of naturalized, ethnicized boundaries, and the resulting conflicts. Analyzing the strategizing and struggle of the ACIT is an opportunity to scrutinize the workings of exclusion, division, and extreme marginalization. In short, the ACIT's work reveals geographies of power within the possibilities for groups to articulate as rights-bearing subjects, and shows how the (precarious) linkages political identities have to land are governed/resisted within the framework of neoliberal multiculturalism.

As an "invisibilized" marginalized group, campesinos are uniquely positioned to reveal the implications of the ethnicization and spatialization of rights as a technology of exclusion. Yet, because of their location on the margins of recognition, they also have a certain leeway in their responses to this exclusion. Primarily, this is because they have much less to lose compared with fully recognized groups. The organizing of the ACIT is consequently a fascinating opportunity to explore how a pursuit of recognition from the margins necessarily shifts the goals and organizing of social movements. In the following chapters, I discuss these tensions and opportunities.

Chapter Four

Ethnicity-based claims:

Navigating within the Limitations of Neoliberal Multiculturalism

And the interethnic conflicts that exist here, I believe that it is possible that at one point they could be solved, that the indigenous comrades might also understand that this territory has to be shared, that...just as they were born here, our parents arrived here...that now we also have roots and are from here. And we have an identity just as they do. So, I believe that the Campesino Reserve Zone could be the option for the delimitation of the territory that would allow us to say 'here we will die, and here also our generations will continue on.'⁴⁵

—Melba Arias, leader with the Women's Committee of the ACIT

In the previous chapter, I documented how the goals of the ACIT respond to the current challenges facing populations located on the margins of recognition. Also, I illuminated the importance of studying the ACIT as an organization negotiating these challenges. This chapter turns to a consideration of how campesinos are attempting to (re)produce themselves as an "ethnicized" group capable of articulating territorial claims that are hear-able to/by the state. Keeping in mind the extremely challenging environment

⁴⁵ Y los conflictos interétnicos que hay acá, yo creo que es posible que en algún momento se puedan solucionar, que los compañeros indígenas tal vez también entiendan que este territorio hay que compartirlo, que...así como ellos nacieron acá, nuestros padres llegaron acá...que ahora nosotros también ya tenemos raíces y somos de aquí. Y tenemos una identidad como la tienen ellos. Entonces, yo creo que sí, la Zona de Reserva Campesina puede ser la opción de delimitación del territorio y de poder decir 'aquí moriremos y aquí seguirán también nuestras generaciones'.

within which campesinos are organizing, I warn of some of the implications of negotiating the limited spaces available within neoliberal multiculturalism. Drawing on analyses of interview data and texts produced by the ACIT, I illustrate how campesinos are working to construct the campesinado in Inzá as a political identity group that is legible to the state. I argue that the ACIT's reliance on this strategy risks reinforcing the artificial divisions produced by neoliberal multiculturalism. Primarily, this is because such a strategy prioritizes close interactions and approvals with/from the state, and (re)affirms the state's capacity to discipline and/or legitimize political identity groups. In developing this argument, I illustrate the ways that neoliberal multiculturalism governs the struggles of subaltern identity groups. The chapter unfolds in three parts. First, I analyze how the ACIT is constructing a recognizable ethnicized identity and mobilizing claims to territory through discourses of autochthony. Second, I warn that bureaucratic texts, and protests – as the primary ways the ACIT is "visibilizing" the territorial claims of campesinos – may reinforce the problematic capacity of the state to (il)legitimize civil society organizations. Third, I discuss how the Campesino Reserve Zone (ZRC), as the ACIT's most promising strategy to assert land claims, reinforces the division of ethnicized populations that neoliberal multiculturalism inflicts.

Construction of an Ethnicized Identity

Indigenous groups who reside in Inzá have had some success asserting rights claims within the parameters of the Constitution. They have presented themselves as autochthonous peoples who continue to be rooted in territories titled as indigenous by Spanish colonizers. This has led to a limited expansion of resguardos in the area, mostly through the purchase of what the ACIT views as campesino land.

Before the constitutional changes of 1991, campesinos largely positioned themselves within class structures in order to analyze their oppression. They mostly expressed their frustrations and demands as members of the rural working class. However, following the newly drafted Constitution, campesinos moved away from a class-based discourse as the foundation for their demands, and toward a politics of identity. As campesinos observe the state's favourable response to land claims by indigenous groups, they have been motivated to consider a similar avenue for their own land claims. The ACIT recognizes that it must be careful to clearly distinguish the campesinado from indigenous groups in order to maintain its political and cultural independence. At the same time, the entangled histories of campesinos and indigenous peoples make it possible for campesinos to pursue recognition through strategies similar to those of indigenous peoples. Axel Rojas Martínez (2004) argues that due to the unequal distribution of resources in the region of Tierradentro, those who do not conform to an ethnic model of indigeneity lose out. As a result, groups often try to present attributes that offer greater opportunities for material support from the state through a closeness with recognizable indigeneity (2004, p.34-35).

In this section, I explore Rojas Martínez's assertion. I also attend to Arjun Appadurai's affirmation that for groups to secure their future, it is imperative that they are able to optimally articulate their interests and values to powerful individuals and institutions (2004, p. 62). Such articulations, Appadurai insists, require groups to strengthen cultural capacities in manners that will be instrumentally effective (p. 62). I therefore ask how campesinos are constructing and articulating their political identity as an ethnicized group in order to make their land claims hear-able to/by the state. I first

outline how the ACIT's construction of the campesino identity as ethnicized parallels the process through which indigenous groups pursue possibilities of recognition. Then, focusing on territorial claims, I specifically emphasize the role of blood and soil connections in the ACIT's land claims. I also examine how the ACIT's construction of the campesinado occupies a difficult position in which it simultaneously adopts and critiques notions of autochthony.

I want to begin by briefly revisiting the process through which ethnicized groups become recognizable, to then demonstrate how the ACIT is attempting to follow the same path to become "visible" to the state. Jean Jackson and María Clemencia Ramírez (2009, following Chaves & Zambrano, 2006, p. 16) explain the process as follows: first, indigenous peoples establish a *cabildo* (a locally elected governing council). The local municipal authority must then accept the *cabildo*. The state must then recognize the community as indigenous through "an ethnographic study to verify that the community has 'a common history as well as group cohesion, a deep-rooted affiliation with the ancestral territory, worldview, traditional medicine, kinship ties,' and a distinct value system that distinguishes it from the rest of the Colombian population" (2009, p.522; see also Chaves & Zambrano, as discussed in chapter two).

From the commencement of the ACIT, its leaders carefully took steps to ensure that the organization met the above-listed conditions necessary for recognition. They founded the ACIT in accordance with national legal standards for the creation of an association. The organization was registered in (and accepted by) the regional Chamber of Commerce, conferring upon it official status as a not-for-profit organization. Two of the three steps for recognition complete, the association outlined in the recently compiled

Land Tenure Study (ACIT, INCODER, *Proceso De Unidad Popular Del Suroccidente Colombiano* [PUPSOC], 2013), how the campesinado in Inzá meets all the requirements of the state for recognition as an ethnicized group.⁴⁶

Included in the Land Tenure Study is a requisite ethnographic analysis, which the ACIT organized and conducted itself with the help of supportive anthropologists and historians (many of whom are campesinos from Inzá). The ethnographic study details all of the components required of ethnicized groups: a common history of the campesinado in Inzá beginning in the 18th century; a distinct worldview grounded and shaped by particular and traditional agricultural/economic practices; traditional medicine based on ancestral knowledge of native plants; kinship ties within the campesinado evidenced by the persistence of common surnames over time; and a distinct value system grounded in the protection of the environment, subsistence living, and cooperation between families to meet basic needs. Throughout the ethnographic analysis, the ACIT is careful to emphasize the heterogeneous nature of campesino culture in Inzá. It outlines, for example, how the mixing of cultures and traditions of campesinos and indigenous peoples who migrated from other regions, and of indigenous peoples who have historically resided in Inzá contribute to current expressions of campesino culture. Through such emphases, the ACIT manages to construct a parallel, and therefore recognizable narrative that links campesinos to ethnicized cultural characteristics of indigenous peoples. Although the lines of argumentation that the ACIT adopt align with the requirements of recognition of ethnicized groups, the organization aims throughout

⁴⁶ I provide more detail on the Land Tenure Study later in this chapter.

the study to construct the campesinado as a unique and unified group. It positions campesinos as being different from not only the general population, but from indigenous peoples, as well.

In the context of territorial claims, the keystone of rights-bearing ethnicization hinges primarily on establishing "a deep-rooted affiliation with the ancestral territory." In the context of the Colombian Constitution, such a relationship is read by the state to be the articulation of an autochthonous connection to territory. Therefore, in the coming section, I want to dedicate attention to the ACIT's response to this particular spatialized requirement of ethnicized groups.

Discourses of land and territory. When I asked research participants about campesino culture, they often responded that it is linked to agricultural practices, work, and a close relationship with the land. For instance, Floralba Pajoy, an active member of the Women's Committee, explained to me that "the campesino is this: the joy of working the land. That is our culture...work honestly, and share with our family, share with our neighbours, share ideas."⁴⁷ However, the ACIT is increasingly replacing this land-focused discourse with one of territory and territoriality. The goal of doing so is to articulate much more expansively the extent to which campesinos' culture and unique ways of being are rooted in particular spaces.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ "...el campesino es esto: la alegría de trabajar la tierra. Esa es la cultura de nosotros...trabajar honradamente, y compartir con nuestra familia, compartir con nuestros vecinos, compartir ideas."

⁴⁸ There has been some important recognition of the connection between campesinos and territory. Sentence T-763 on October 2, 2012 by the Constitutional Court recognized that campesinos' right to territory is fundamental, like that of indigenous peoples, and other "ethnic communities" (INCODER, 2012). The court reasoned that this is the case because of campesino's spiritual, economic and environmental relationships that depend on this connection (INCODER, 2012).

Constructing campesinos as an ethnicized group necessarily relies on territory. The Constitution reads ethnicized groups' culture, and the possibility of their continuation as a political identity as being rooted in territory, not land. Therefore, the ACIT is foregrounding the centrality of territory to campesinos' collective identity. For example, the leadership argues that the membership weaves social, economic, historical, and cultural relations within territory (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 19, 1060). Further, many leaders reiterate the centrality of territory not only for campesinos' dynamic and diverse identity, but also for the future of campesinos as a group with unique histories and ways of being in the world (see ACIT et al., 2013, p. 1201). For example, the Women's Committee (n.d.) defines territory as follows:

[Territory] is where our memories are, where we build the present and project our dreams...it is the place in which one works according to our campesino customs...where we build relationships with nature, with the community and with ourselves...because the territory is memory, and we are memory.⁴⁹

Alix Morales, a leader with the Women's Committee, echoed these sentiments:

...Territory is all that surrounds us, it is what makes possible that we get together, what makes possible that we meet, and what makes possible that we collectively build certain proposals. And [it is what makes possible] that we plan for the

⁴⁹ "[Territorio] es donde están nuestros recuerdos, donde construimos presente y proyectamos nuestros sueños, es el lugar en que...se trabaja de acuerdo [sic] a nuestras costumbres campesinas...donde construimos relaciones con la naturaleza, con la comunidad y con nosotras mismas...por que [sic] el territorio es memoria y la memoria somos nosotras..."

future, that we project into the future how to see ourselves, how we want to be, how we want to feel.⁵⁰

Discourses that paint Inzá as (in part) a campesino territory in need of protection to allow for the persistence of campesinos as a rooted and ethnicized group are more likely to be legible to the Colombian state vis-à-vis neoliberal multiculturalism. However, in pursuit of recognition, it is insufficient to present campesinos as having a relationship to territory; the ACIT must establish an *ancestral* connection. I now explore the process through which the organization constructs such a link.

Campesino articulations of autochthony. The Constitution's ethnicization and spatialization of rights prompts a close link between processes of ethnicization and an autochthonous relationship to space. The ACIT, on one hand, is critiquing a system of rights and recognition based on an idealized, autochthonous political identity. It is arguing that "pre-existence" does not justify the rights of one political identity group to territory at the expense of other resident marginalized groups. On the other hand, the ACIT is simultaneously tied up in the contradiction of attempting to fit the campesinado within the limits of the same system of recognition that it critiques. Campesinos must ironically present themselves as possessing characteristics associated by the state to be attached to ethnicized, indigenous groups to have possibilities of making territorial claims

⁵⁰ "...el territorio es todo lo que nos rodea, es lo que hace que sea posible que nos juntemos, que hace posible que nos encontremos, y que hace posible que podamos construir colectivamente algunas propuestas. Y que nos proyectemos, que proyectemos a futuro cómo vernos, cómo queremos ser, cómo queremos estar."

as non-indigenous groups. However, the ACIT's strategies of ethnicization that position the campesinado as "rooted" and primordial are always a bit of a stretch. Consequently, as the organization pursues an ethnicization that aligns with the Constitution, it is also simultaneously justifying the imperfections of this alignment. This section explores this tension. It first discusses how the ACIT is "rooting" the campesinado through blood and soil discourses as a strategy of ethnicization. Then, it looks at how the organization rationalizes the imperfect fit between campesinos and autochthonous belonging.

Returning to Jackson and Ramírez (2009), these authors argue that bureaucratic performances of state-recognized indigeneity become tools to turn those with indigenous ancestors into present-day indigenous peoples (p. 536-537). In the case of the ACIT, its goal of recognition relies on establishing a closeness to the ethnicized characteristics and ethnicized relations to territory epitomized by autochthonous indigenous peoples. It thus becomes necessary to ask how campesinos' indigenous ancestors function as a route to recognition as a *non-indigenous* political identity group.

One characteristic of a recognizable ethnicized group is a blood link to place that pre-dates the arrival of other groups. The ACIT establishes this connection by asserting a generational tie to indigeneity and to local indigenous peoples. However, the organization needs to negotiate the fine line between linking campesinos to indigeneity in order to lend weight to their claims whilst still maintaining the difference of campesinos as a group. The ACIT draws on culture as the primary tactic to set out the boundaries for an association with blood. Pajoy summarized this fine line well, "We are indigenous peoples, with campesino culture...! We are all indigenous peoples, and thanks to God we

have that strong blood of indigenous peoples, but with different cultures.⁵¹" Florabla's comments demonstrate how leaders of the ACIT are able to mobilize the currency that culture offers subaltern groups as a means to self-define and assert difference, without sacrificing a blood link to territory.

The ACIT explains this blood/culture split as a result of the process of campesinization. In Colombia, campesinization often refers to the process through which indigenous peoples change their self-identification to one of campesino.⁵² In the case of Inzá, the ACIT explains that the campesinization of many indigenous peoples was the result of their leaving their cabildos, and/or the breakdown of resguardos. Some impacted by these breakdowns later affiliated with campesino social processes. For example, after the resguardos in two sub-regions of Inzá dissolved, the ACIT points out that indigenous peoples began to identify as campesinos, and began to "construct a relationship with the territory distinct to that of the resguardo" (ACIT et al., p. 460). For the ACIT, further evidence of the integration of campesino-ized indigenous peoples into campesino social processes and movements is found in the many examples of inter-marriage and the subsequent mixing of surnames (ACIT et al., p. 460), and presumably, blood. The process of campesinization involves a substantial shift in one's identification, culture, and community ties. However, the ACIT asserts that these changes do not disrupt the histories of complex blood connections that campesinos share with indigenous peoples.

⁵¹ "¡Nosotros somos indígenas, con cultura campesina...! Todos somos indígenas y gracias a Dios llevamos esta sangre fuerte de los indígenas, pero con culturas diferentes."

⁵² The process of campesinization has often been a compelled transition in response to hostile and violent attempts at assimilation. Interestingly, many groups who formerly identified as campesinos are now undertaking a process of re-indigenization (see Jackson & Ramírez, 2009).

Therefore, the ACIT's explanation of the processes of campesinization works to assert both the cultural difference of campesinos, as well as a continued blood connection to indigeneity and firstness.

The ACIT also mobilizes claims to autochthony through asserting relationships of firstness with "soil" or territory. Miguel Arias, the coordinator of the judicial section of the Land Tenure Study, insists, "many of the inhabitants of this zone are...if we see it from a racial perspective, indigenous. But they identify today as campesinos...We say that here, too, *we are pre-existent, many of us*" (emphasis added).⁵³ Arias' important comments demonstrate very directly how campesinos are taking up discourses of autochthony in their conversations with the state (even if they often frame their arguments less explicitly). He connects campesinos to indigenous peoples through blood ties, which he then uses to articulate a connection to territory as a result of these autochthonous roots. Moreover, these comments are indicative that the territorial claims of the ACIT draw heavily on the fact that *some* campesinos are autochthonous. This then lends weight to claims of permanence in a specific, ethnicized space for the wider group.

A further example of the ACIT's efforts to reaffirm campesinos' shared historical connection to territory is found in the broad-reaching socio-economic and legal analysis of the Land Tenure Study. Peña coordinated and authored the historical overview presented in the study. He explains that the report presents "a defense by campesino communities of territories that they have historically occupied, where it is shown that

⁵³ "...muchos de los habitantes que hay en esta zona son...si lo vemos desde lo racial, indígenas. Pero se identifican hoy día como campesinos...Nosotros decimos que acá también nosotros somos preexites, muchos..."

there is a historical occupation...an ancestry...a territorial control...⁵⁴" The ACIT and its co-authors detail the early historical existence of campesinos as a social group distinct from indigenous peoples. Their goal is to "identify the territories of influence and presence of campesino populations, where they have traditionally been established" (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 21),⁵⁵ and where "exists a historical permanence of the campesino in certain geographical area" (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 1059).⁵⁶ Such statements indicate that the ACIT does not rely solely on links to indigeneity to further its claims. The organization also strives to represent the campesinado in Inzá as having substantial ancestral territorial roots that are separate from those of indigenous peoples.

Within the current parameters of recognition via neoliberal multiculturalism, emphasizing blood and soil connections to territory presents campesino as semi-autochthonous, semi-native residents. Consequently, the ACIT can advance the argument that campesinos need to also be considered in the land claims process because their history loans them a claim to recognisability via autochthony. However, as the ACIT highlights campesinos' blood and soil connections to Inzá, how does the ACIT assimilate campesino histories of *migration* within its arguments for recognition?

In the case of "settlers" (i.e. campesinos who arrived in Inzá from other areas of Colombia), the ACIT broadly explains their arrival as a result of various forms of

⁵⁴ "...la defensa desde las comunidades campesinas de los territorios que históricamente han ocupado en donde se muestra que hay ocupación histórica, ...una ancestralidad...un control territorial..."

⁵⁵ "Identificar los territorios de influencia y presencia de las poblaciones campesinas, donde tradicionalmente han estado asentados."

⁵⁶ "Existe permanencia histórica del campesino en un área geográfica."

violence, such as armed conflict, poverty, and displacement. Whether arriving in Inzá as soldiers, as workers, or as displaced people from neighbouring departments or municipalities, the ACIT and its leaders emphasize the involuntary nature of migration. Moreover, Peña points out that many of the people who arrived in Inzá and who now self-identify as campesinos were in fact displaced indigenous peoples from neighbouring regions. Linking the movement of campesinos to involuntary (indigenous) migration resulting from violence allows the ACIT to implicitly diminish campesinos' complicity in the violence of colonization. Instead, campesinos are able to (re)present themselves as a marginalized population victimized by the country's violent history. Further, it allows for the ACIT to assert that involuntary migration created conditions for the consolidation of a distinct political identity group – despite its members' diverse backgrounds – emergent from shared presence in territory.

The ACIT's struggles for recognition introduce important opportunities and concerns regarding how it is articulating campesino relationships to space. As the organization attempts to fit campesinos within the possibilities of neoliberal multiculturalism, it pushes against the boundaries of who is ethnicized enough (and in the right ways) to engage with the state as a recognized group. Through these efforts, the ACIT reveals some of the problematic contradictions of autochthony for those perched on its margins. Illuminating the inconsistencies and flaws in discourses of autochthony as a route to recognition is a critical step in assembling future strategies that exploit these weak points. At the same time, the ACIT sidesteps a thorough critique of the structural inequalities that discourses of autochthony entrench. Rather it draws heavily on campesinos' claims to firstness. As a result, the organization risks reifying autochthony as

the primary means to claim territorial rights, and the state as the authority to evaluate constructed paradigms of belonging.

On the other hand, the work that the ACIT has done to explore the history and culture of campesinos in Inzá also reveals the many commonalities shared by all residents of Inzá. The most prominent of which are the histories and experiences of exploitation, as well as the numerous cultural overlaps. This work thus acts as an archive and illustration of all that campesinos and indigenous peoples share. It could thus act as a resource for collaborative efforts at resistance informed by all that residents do have in common. In chapter five, I will return in a substantial way to this idea of building on that which marginalized groups share.

In the next section, I illustrate how the ACIT adopts strategies of visibilization in pursuit of recognition and rights claims. I suggest that because of the compressed political space, struggles of the ACIT to maintain and take advantage of openings inside and outside of the state's structures make sense as key occasions for resistance. Nevertheless, efforts to shape articulations of campesinos' identity within possibilities for recognition may risk re-affirming the state's authority to designate groups as deserving (or not) of specialized rights protection. Strategies for recognition that break away from a direct engagement with the state's structures frequently generate notable moments of potential. However, they are never fully free from the governance of neoliberal multiculturalism.

Strategies of Visibilization

In Colombia, multiculturalism takes on a particularly important role in separating what the state considers to be legitimate from illegitimate social movements. It is not

simply recognition that is at stake for the ACIT and other campesino organizations; their position as legal, legitimate, non-violent civil society group is on the line.⁵⁷ The work of the ACIT to present campesinos as autochthonous is not only an attempt to be legitimately recognizable, but also simply legitimate.

In this section, I offer a warning about how the ACIT's strategies to claim territory as an ethnicized group run the risk of reinforcing the problematics of neoliberal multiculturalism. Primarily, I concentrate on how its organizing may actually end up buttressing the power of the state to discipline expressions of identity of subaltern social movements. However, I also outline the spaces of potential that strategies of visibilization create for (re)making struggles that confront the limitations of organizing within neoliberal multiculturalism. I begin by describing the preparation of reports and studies for the state – specifically for the Colombian Institute of Rural Development (INCODER). Then, I analyze the ACIT's participation in national strikes. In both cases, I warn that visibility politics quite frequently reverts to methodological nationalisms, which reproduce, fetishize and naturalize the nation-state as the primary site and container of theory and/or activism (De Genova, 2013; White, forthcoming 2015; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003). As struggles demanding rights and recognition focus on the state, civil society groups presuppose and inadvertently reify its authority to respond to these demands (White, forthcoming 2015, p. 23). At the same time, they also

⁵⁷ For instance, in the Land Tenure Study, the ACIT insists that the state regularly stigmatizes campesinos as: "terrorists, drug traffickers, informers, militiamen, campesino soldiers, coca growers..." (ACIT et al., 2013, p. 7). The move of campesino organizations away from their previously Marxist-language and their adoption of discourses of multiculturalism in part helps distance campesino social movements from guerrilla groups. Doing so implicitly reinforces the state's authority, and acts to disassociate campesinos from guerrilla groups' subversive goals of transforming existing structures of power.

re-naturalize the nation-state as the dominant scale of struggle (White, forthcoming 2015, p. 23).

Bureaucratic texts. Jackson and Ramírez (2009) suggest that indigenous groups are attempting to convince the state of "the existence of a particular assemblage of unique and presumably traditional practices and customs" through bureaucratic performances (p. 523). Similarly, campesinos too are in a near-constant engagement with the state in pursuit of recognition. This section addresses the details and implications of the bureaucratic texts that the ACIT directs at the state as part of this performance.

The ACIT produces reports, studies, development plans, and other texts, with the state as the primary audience. These texts are tools of visibilization that fall within the officially sanctioned possibilities for diverse populations' engagement with the state. In 2005, the ACIT prepared Inzá's Campesino Development Plan (Plan de Desarrollo Campesino de Inzá [PDC]). A development plan is one of the steps required by INCODER in order to form a ZRC. It outlines the development goals for the campesinado in Inzá as articulated by a team of coordinators assembled by (and partly composed of) the ACIT's leadership. The PDC was produced through extensive consultation with communities throughout Inzá with the goal of creating a holistic, inclusive vision for Inzá's future. Miller Pena was involved in the community consultations. He emphasized that the PDC was also an opportunity to communicate to the government: "what we want here."⁵⁸

⁵⁸ "...qué es lo que nosotros queremos acá."

In 2013, the ACIT, in collaboration with the Process of Popular Unity in the Colombian Southwest (PUPSOC), presented the Land Tenure Study under Agreement 569 of August 3rd, 2012. INCODER contracted the two organizations to respond to indigenous land claims that conflict with those of campesino communities. The ACIT and PUPSOC presented a comprehensive assessment of campesino land claims in seven municipalities, one of which was Inzá. The study was prepared by a group of professionals and academics after extensive consultation with community members. It includes information detailing the history of the campesinado in Inzá, an anthropological assessment of the unique culture of campesino communities, an analysis of the use and conservation of the environment by campesinos, a detailed report of campesino land use, and an extensive legal argument for campesino land rights based on national and international legal norms.

Interview data indicate that the ACIT's leaders largely view these reports favourably. Many leaders emphasized that the process of collecting data and drafting the reports was an important moment of community building. As well, it became an opportunity for the ACIT to consolidate the organization's strong connection to its grassroots supporters. The collaborative work of drafting the report was also an opportunity to strengthen ties to other campesino activists and organizations, and to think about additional strategies of resistance and solidarity. Other leaders commented that the state's serious consideration of the reports' content, and the resulting opportunities for direct negotiations, indicates that the state views the association as a legitimate social actor representative of campesino interests and struggles. Such receptiveness is, in essence, an indication of a novel opening within the state's structure through which

campesinos are able to advance their claims. For instance, Edgar Rojas, a former president of the organization, reminded me that this recognition and visibility of the ACIT has not resulted in substantial material gains. It is, however, an important step in the right direction. He also stressed that it has been a means to further legitimize the association as part of a broader social movement. He affirmed that such visibility has opened other spaces – forums and meetings, for example – in which territorial claims are being debated. As a result, he feels that the ACIT is representing campesinos in Inzá well, and that the state is also hearing their demands (at least more so than in the past).

How then are these texts technologies of visibility that align the ACIT with neoliberal multiculturalism? To begin, having the state in mind as the audience for key acts of cultural articulation is likely to (at least subtly) discipline and shape the campesinado's own self-representation. Texts of this nature are important anthologies of culture and identity, goals, aspirations, and plans for the future. Thus, they are significant sources of information for community members' own understanding of themselves. However, the ACIT produces the contents of these texts to align with a diversity discourse comprehensible to the state. This means that these studies in part adhere to and reinforce the limitations of neoliberal multiculturalism. Consequently, the state is fundamentally central to some of the most substantial records of the campesinado in Inzá.

These documents certainly open space for negotiation with the state. Nonetheless, Charles Hale warns that neoliberal multiculturalism is more likely to invite civil society organizations to participate in an "endless flow of...spaces of political participation" as opposed to closing the door entirely on engagement (2006, p.272). Bureaucratic texts are an entryway into a close relationship with the state. It is then able to more forcefully

enclose organizations within the boundaries of what is permissible as de-radicalized, disciplined representatives of civil society. It may be too optimistic to assume that dialogue and negotiations open possibility to advance an organization's agenda or demands. On the contrary, spaces of engagement are more often a means to bring organizations into alignment with the state's own goals.

These reports are further entangled with neoliberalism as examples of privatization: the state is downloading the clarification of disputes over land to non-governmental organizations. Although the ACIT received some funding from the state to produce its reports, the amount was drastically insufficient for the task at hand. Due to the high stakes of the projects, the ACIT has heavily subsidized these reports with its own funds, the unpaid labour of its members, and international fundraising efforts. Referring to the PDC, Peña explains:

It is a big job. I do not know if in Inzá it has now cost 100 million pesos for the drafting of the plan in 2005. It may have cost 100, maybe 250, adding what the organization put into it, what the local government put into it, and some resources that they managed to channel into it from international cooperation, because it was two years of work, maybe.⁵⁹

In the daily life of campesinos, contributing to the research and production of reports often meant sacrificing crops and family. Miller Pena described the implications

⁵⁹ Es un trabajo grande. No sé si en Inzá ahora ha costado 100 millones de pesos para la construcción del plan en 2005. Pudo haber costado 100, 250 tal vez, – sumando lo que puso la organización, lo que puso el gobierno local y algunos recursos que se lograron canalizar a partir de cooperación internacional, porque fueron 2 años de trabajo, tal vez".

of the free labour that he performed in the development of the PDC. For nine months of work, he received the equivalent of approximately \$240. As a result, he and his family had to drastically cut costs, further aggravated by his having to abandon his small farm to participate in the development of the PDC. Peña and Pena's comments demonstrate how the state has managed to transfer the costs of recognition to individuals who are already extremely economically marginalized.

Through the preparation of bureaucratic texts, the ACIT creates a representation of campesino political and cultural identities in a form that will (hopefully) be comprehensible to the state. That is to say, the ACIT is attempting to present the experience of campesinos in Inzá in a manner that is already formatted for bureaucratic consumption within the framework of multiculturalism. The planning and visioning contained in these reports are undoubtedly representative of many of the goals of communities throughout Inzá. The texts are also an important opportunity to collectively articulate the aspirations and identities of the campesinado. Nevertheless, the documents cannot fully escape the discipline resultant from the ACIT's central goal of seeking recognition. They express not only the desires of campesinos themselves, but also the anticipated desires of the state as what Melissa White (2010; manuscript in preparation) calls "archives of governance" (p. 213). Organizing and conducting community consultations based on the information demanded by the state shapes the responses the membership can articulate and study's coordinators can publish. As an extension, these limits discipline the articulation of collective campesino identities fostered through the production of this knowledge.

Many of the ACIT's leaders are worried about the discipline at work in the production of bureaucratic texts. The state's interests, Peña warned are "very different from the community's interests, from the interests of the organization. In many cases, the horizon of the struggle is lost in the desire to be recognized, or to seek state recognition.⁶⁰" Similarly, former ACIT president Reynel Villaquirán warned that the organization is losing touch with its membership as a consequence of the production of the Land Tenure Study. The study has shaped the conversations that the ACIT has with campesinos such that the leadership is "always asking the same thing." Therefore, members have fewer opportunities to express their concerns, goals and aspirations that do not fit within the construction of a recognizable campesinado.

The ACIT's strategic decision to appeal to the state through the medium of bureaucratic texts is one of the most viable, available options to make rights claims that are more likely to be hear-able to/for the state. It is nonetheless important to consider that by shaping the campesinado as a group comprehensible to the state, the ACIT risks reaffirming the boundaries constructed around identity by neoliberal multiculturalism. Moreover, it also risks reasserting the central authority of the state. It is not only the way that the ACIT is ethnicizing the campesinado so as to conform to the limitations of neoliberal multiculturalism that I find troublesome, but also the way that the organization is communicating this ethnicization. Further, by calling on the state for recognition, the ACIT is appealing to the same body that has a central role in "aligning identifications and

⁶⁰ "...muy diferentes a los intereses comunitarios, a los intereses de la organización. Y en muchos casos, el horizonte de las luchas se pierde en el afán de reconocerse, o buscar el reconocimiento estatal."

vulnerabilities as both a legacy of empire building and ongoing motor for the global intensification of capitalism" (White, forthcoming 2015). That is to say, the use of methodological nationalism in bureaucratic texts overlooks the role that the state plays in "actually *producing* the very conditions of vulnerability it is then asked to ameliorate (White, forthcoming 2015 emphasis in original). This is not to say that the creation of bureaucratic texts was a wasted exercise. Rather, the ACIT stands to benefit from mobilizing the vast amounts of information contained in the texts at different scales for purposes that are not limited to state recognition (as I briefly mentioned in the concluding paragraph of the preceding section).

"Strikes" and demonstrations as acts of novel subjectivity production.

Although the ACIT continues to dedicate substantial time, energy and resources to official channels of engagement with the state, these tactics have offered little success. In Hale's (2002) view, this is unsurprising. He warns that groups' demands of state within the context of neoliberal multiculturalism are likely to only be successful if they are congruent with neoliberal ideologies and manageable within existing structures of power. Consequently, protests or "strikes" continue to be a means through which campesinos express discontent, demands, and consolidate the campesinado as a group/social movement on their own terms. Strikes normally involve blocking significant highways or streets with the goal of disrupting traffic and as a result, economic activity. Edgar Rojas emphatically stated that participating in strikes "is the only way that [politicians] have at

least paid attention to us, they have received us, and we managed to sit at the same table.⁶¹"

This is not to say that protests escape the problematics of neoliberal multiculturalism. Although strikes present a challenge to the state in a way that preparing studies/reports does not, the manner in which the ACIT mobilizes still falls within the disciplinary limits of neoliberal multiculturalism. In 2006, during negotiations of the Colombia - United States free trade agreement, indigenous peoples and campesinos from Inzá mobilized together – alongside thousands of other members of civil society organizations throughout Colombia – to express their opposition (Suárez Montoya, 2005). However, since the issue of territory has split the two groups, they have divided their mobilizations and efforts at resistance along lines of political identity. For instance, indigenous peoples were notably absent from the National Agrarian and Popular Strike that took place between August 20th and September 12th, 2013. This was despite the incorporation of calls for the protection of indigenous rights in some of the rallying points.⁶² Some of the national demands included: investment in public services and infrastructure, guarantees for the exercise of political rights of the rural population, state action to respond to the crisis of agricultural production, access to property titles, and the recognition of campesino and indigenous territoriality (*Mesa de Interlocución y Acuerdo*

⁶¹ "Es la única forma que al menos nos han parado bola, nos han atendido y nos hemos logrado sentar en una misma mesa..."

⁶² A thorough discussion of the dynamics of the National Agrarian and Popular Strike are unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis. However, for more information, see Archila, García, Parra and Restrepo (2013).

Nacional del Sector Agropecuario y Popular, 2013a). Despite the incorporation of indigenous peoples' demands in the national platform, in Inzá, campesinos mobilized alone, and did not include indigenous rights protection in their specific demands. Their local appeals were all specific to the ACIT's work on behalf of campesinos.

Mobilizations that social movements describe as being by and for campesinos risk (re)naturalizing divisions around political identity groups as differentiated collectives with distinct interests. Therefore, they risk fragmenting their demands and strengthening naturalized boundaries as marginalized groups break away from each other during moments of consolidation and transformation of group identities and goals.

Further, despite the sweeping nature of the demands put forth by the groups who participated in the strike, the government explicitly emphasized that the neoliberal model of economic development was not up for negotiation. Regarding a more recent manifestation by campesinos in pursuit of similar demands, the Minister of Agricultural and Rural Development, Rubén Darío Lizarralde, stressed that "There are other discussions that are consequence of a model of development that has to do with free trade agreements or mining, but these issues are discussed in another setting" (Sandoval Duarte, 2014, para. 9).⁶³ This implies that the gains probable through mobilization are always curtailed by a compatibility with neoliberal globalization.

These warnings are not to say that strikes are a wasted exercise. They are also an opportunity to engage with other social sectors and to generate public support for the struggles of campesinos. Jesús "Chucho" López, a leader with a campesino association

⁶³ "Hay otras discusiones que obedecen más a un modelo de desarrollo que tiene que ver con los tratados de libre comercio o la minería, pero son temas que se discuten en otro escenario."

from a neighbouring region,⁶⁴ insisted that during demonstrations campesino organizations can "move thoughts, move ideas." As "acts of education," campesinos use strikes to seek broader support for their demands. For example, during the National Agrarian and Popular Strike, campesinos working in various agriculture sectors aligned with members of teacher's unions, healthcare workers unions, small-scale miners, students and some truck drivers. All participating groups called for support for campesinos' demands. These all also called for access to social services (specifically education, healthcare, housing, and highways) and political participation for marginalized populations more broadly. In addition to these demands, the leaders of the strike also dedicated substantial energy to emphasizing how participating groups' interests overlapped (Mesa de Interlocución y Acuerdo Nacional del Sector Agropecuario y Popular, 2013b).

The comments of López and the events of August and September 2013 deserve a much more comprehensive analysis. However, for my purposes here I want to briefly read acts of mobilization through some of the recent citizenship literature to consider how strikes have potential as acts of becoming. This literature is helpful to think about the agency of campesinos as they assert themselves as a political identity group. It is also useful to analyze how campesinos are substantiating themselves as actors, and taking on structures of oppression.

Following Jacques Rancière, Peter Nyers (2010) urges one to think about moments of disruption as interruptions of the established order, and as "'foundational

⁶⁴ The organization is called The Committee for the Integration of the Colombian Massif (*Comité de Integración del Macizo Colombiano* - CIMA).

political moments" (Rancière, 2006, p. 5 as cited in Nyers, 2010, p. 131). In these moments, those who "'do not count'...make a claim to be counted...'at a time and in a place you're not expected to speak" (Rancière, 2006, p. 5 as cited in Nyers, 2010, p. 131). During such acts, breaks emerge with the everyday that as an "interruption and transformation of the political" and create conditions for something new to surface (Nyers, 2010, p. 141). Similarly, for Engin Isin (2008), acts are "ruptures or beginnings" that "break the given orders, practices and habitus" (p. 37). In doing so, they produce new actors/subjects: "acts produce actors that do not exist before acts" (p. 37). Although Nyers and Isin discuss acts of citizenship by people without legal citizenship and/or residency status, their analysis applies well to acts of becoming that campesinos undertake. This is because campesinos too are attempting to assert a change in legal status and recognition vis-à-vis the state. Therefore, the act of mobilizing a strike – and the declarations, claims, demands and solidarities that accompany it – is always a space and moment of potential from which new realities, and novel political subjectifications might emerge.

As Judith Butler asserts, the "subject is never fully constituted, but is subjected and produced time and again" (1993, p. 13 as cited in Greenhouse, 2002, p. 23). The ruptures offered by strikes are an acute moment of possibility in which subjectivities are much more plastic than in the everyday. Thus, strikes can become generative of subjectivities that encompass and generate novel solidarities. Due to the already-mobilized bid of the ACIT to assert a campesino subjectivity (as reviewed in chapter three), acts of resistance are aptly positioned to contribute to this effort at construction. Yet, the potential of imagining and enacting a subjectivity in a way that resists re-

inscribing divisions remains a substantial challenge. There is no guarantee that the results of this complicated and ongoing process will prove emancipatory. However, mobilizations as a necessarily collective affair force social movements to engage with other civil society actors. In these moments of "being with each other" Isin argues that social movements "become political" through enactments of identities or differences that emerge from these shared acts (2008, p. 37-38). The outcomes of such acts are not predetermined, although civil society groups' ways of being political (e.g. motives, strategies, and tactics), and the modes of being with each other (whether they build solidarity and/or alienate other groups), guide the results (Isin, 2008, p. 37-38). Therefore, enactments may facilitate inclusions and the assemblage of emergent subjectivities that confront divisions. I return to the challenge and possibilities of ruptures, and the ways that the ACIT is beginning to respond to such limitations and opportunities in the coming chapter.

Despite the potential that strikes present – or likely *because* of this potential – they are far from a simple option to assert the campesinado as a visible group. The act of participating in a strike steps outside of the boundaries of permissible activities for legitimate, de-radicalized multicultural subjects. Disruption of economic activities clearly oversteps the space within which the state permits resistance and assertion of a collective identity. Thus, the Colombian state has gone to great lengths to criminalize dissent and to violently suppress protests.⁶⁵ Rojas warns of some of the implications of mobilizing:

⁶⁵ People who participate in protests risk death and injury. For example, during the above-mentioned National Agrarian and Popular Strike, President Juan Manuel Santos militarized key areas of the country. Campesino leaders reported that 12 people were killed, 485 injured, and four disappeared (Comisión

And the fact that we block [roads], the fact that we burn a tire...we will be prosecuted [for those acts]. We will be condemned, investigated for terrorism...And that means prison...[The state is] sending us the message 'You go out [into the streets], we lock you up.'⁶⁶

Notwithstanding such costs, Rojas insists that few other options are available, "If my rights and my duties for my community give me jail [time], well, jail would be welcome. Because there is no other way ... I think that [mobilization] is the tool we have left."⁶⁷ As Raul Zibechi (2012) eludes, strikes and roadblocks are a means to protect the new spaces created by new subjects (p. 85). Chiselling out such "islands" within the national territory are posed as an inherent challenge to the state, and thus will be inevitably met by challenge.

As I have warned in this section's treatment of bureaucratic texts and strikes, these two key strategies of visibilization risk reinforcing neoliberal governance. The production of studies geared at the state undertakes the work of translation in order to render the ACIT's demands hear-able within hegemonic conceptualizations of diversity. Protests threaten to further consolidate boundaries around political identities. In both cases, the close alignment between visibility politics and methodological nationalisms reaffirms the state's authority as a granting body of privileges. It also presents a complicated dilemma

Nacional de Derechos Humanos de la Mesa Nacional Agropecuaria y Popular de Interlocución y Acuerdos, 2013).

⁶⁶ "Y el hecho que tapone, el hecho que se queme una llanta...ya vamos a ser judicializados. Vamos a ser condenados, investigados de terrorismo...Y que eso tiene cárcel...Nos están mandando el mensaje, 'ustedes salen, te encerramos'."

⁶⁷ "Pues si mis derechos y mis deberes por mi comunidad me da cárcel, pues bienvenida que sea la cárcel. Porque no hay otra forma...Creo que [la movilización] es la herramienta que nos ha quedado."

for subaltern groups with limited possibilities for addressing their marginalization (see White, forthcoming 2015). Methodological nationalisms reproduce the nation-state as a territorial frame of reference that is both taken-for-granted and unavoidable (Harvey, 2009, p. 267). In addition, they fail to address the inherent violence of the existing distribution of rights and recognition, and overlook the transnational character of exploitation and exclusion. This is why a politics of visibility focused on the nation-state is very unlikely to address the marginalization of campesinos. In contrast, ruptures and openings that make possible a reworking of subjectivities are important sites of becoming. These spaces have the potential to address the dichotomies and disparities of neoliberalism from a place of difference. I pick up this note of optimism in the coming chapter, where I address the potential of emergent subjectivities more thoroughly.

Before doing so, I want to offer a final note of caution regarding the current conception of the struggles of the ACIT. I turn to a consideration of the efforts of the ACIT to establish a ZRC. I warn how a ZRC stands to further divide populations within Inzá as an ethnicized space for campesinos, and as a territorial form that fits well into the parameters of neoliberal multiculturalism.

Campesino Reserve Zones and Ethnicized Boundaries

The current focus of the ACIT and its membership is the establishment of a ZRC. Campesinos widely regard a ZRC as the best option to guarantee their territorial claims, and their continued presence in Inzá. They believe that a ZRC would: a) establish a clear, mutually respected demarcation of "us" and "them"; b) create possibilities to move beyond territorial struggles and oppositions; c) offer financial support for (semi)autonomous development projects; d) present a certain degree of protection again

the potential appearance of extractive companies in the municipality; and e) indicate that the campesinado is no longer "forgotten" by the state. Within current Colombian legislation, ZRCs are the only route available to campesinos from which to launch a territorial claim. Subsequently, demands for the formalization of ZRCs have become a rallying point for many campesino organizations.

A full analysis of the possibilities and implications of the ZRC as a territorial form falls beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I want to briefly address how the ACIT's ambition to create a state-recognized ZRC is consistent with neoliberalism generally. After doing so, I warn how ZRCs complement the ethnicization and spatialization of rights.

The limits to the potential protection of an established ZRC are troubling. This is illustrated by the fact that the state retains subsoil mineral rights within ZRCs. During president Juan Manuel Santos' first term government, he declared the economic "locomotive" of the Colombian economy to be primary resource extraction, particularly mining (Pérez & Brown, 2013; Petras, 2012). This weakness of ZRCs is an immediate and urgent concern if the zone is intended to provide campesinos with a say over development in their territories. Mining is not the only issue. Peña warns that the recognition of collective territories is "relative." He expands on this assessment, explaining that when supposedly autonomous communities resist militarization, or oppose massive, disruptive projects (such as hydroelectric dams), "...the state is not willing to negotiate...it's a very limited recognition."⁶⁸ Peña's statements indicate that

⁶⁸ "...el estado no esta dispuesto a negociar...es un reconocimiento muy limitado."

ZRCs must be kept in line with neoliberal development priorities. Consequently, even if a ZRC were created, the ACIT would face an up-hill battle against the agendas, initiatives and expansions of neoliberal globalization. Thus, the potential for ZRCs to mobilize a challenge to the unequal distribution of land remains limited.⁶⁹

The most problematic result of these state-centric approaches to conflicting rights claims is the division that they foster between similarly marginalized subaltern groups. As I argue throughout this thesis, the possibilities for territorial rights claims that the state offers through neoliberal multiculturalism are hinged on the ethnicization and spatialization of populations. The effect is the splintering of groups with otherwise common demands and struggles.

The ACIT is proposing a ZRC – an ethnicized space – as a strategy of resistance against another ethnicized space. Setting up this campesino-indigenous dichotomy forces the population as a whole into oppositional ideological and geographical camps. Residents come to share fewer and fewer experiences. Previously diverse communities, Peña warns, move toward "division, fragmentation, segregation; [policies seek to] fragment imaginaries, rather than just territory."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Despite the limited potential of ZRCs as a catalyst for a substantial disruption of rural hierarchies of power remains limited, many sectors are resisting their establishment. A primary strategy the state uses to de-legitimize ZRCs is to present them as guerrilla enclaves. Unfortunately, during the early rounds of peace negotiations between the FARC and the Santos government in March 2013, the FARC expressed support for ZRCs (Richani, 2013). This lent credibility to the assertion of the state in the eyes of the general public. In response, Peña commented that powerful lobby-groups responded immediately. They publically argued, according to Peña, "the proposal for campesino reserve zones is not from organizations, nor from the social sectors, rather, it is a policy of the FARC that wants to assemble their 'sanctuaries of subversion'." According to Rojas, these widespread and well-funded campaigns are turning public opinion against campesinos.

⁷⁰ "...[la] división, la fragmentación, la segregación; ...[las políticas buscan] fragmentar, más que el territorio, los imaginarios."

Axel Rojas Martínez (2004) is correct when he warns that these processes of "ethnic strengthening" can "favour the establishment of rigid limits and closed borders, opposite to the logics of contact that are traditionally present in interethnic relations" (p. 36). The result, he warns, can be a worsening of conflict (p. 36). The physical division of Inzá's social base risks further breaking down possibilities for collaboration around shared issues of concern. As opposed to presenting a united front against mutually damaging issues, campesinos and indigenous peoples are drawing boundaries around themselves and their claims. Accordingly, both groups are largely limiting their struggles to issues that fall within "their" spaces or within alliances shaped by ethnicity.

That being said, the ACIT is manoeuvring within an extremely limited political space. Negotiating neoliberal multiculturalism leaves marginalized groups few options beyond assembling geographies of identity around themselves. Although a ZRC risks spatializing possibilities for campesino rights claims, clarity over land claims will once again allow for municipality-wide collaboration. In the case of the Colombian Pacific region, John Agnew and Ulrich Oslender (2013) argue that the process of drawing officially recognized boundaries around previously fluid and overlapping territories generated substantial conflict between indigenous and Afro-descendant communities (p. 126). However, interethnic committees that negotiated with the government were eventually able to reach an agreement regarding officialised boundaries (p. 126-7). This was possible only after intense grassroots discussions regarding territorial use and belonging (p. 126-7). This example suggests that the practice of discussing and clarifying boundaries through formal negotiations with the state can open spaces, however fraught, for building rhizomatic networks amongst similarly marginalized groups. By strategically

searching for possibilities within neoliberal multiculturalism, social movements in Inzá are pursuing the shared goal of constructing of a space within which a different, more equitable way of being might become achievable. Even if such a project is limited, it regardless presents a vibrant challenge to the deepening of inequality and exploitation. For Edgar Rojas, the fact that the organization is feeling opposition from the elite indicates the efficacy of the ACIT's project. For him, the association's attempts to open space for difference oppose the interests of global capital and threaten its expansion into Inzá.

Despite these possibilities for building networks, I want to briefly reiterate the central issues regarding ZRCs that I analyzed in this section. As territorial forms, ZRCs rely on difference and separation. Within the context of neoliberal multiculturalism, advancing territorial claims means first specifying for whom, and where. As a result, marginalized groups and their respective social movements are increasingly *turning their fights against each other, rather than against the state and its allies* (e.g. multinational corporations, large land owners).

Conclusion

Formal policies of multiculturalism have substantial power to shape social movements' articulations of political identities, as well as their goals and strategies. This is because rights, material support from the state, and land claims – that is to say, conditions for improving one's quality of life – are on the line. Consequently, these policies have the potential to spur careful self-governance by marginalized populations. This is especially apparent in the case of campesinos as a distinct, collective political identity group that strives to embody characteristics of "recognizability" in the eyes of the

state. Civil society groups are further limited in their possibilities for collaboration across social movements because of the ongoing recalibration of their struggles to fit within the architecture and governance of the state. As the ACIT mobilizes claims within the limits of recognition, it implicitly reinforces the state's powers to monitor and restrict diversity. This always-incomplete process is steeped with resistance, and the ACIT's work by no means only falls within "official" channels that explicitly or implicitly (re)legitimize the neoliberal state. On the contrary, despite the many limiting factors, the organization is creatively resisting the multiple, overlapping dynamics of power that shape its work and the lives of its members. Moreover, in Inzá, boundaries between political identity groups are always in the process of being contested and re-worked. Peña comments, "in the territory, we continue to move; in the territory, we continue to meet each other."⁷¹ In the coming chapter, I offer a substantive treatment of some of these efforts and tendencies. Specifically, I highlight how the ACIT is enacting different ways of being in the world. I also consider how the group negotiates the troubling paradoxes and tensions facing many social movements that aim to meet the immediate needs of marginalized populations, "while also mobilizing for the eventual abolition of oppressive systems" (Walia, 2013, p. 184).

⁷¹ "...en el territorio seguimos transitando; en el territorio nos seguimos encontrando."

Chapter Five

Building Toward Possibility

So, we told them 'let's not permit a third party, such as the state, to impose a decision on social organizations that live together in the territory. Let's get rid of INCODER, and you and I, indigenous and campesino comrades, we sit down to negotiate'...we believe that...we are missing the opportunity to build...popular power, here, now, straightaway, in this territory. I do not know what we are waiting for. I believe that this is the moment for us to do it, and with the one and only motivation of continuing to live together, and persisting.⁷²

–Campesino from Inzá

Facing such a devastating model as extractive capital, if unity is not achieved, if a different conception of the country is not achieved, if all sectors that are not for extractivism and, more broadly, for the mercantilization of life do not manage to build a different country, surely each sector on its own is not going to successfully get ahead.⁷³

⁷² "Entonces, les hemos dicho 'no dejemos que un tercero, como el estado, nos imponga a las organizaciones sociales que convivimos en el territorio una decisión. Abandonemos al INCODER y Ud. y yo, compañeros indígenas y campesinos, nos sentamos a hacer una negociación'...Nosotros creemos que...estamos perdiendo la posibilidad de construir...poder popular, aquí, ahora, ya, en este territorio. No sé qué esperamos... Creo que estamos en el momento de hacerlo nosotros y con la única motivación de seguir conviviendo y persistiendo."

⁷³ "Frente a este modelo tan arrasador como el del capital extractivista, si no se logra una unidad y no se logra una concepción de país diferente y una construcción diferente de país entre todos los sectores que no estamos con el extractivismo y, en general, con la mercantilización de la vida, seguramente cada sector por su parte no va a lograr salir adelante."

–Henry Caballero Fula, leader with the CRIC

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how some of the ACIT's strategies to advance rights claims risk reinforcing the problematics of neoliberal multiculturalism. This chapter turns to the possibilities emergent from the ACIT's productive projects. Its aim is to discuss how, through inclusive, grassroots, and collaborative resistance efforts developed around the pillars of popular power, the association effectively opens space for municipality-wide solidarity. Drawing on interview data, field observations, and texts authored by leaders of the ACIT, I analyze the openings for solidarity that the association is constructing in defiance of neoliberal multiculturalism. I also consider how shared experiences of marginalization may be a means to dismantle geographical and ideological boundaries. In so doing, I advance our understandings of how already-existent alternative economic spaces oppose the governance of neoliberal multiculturalism and offer possibilities for thinking about a different way of being/relating within diversity. Despite the limitations that I have outlined in detail in the preceding chapters, here, I want to carefully emphasize how the everyday tactics of the ACIT are generating opportunities to defy the exclusions and oppressions of neoliberal globalization.

The chapter unfolds in four parts that illuminate how the ACIT is supporting and practicing different ways of being that resist the divisive relationships fostered by neoliberal multiculturalism. First, I discuss how the ACIT's diverse and inclusive membership base crosses constructed, ethnicized boundaries. Second, I outline the ACIT's drive to democratize structures of authority by building the organization in

accordance with the practice of popular power. I also explain how such a project supports different ways of relating and being that challenge neoliberal globalization and dismantle its inherent hierarchies. Third, I explore how the generation of alternative economic spaces tied to the concept of food sovereignty are examples of different ways of being and of meeting needs, emergent from and fostered by popular relations of power. Fourth, and finally, I detail how the ACIT's response to marginalization illuminates possibilities for mobilizing a collaborative, cross-community challenge to neoliberal multiculturalism emergent out of/through a shared struggle in place.

From Diversity to Multiplicity in the Membership Base

The ACIT's membership base is quite diverse, and challenges the constructed boundaries around political identity groups. This inclusiveness opens space for unification around projects aimed at improving quality of life, and suggests a reconfiguration of subaltern groups away from state-enforced categories of difference.

As the ACIT has been assembled through its history, the goal of the leaders has been to create a "broad" process. As Miller Pena, a leader who previously conducted community consultations, explained:

[The leaders] ...tr[ied] to attend to everyone's needs without overlooking anyone... Here you are welcome, here the doors are open to whoever wants to

come, whoever wants to know, whoever wants to be part of this process, they are welcome.⁷⁴

Similarly, as Morales indicated, although for some political identity may dictate membership in the organization, others become involved because of their beliefs or convictions, regardless of their identity (2010, p. 333).

In my view, the intention to construct the organization as an inclusive space has developed and expanded upon opportunities for collaboration between diverse groups. These are groups who recognize something of themselves within – or in resonance with – the ACIT. The association is relaxed in regards to membership and inclusion in the organization and its various activities. For example, during an introductory meeting with a community that wanted to begin a savings/credit group, Alix Morales (who was facilitating the session), mentioned that these groups were intended to benefit members of the ACIT, or people affiliated with the association "in some way."

Moreover, the ACIT's membership and organizing crosses various naturalized boundaries within communities. A former president from one of the ACIT's subregions (Guanacas) explained to me, "The ACIT's policy has always been a sort of positioning where we all fit. Where there is no distinction of race, colour, politics; where we all think amongst ourselves about what we are going to do" (Manuel Mulcué).⁷⁵

⁷⁴ "...tratando de cumplir a todos, sin desconocer a nadie...Acá es bienvenido, acá son las puertas abiertas para el que quiera venir, el que quiera conocer, el que quiera hacer parte de este proceso, bienvenido sea."

⁷⁵ "Su política, la de la ACIT, ha sido ser siempre una clase de posicionamiento donde quepamos todos. Donde no haiga [sic] distinción de raza, color, política; donde todos pensemos entre todos que vamos a hacer."

A former indigenous governor who left her resguardo and eventually joined the ACIT perhaps best illustrates Mulcué emphasis of the inclusiveness of the ACIT. She told me that "We think as indigenous peoples, but we want to contribute to a campesino process" (María Jesús Pencue).⁷⁶ Although she has previously thought this to be "impossible," Pencue said that "no, it's not impossible because it is a process that I already know, and I simply contribute. My identity is indigenous, but my contribution helps the organization."⁷⁷

One could argue that such comments and inclusions are relatively minor, and that they do little to disrupt the constructed boundaries of difference in Inzá. However, a commitment to political inclusion suggests an opening that might be turned against ethnicized belongings. Such openings can often lead to unexpected new alliances. For example, not only does the ACIT foster a diverse, and inclusive membership base, it also creates a space within which to foster novel cross-community links. An example of these emerging connections arose during an informal conversation with Peña. He told me jokingly that the association is behind some of the unique new combined surnames in Inzá.⁷⁸ Generally, because of limited historical internal migration within the municipality, each region has had a relatively constant collection of surnames. However, because of the municipality-wide organizing that the ACIT has fostered, and the resulting opportunities for campesinos to connect through struggle, some

⁷⁶ "...tenemos un pensamiento indígena pero queremos aportar a un proceso campesino."

⁷⁷ "...Pero no es imposible porque es un proceso que ya conozco, y que simplemente aporte. La identidad es indígena, pero el aporte ayuda a la organización."

⁷⁸ Children use both their father's and mother's surnames.

babies born recently have novel, geography-crossing surname combinations. This provides a linguistic and genealogical register through which new becomings are quite literally being archived.

As I have outlined above, the ACIT's leaders are opening political space for collaboration within the organization. Now, how does an inclusive process of struggle that encourages involvement by diverse actors impact the way we can think about "campesino" as a political identity?

"Campesino" as a category in common. The ACIT, in a sense, is actively generating a space for those left out – or pushed out, or opting out – of the disciplined ranks of acceptable "others." In doing so, it is disrupting the hierarchy of political identities eligible to assert claims to territory. As a heterogeneous collective, it prioritizes the shared goal of dignity (i.e. an improved quality of life through decreased economic marginalization and increased access to social services, such as health care and education) in the face of acute inequality. Further, its diverse membership brings together previously disconnected communities from throughout the municipality. This nurtures a mutual, localized sense of belonging through struggles against neoliberal globalization. Although, as I outlined in chapter four, while some of the strategies risk entrenching boundaries around homogeneous, dichotomous political identity groups, the ACIT's inclusiveness simultaneously fosters collaboration across experiences and identities. Therefore, as the organization mobilizes land claims on behalf of a varied collection of residents, it implicitly challenges neoliberal multiculturalism. In particular, it defies its tendency to enforce exclusionary and homogenizing group membership arrangements.

On a broader scale, marginalized groups could draw on the category of "campesino." It could develop into a political identity that challenges and exposes the divisive process through which the state renders legitimate some segments of Colombia's subaltern populations.⁷⁹ Precisely because of the lack of recognition of campesinos, their struggles have afforded some space away from the state's discipline of recognized groups. This, in combination with the leaders' inherently broad definition of "campesino," implies that there is space within the struggles of the ACIT to include others who are similarly excluded. Consequently, working from the margins, the organization has the potential to generate and maintain different ways of relating that stray from fixed, naturalized, and bounded ways of being. Paul Nicholson (2009) offers an important suggestion for (re)conceiving "campesino" as an inclusive political identity. He suggests that "campesino" is not a fixed identity, but rather a "social process" dependent upon cultural and geographical contexts (as cited in Gutiérrez Escobar, 2011, p. 69). Re-thinking the category of campesino in such a way allows space for diversity and difference. This may indeed signal the beginning of a larger challenge to the segmentation of the population under neoliberal multiculturalism.

However, it is not enough to crack open boundaries within and around the campesinado to foster a challenge to the relations of power propped up by neoliberal multiculturalism. Such an attempt relies on a fundamental shift in power, and a

⁷⁹ Tensions in the campesino movement led indigenous peoples to break off from the class-based organizing of the 1960's in order to lead their own struggle. Moving forward, an inclusive campesino movement must be sensitive to the diversity within a broad conceptualization of the campesinado, keeping the mistakes of the past in mind.

challenge to the hierarchies of decision-making within communities. The ACIT is pursuing this shift by grounding the organization in popular power in order to foster an alternative structure of authority. Fundamentally, the ACIT is questioning how the organization makes decisions, thus moving away from the internalized logics of hierarchical operations of power inherent to neoliberalism. Moreover, it is making possible a re-consideration of how campesinos want to live. In the next section, I outline how the ACIT is undertaking this process by nurturing expressions of popular power.

Popular Power

Motivating the work of the ACIT is a fundamental re-conceptualization of hierarchies of power. The "democratization of decision-making," (Gerardo Peña, leader with the ACIT) and the pursuit of popular power, or power from below, drives its work. According to Peña, "The ACIT defines itself as a popular organization, as a popular campesino organization that pursues the empowerment of its members to make the principle of popular power a reality.⁸⁰" The daily work of the association to re-assemble relations of power from below is reflected in former president Reynel Villaquirán's description of its decision-making process: "[We] try to pick up the thread of...what people really want. Through meetings, gatherings, forums about the different ideas and proposals that come from the people that are part of the association as much as from...the

⁸⁰ "La ACIT se autodefine como una organización popular, como una organización campesina popular que trabaja por el empoderamiento de sus miembros para hacer realidad el principio del poder popular..."

board of directors";⁸¹ leaders attempt to stay as close to the desires of the membership as possible. Thus, members of the organization are able to build responses to their own marginalization through an inclusive, deliberative process in which the ACIT collectively plans a way forward. Workshops and training sessions that promote discussions about structures of oppression and their dismantlement have greatly facilitated this process. Efforts to support the collective consciousness of the campesinado complement and contextualize constructions of popular power as a holistic challenge to oppression.

Establishing the conditions for the realization of popular power. The political consciousness of the ACIT's membership is a prioritized site of struggle. Many in Inzá have been unable to complete their formal education because of the material conditions of their families. To address this, a number of those who have had access to higher levels of education committed to lead workshops and training sessions. These are focused on developing skills of critical analysis rooted in challenging capital and the state from a position of marginalization.⁸² Participating in these workshops offers campesinos the vocabulary and broad analytical concepts to confidently describe their reality and experiences of oppression and abandonment by the state.⁸³ Workshops as spaces of consciousness-raising both illuminate oppressive structures of power and underscore the

⁸¹ "Tratar de ir tomando el hilo...de verdad de lo que quiere la gente. A través de reuniones, de encuentros, de socializaciones de los diferentes ideas y propuestos que nacen tanto de la gente que hace parte de la asociación, y tanto de la...junta directiva..."

⁸² A group of campesinos that had begun their studies in the 90's committed to the emerging ACIT that they would return to Inzá and put to work what they learned in service of the community. Beginning in 2000, these students began a process of support for the region's leaders. Participants commented that the information the students shared greatly facilitated the organization and consolidation of the ACIT (for further information, see ACIT, 2013).

⁸³ Not only does this training make up for the state's failure to provide a decent education, but in doing so, it implicitly critiques the state's inability to provide basic social services.

potential of direct democracy in shaping a new way of being in the world. The intellectual work that leaders and participants undertake in these initiatives is integral to the broader goals of the organization to create a space of difference and autonomy. As the ACIT generates critical consciousness, it also enables the possibility of thinking beyond the logics of neoliberalism and building towards a different way of being in the world.⁸⁴ In short, the goal of the training opportunities the ACIT offers is to contextualize the problematics facing the campesinado, to explore how popular power can respond to these problematics, and to facilitate the practice of popular power at all levels of the organization.

The Women's Committee is an interesting example of the work of consciousness-raising. In the early days of the organization, a feminist collective composed of a group of students from the Universidad Nacional (National University) held a series of workshops with the committee. The sessions were intended to outline basic principles of feminism, such as patriarchy and its relationship to capitalism. Morales describes these workshops as follows:

...a collective of girls from the university...started to come during vacations to train us, to give courses [about] why the rights of women were important, which

⁸⁴ Although the workshops are primarily available to current and potential leaders with the ACIT, participants are expected to communicate the concepts raised during workshops later in their regional meetings, thus facilitating the capacitation of the membership as a whole.

we did not know, which we did not recognize... And with them [the students], we started to educate ourselves, and to wake up.⁸⁵

This work has influenced the strategizing and campaigning of the leaders of the Women's committee, as they maintain capitalism and patriarchy as central problematics. Some of the students from the collective have continued their relationship with the ACIT, and this ongoing collaboration has offered further possibilities for knowledge exchange. An example is a workshop about the fundamentals of popular education that I attended with some of the leaders.

Interview data broadly indicate that other participants in consciousness raising efforts shared Morales' sentiments. For instance, Pajoy emphasized:

We have woken up [to]...the things that we were missing, that we did not know; we did not speak up because of a lack of training. So they had us silenced. But right now, thanks to the social organizations, we have been learning a lot... Well, for me that was the first phase of training: becoming aware of what we want, what we want!⁸⁶

During a separate interview, another member reiterated Pajoy's thoughts, insisting that she had not known how campesinos were being cheated, but through political training,

⁸⁵ "...un colectivo de chicas de la universidad...empezaron a venir en tiempo de vacaciones a formarnos, a darnos cursos [sobre] por qué eran importantes los derechos de las mujeres, que no lo sabíamos, que no los reconocíamos...y entonces con ellas empezamos a formarnos y a ir despertándonos."

⁸⁶ "...hemos despertado...las cosas que estábamos perdiendo que no lo sabíamos; no hablábamos por falta de capacitarnos. Entonces, nos tenían calladas la boca. Pero ahorita, gracias a las organizaciones sociales, hemos venido aprendiendo muchas cosas...Bueno, para mí esa fue la primera fase de capacitarnos: concientizarnos de lo que queremos, ¡de lo que queremos!"

"one changes one's manner of thinking, of being." Also, Audlina – an elderly women regularly at the front of strikes and demonstration – emphasized the importance of the training offered by the ACIT. She considers it to be a space within which to re-think how to approach the challenges of campesinos' daily lives: "they bring news ... we organize ourselves and they come to tell us things...they bring...new plans, new knowledge (as Pajoy interjected), good strategies."⁸⁷

The beginnings of a future in common. In tandem with the deconstruction of the exclusionary relations of power within the current expression of capitalism, the ACIT also began to construct a creative strategy of resistance from below. The organization intends this opposition to emerge from and respond to lived conditions of marginalization. As part of that process of strategizing, the ACIT encourages leaders to consider how other similarly marginalized groups have responded to experiences of oppression. This was a key learning for Miller Pena:

...here one believes that one is living a need and a problem, but then in other departments, other municipalities, they are already living [a different] reality. And they already lived it and fought it and overcame it. So, through the schools we learn about all that.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ "...ellos traen noticias nuevas...nos organizamos y nos va a contar cosas...traer...planes nuevos, (Floralba – conocimientos nuevos) conocimientos nuevos, buenas estrategias..."

⁸⁸ "A través de las escuelas necesita uno conocer otras experiencias. Bueno, digo, de pronto uno aquí cree que está viviendo la necesidad y el problema pero de pronto en otros departamentos, en otros municipios, están viviendo ya una realidad. Y la vivieron y la superaron y la enfrentaron. Entonces a través de las escuelas se va conociendo todo eso."

Pena's comments indicate that workshops emphasize the common oppression of subaltern groups – such as indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants, and workers, amongst others. They also celebrate the successes of marginalized groups' mobilizations and struggles (particularly those of indigenous peoples) as examples from which to learn. Furthermore, workshops explain how damaging divisions between these groups have been for popular struggles, and emphasizes the need for broad collaboration between subaltern populations. Consciousness-raising efforts are, in part, a means for the ACIT to address the troubling divisions in the municipality. As I discussed in chapter three, campesinos and indigenous peoples worry these divisions will facilitate the entry of transnational capital into the community. By emphasizing similarities between struggles, and by building respect for the efforts of other groups, the ACIT questions the naturalized divisions around political identity groups. This act implicitly resists the hierarchization of rights claims along lines of autochthony. Moreover, as workshops strive to change dominant patterns of thinking, they push against the internalization of neoliberal governmentality, and the governance of the self.

These linkages to other struggles create opportunities to think about how to mobilize what Audlina termed "another plan." A plan that is inclusive of multiple political identity groups, situated in popular power, and representative of a collective response to marginalization. Training sessions become a means to look across naturalized boundaries around ethnicized groups to identify shared conditions of marginalization, and common oppressors. At the same time, the sessions link the struggles of the ACIT to other scales and processes of resistance. In so doing, the

organization situates its work within a broad-based movement against neoliberal globalization. Shortly, I will describe in detail how the responses the ACIT has mobilized to respond to marginalization might produce sites of solidarity. Before I do so, I want to emphasize how the ACIT's practice of popular power challenges neoliberal oppression, and facilitates struggles that stem from and encourage different ways of relating and being.

The possibilities of popular power. For Leidy Trujillo, building a different experience of power is one of the most motivating parts about her involvement in the ACIT: "a really nice thing I found in working with the organization is precisely trying to look for alternatives from the community's perspective..."⁸⁹ These alternatives offer possibilities to think and be differently. All of these experiences, strategies and reflections are part of a work in progress. It has cracked open a space for the ACIT's members to, at the very least, attempt to practice a different way of constructing relations of power, and, as Trujillo said "work with a distinct conception of power." Popular power is central to a process to generate change from difference and mitigate the impacts of neoliberal globalization. It suggests an entry into engagements with oppression that address experiences as they are lived. Also, it counters the state's ability to govern the actions and articulations of political identity groups. This is possible because campesinos respond to neoliberalism collaboratively and collectively in a way not reliant on the state's frameworks or approval. Holistic strategies of resistance against marginalization that draw on a solid base of popular support have a greater potential to oppose the

⁸⁹ "Pero también una cosa bien bonita que encontré en el trabajo con la organización es precisamente el tratar de buscar otras alternativas, en términos comunitarios..."

discipline of the state and its divisive governance of political identities. Construction of plans for the future, and the articulation of projects to meet current challenges are important opportunities, explains Peña, "to make our own proposals, alternative proposals," built out of "structural visions" that set out "a path to follow."⁹⁰

Developing these plans positions the ACIT within a larger struggle to re-configure relations of power. The potential of these efforts depends on "an authoritative structure different from that of the capitalist state" in favour of one "associated with direct democracy..." (Marañón & López, 2010, as cited in Gutiérrez Escobar, 2011, p. 62). In order to empower the everyday struggles of community organizations, direct democracy must necessarily involve the transfer of power away from centralized, bureaucratic institutions (Marañón & López, 2010, as cited in Gutiérrez Escobar, 2011, p. 62). This implies the break of community groups from a close association with the state (and/or an inclusion in the structure of the state) and rather the attempt to seek potential in the circulation of power within social movements. Therefore, the ACIT's focus on building popular power within the organization is an important, foundational step that makes possible a (re)imagining of how campesinos want to live in the world. Of course, there is no guarantee that popular power and direct democracy will necessarily be emancipatory. Neoliberal governance runs deep. However, the ACIT's attempts to generate different conceptualizations of power from a position critical of neoliberalism and capitalism

⁹⁰ "...hacer propuestas propias, propuestas alternativas"; "...visiones estructurales"; "línea de por donde caminar."

keep alternative ontologies alive, and disputes the totality of hegemonic systems of power.

Moreover, as the ACIT directs struggles towards the exclusionary workings of power, the target of campesinos' fights is re-positioned away from conflicts with indigenous peoples. Rather, the organization focuses on the broader issues disadvantaging and driving the two groups apart in the first place. The remaining challenge is to construct inclusive structures of direct democracy that challenge divisive belongings, and function across boundaries. In the coming section I illustrate how the mobilization of alternative economic spaces as expressions of popular power create opportunities to begin the practice of building a future in common across divisions.

Mobilization of Alternative Economic Spaces

The ACIT's plans for the future draw on heterogeneity. In order to preserve a unique way of being on the margins of neoliberalism, the organization has chosen to mobilize productive projects. These efforts seek to address the economic marginalization of campesinos, while nurturing relations of power that defy the primacy of profit in favour of cooperation and mutual support. The ACIT has already mobilized and supported numerous spaces of alternative economic relations, demonstrating the vibrancy of ways of being that resist the governance of neoliberalism in the everyday. Productive projects such as community savings/credit groups and cooperatives (which I explain below) seek to cultivate possibility for campesinos to resist while assembling concrete measures to improve quality of life. These undertakings are founded on, and organized around principles of food

sovereignty, which, according to Laura María Gutiérrez Escobar, encourages social relations that fundamentally challenge oppression (2011, 66). The ACIT's groundwork in shaping the organization around expressions of popular power makes creative projects of resistance both possible, and representative of a broader threat to the entrenchment of neoliberalism.

After outlining these projects, I will then emphasize how re-grouping around a shared position of marginalization could allow a re-assemblage of solidarity across geographical and ideological boundaries. My goal is to demonstrate that work in common (since indigenous peoples too rely on the land for their livelihood) could facilitate the construction of solidarity without closing down difference and diversity.

Cultivating food sovereignty. A focus on survival in an era of neoliberal globalization has led the ACIT to emphasize the need to foster food sovereignty in Inzá. The ACIT describes food sovereignty as "the basis of material and economic development, [and] the preservation of territory" (Peña Echavarría & Rojas Ultengo, 2011, p. 33). The association asserts that food sovereignty "is critical in terms of the protection of natural resources as collective heritage, to the extent that this principle also is concerned about ecological balance and minimizing the impact of human activities on the environment" (Peña Echavarría & Rojas Ultengo, 2011, p. 33).⁹¹ The association sees food sovereignty as a tool for economic autonomy, and a means to improve the quality of

⁹¹ "...es fundamental en términos de la protección de los recursos naturales como patrimonio colectivo, en la medida en que este principio también se preocupa por el equilibrio ecológico y por minimizar el impacto de las actividades humanas sobre el medio ambiente."

life in Inzá. It therefore underlies all productive projects and attempts to open alternative economic spaces:

The... "ACIT" within its policy of food sovereignty has been promoting and implementing initiatives of agro-ecological production as a strategy of crop diversification and food self-sufficiency... these [projects] are designed to generate alternatives to current government policies favouring plunder, policies that favour large landowners, such as the production of biofuels (from monoculture cane, corn, palm, cassava).⁹² (Peña Echavarría & Rojas Ultengo, 2011, p. 50)

The creative economic spaces grounded in food sovereignty that the ACIT has enabled respond to the urgent needs of the membership. For example, between 2004 and 2005, the Women's Committee launched a municipality-wide campaign in support of food sovereignty, diversified production, and the recuperation of local seeds/crops. Included in the campaign were training sessions about the impacts of free trade agreements, the problems with genetically modified crops, and practical sessions regarding the use and care of seeds (see Morales, 2010, p. 337-338). Additionally, the committee organized events to allow campesinos to exchange seeds (see Morales, 2010, p. 337-338). The campaign emerged out of concerns regarding the escalating loss

⁹² "La... 'ACIT' dentro su política de soberanía alimentaria viene promoviendo e implementando iniciativas de producción agroecológica como una estrategia de diversificación de cultivos y de autosuficiencia alimentaria... éstos [proyectos] orientados a generar alternativas frente a las actuales políticas del gobierno que propician el despojo, políticas que privilegian a los grandes latifundistas, como es el caso de la producción de biocombustibles (a partir del monocultivo de caña, maíz, palma, yuca)."

of crop diversity as a result of the advance of coffee as a nearly exclusive monoculture (initially driven by its strong price in the international market). One of the goals of the campaign was to ensure that all campesinos had a small (individual or collective) space within which to grow nutritious, organic food for their own consumption, or to sell in small quantities (see Figure 4 for an example of a community garden). Melba Arias (a leader with the Women's Committee) argues that these gardens are part of the wider pursuit of food sovereignty, and are a site of struggle against the impacts of neoliberal globalization. In particular, the ACIT intends for the gardens to mitigate the negative impacts that free trade agreements have on the lives of campesinos. "For us," Arias comments, "food sovereignty is deciding what to eat, which gives our family an option of resistance."⁹³ In various forms, the multiple activities of the campaign continue as part of the committee's ongoing organizing.

⁹³ "Para nosotros la soberanía alimentaria, el decidir que comer y que darle a nuestra familia es también una opción de resistencia."



Figure 4. Community Garden "Women's Group: Sowers of Peace" (ACIT, Inzá Cauca Colombia Protierradentro Genève partie 1, 2011)

Additionally, the committee provided the necessary training and supplies to start up 30 independently operating community savings/credit groups of between five and twenty people (new groups continue to form). These groups allow individuals and communities to autonomously undertake productive projects, such as raising chickens. The committee also administers a centralized loans/credit program, available for productive projects that require a larger initial investment. One group of women in the community of Socorro, for example, began a cooperative community store with a loan from the fund (see Figure 5).



Figure 5. Community Store, Socorro, Inzá (Carvajal Echeverry, 2013)

Another cooperative the ACIT supports is that of a group of *paneleros* (small-scale producers of unrefined brown sugar; Figure 6 demonstrates parts of the *panela* production process). The European Union provided the initial financing for the project, and to date, the cooperative operates in four villages in Tierradentro, one of which is located in Inzá, with 115 member families. Members work collaboratively by sharing land and certification in the attempt to increase production and profits. Octavio Medina, a member of the cooperative, explained that he has benefited from other experiences with agricultural associations operating in Inzá (such as ASORCAFE – The Association of East Caucan Coffee Producers [*Asociación de Productores de Café del Oriente Caucano*])⁹⁴). Through these experiences, he learnt that "any product that one thinks to

⁹⁴ While ASORCAFE is not directly linked to the ACIT, organizing by coffee producers has been facilitated by the ACIT's activities as they facilitate increased contact between campesinos. In addition, many members of the ACIT are also members of ASORCAFE.

grow somewhere, if one has an organization, one does better.⁹⁵ Cooperative projects offer a stability and predictability that campesinos often cannot achieve on their own.⁹⁶



Figure 6. Paneleros (ACIT, Inzá Cauca Colombia Protierradentro Genève partie 1, 2011)

Building solidarity through work in common. Initiatives such as the gardens, credit and savings groups, and paneleros' cooperative offer glimpses of the *practice* of popular power on a micro-scale. None of the initiatives fully escape neoliberalism;⁹⁷ and

⁹⁵ "...cualquier producto que se piense cultivar en algún sitio, mientras tenga uno una organización, le va a uno mejor."

This is not to say that the process has been simple or straight-forward. As Medina comments, "...it is difficult that community initiatives come together overnight. It is a process that requires a lot of consciousness-raising, a lot of collaboration, and a lot of help because they are tiny businesses...it's not like they are put in place and funded by the government...for us, it means investing a lot of work, and searching for funding so that it works out."

⁹⁶ In addition, many research participants noted that they valued the opportunities to learn practical skills through productive projects. For example, María Lucia Quintero described beginning her role as inventory manager with a cooperative community store run by women from the village of Turminá: "I did not go to school ... So when they named me as the inventory manager in this organization, [I thought] my God, I didn't go to school! What am I going to do"? Yet, members are able to learn necessary skills from their colleagues. Quintero commented "...the substitute inventory manager, at first he taught me, he told me, you haven't studied, but you do have strength and will...and that helped me to keep holding my own."

⁹⁷ For example, these projects are sustained by the work of a civil society organization that is filling in for the minimal provision of social services by the neoliberal state. Also, these initiatives have been funded in part by international organizations, or other states, such as the European Union, with the subsequent control and restrictions that this implies.

none seek to fully move outside of capitalist relations (monetary exchange and profit remains the ultimate goal, although not at the expense of the construction of a space of cooperation). However, they do seek to reassert some measure of autonomy, mitigate the effects of dispossession, and offer space for a reconsideration of how to live in community.

Additionally, these collectively mobilized productive projects develop sites for solidarity amidst the ACIT's diverse membership, and also beyond the organization. Indigenous groups too mobilize productive projects that seek to improve the quality of life of their members,⁹⁸ and share small-scale agriculture as the primary means of survival. Therefore, overlapping goals, and a common commitment to economic alternatives presents a space within which diverse groups can pursue united grounds in their struggles against their economic marginalization. Such efforts at responding to urgent material needs suggest how already-existing, parallel spaces and struggles could become collaborative. Re-centring material inequality as a shared issue to which community organizations are responding through their own local initiatives indicates the possibility of building a different future in common that moves beyond the traps of recognition. As "sister" organizations – in the words of Peña – campesino and indigenous social processes share a commitment to their collective identities as popular, rural movements that try to overturn their respective experiences of marginalization.

⁹⁸ For example, in the neighboring municipality of Paéz, the Association of Nasa Çxhâçxha Indigenous Cabildos (Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas Nasa Çxhâçxha) mobilized a program to support local, sustainable small-scale agricultural and handicraft production. In Inzá, the central administrative body of the six municipal resguardos (the Juan Tama Association) administers a company that sells organic coffee produced in the region.

Taking these commonalities as a starting point, re-focusing on material conditions as a site in common could re-shape, and re-weave the social fabric in Inzá. Based on shared possibility and cooperation, collaborative actions could potentially repair some of the tears that territorial conflicts have created. The challenge, of course, will be to carefully identify and construct opportunities to combine projects in a way respectful of the diversity of the municipality, and the practice of popular power. As I suggest below, food sovereignty as a holistic strategy that incorporates and fosters different ways of being may be the main point in common. From here, social movements could move away from a reliance on the construction of ethnicized and spatialized political identities.

Creative Resistance to Division

The creation of alternative economic spaces resists the homogenizing effects of neoliberalism. By developing vegetable gardens, and cooperatives, the ACIT's members intentionally maintain a diversity of economic systems in Inzá. This allows for multiple options for survival that push against the primacy of the pursuit of profit, consumption, and the submission of every aspect of life to the market.⁹⁹ Despite the destructive impacts that neoliberal reforms have had on rural Colombia, (re)constructing and nurturing economic relations based on cooperation demonstrates that another vibrant way of being exists. Moreover, these struggles offer glimpses of the possibility for a

⁹⁹ Cooperatives are not an unproblematic response to neoliberal globalization. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that ultra conservative President Álvaro Uribe (2002-2010) included the promotion of cooperatives in his neoliberal agenda (Jaramillo, 2011, p. 340). Uribe's intention was to encourage self-management and to create jobs with minimal state intervention (Jaramillo, 2011, p. 340). For my purposes here, I find cooperatives to be an interesting and creative use of the space opened by neoliberal ideologies in order to support economic projects that propose alternative ways of being.

sustained challenge to neoliberalism, and a troubling of the notion that neoliberalism is a totalizing force that always already dominates all socio-economic relations. The struggles in Inzá are yet another indication that not only is a new, more humane society and economic reality possible, "it is presently being built" (Zibechi, 2012, p. 37).

Laura María Gutiérrez Escobar (2011) reflects on the adoption of food sovereignty as a strategy of survival, and as an alternative economic logic embraced by Colombian campesinos. She argues that activities emergent from an economy of solidarity have the potential to catalyze a larger social transformation (p. 60). As the ACIT facilitates efforts to build collectively a universe that is "more just and equitable, where we can all come together and live in dignity" (Morales 2009 as cited in Morales, 2010, p. 340), the organization seeks such a transformation. Within the ACIT and in the municipality more broadly, social movements share the commitment to pursue dignity by re-thinking the relations that stem from neoliberalism. Such efforts are an affront to the status quo and suggest the beginnings of a politics of collective. J.K. Gibson-Graham describe the politics of collective as "conscious and combined efforts to build a new kind of economic reality" (2006, p. xxxvi).

This shared commitment to build a new reality through a politics of collective generates, as Alix Morales argues, political spaces in which to meet, share knowledge, to dream, and to "weave networks of solidarity" (Morales, 2010, p.336). Community residents are re-focusing struggles against manifestations of neoliberal globalization in Inzá away from possibilities of recognition that stem from the state, and toward a collaborative response to shared marginalization. They are doing so by collectively responding to local conditions, realities, and challenges and focusing on that which

diverse groups have in common. As just one example, social movements can align resistance around shared ideological commitments to the pursuit of dignity in a way that is not dependent on the ravaging of natural resources. As Joshua Kahn Russell and Harmony Goldberg emphasize (2012), "Learning how to work together is part of the process that births a new world" (as cited in Walia, 2013, p. 178). In turn, working together is largely reliant upon finding shared points in common from which to build (Walia, 2013). Grounding efforts to construct a new economic reality based on a different conceptualization of power may become a starting point from which the broad membership of the ACIT and indigenous communities could construct a future in common. Comments by Peña suggest the feasibility of such a possibility. He explains that the diverse social movements in Inzá:

...recognize themselves as grassroots organizations, popular processes, processes of the base – this is a point that brings us together, and this is a strong identity. The other [thing]: the awareness that we must transform these relations of inequality, the concentration of land, wealth, concentration of decisions, of economic and political power. This awareness of the need to transform this reality is another point that brings us closer. The construction of popular power, the defense of territorial autonomy, for example, the defense of direct democracy...Moving from a position of subordination, marginalization, obedience, exploitation to a position of power. And giving this power another charisma, making decisions more collective. I think that this would be another

thing in common: ...the construction of popular power, power from below.¹⁰⁰

By building from a shared commitment to popular power and direct democracy, social movements are able to maintain "a critical distance from the state" (Contreras Natera, 2013, p. 266). Organizations are able to avoid then turning to the state and attempting to fit within constructed categories of difference through the mobilization of discourses of autochthony and recognition. Rather, social movements are able to reject claims reliant on exclusion and the construction of an ethnicized identity. On the contrary, resistance can shift toward broader, counter-hegemonic discourses and demands, such as those of re-distribution, and the dismantling of exclusionary structures of power (for further discussion of how looking across boundaries that the state and capital construct can lead to solidarity struggles, see Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, p. xxvi-xxvii). This notable transition toward shared concerns and struggles (such as dignity) provides opportunities to build struggles that create and work toward collaborative, boundary-crossing responses. This is to say, productive projects aimed at lessening the marginalization that fuels the divisive work of assembling and projecting difference also move communities towards autonomy. Consequently, this self-sufficiency reduces the need for social movements to turn to the state for the funding

¹⁰⁰ "...Y de reconocerse como organizaciones populares, procesos populares, procesos de base – ahí hay un punto de acercamiento y hay una identidad fuerte. Lo otro: – la consciencia de que hay que transformar esas, las relaciones de inequidad, de concentración de la tierra, de la riqueza, de la concentración de las decisiones, del poder económico, político. Esa consciencia de que hay que transformar esa realidad es otro punto que nos acerca. De construcción de poder popular, de reivindicar autonomía territorial, por ejemplo, de reivindicar democracia directa... Pasar de una posición de subordinación, de marginación, de obediencia, de explotación a una posición de poder. Y de darle otro carisma a ese poder, de hacer la decisiones más colectivas. Yo creo que ese sería otro punto en común: ...la construcción de poder popular, poder desde abajo."

that has resulted in the division of the population into state-sanctioned territories. Increased material autonomy thus becomes a means to confront the processes behind the ethnicization and spatialization of rights.

For Gibson-Graham, the assemblage of such possibilities and realities will necessarily emerge in the gaps and fractures of neoliberal globalization that are located in place. As opposed to the ridged, disciplined boundaries of the territories social movements currently imagine, Gibson-Graham define place as:

...that which is not fully yoked into a system of meaning, not entirely subsumed to and defined within a (global) order; it becomes the aspect of every site that exists as potentiality... It is the unmapped and unmoored that allows for new moorings and mappings. Place, like the subject, is the site of becoming, the opening for politics. (2006, p. xxxiii)

Building from place is an effort to recover unstructured social and political space, as Miguel Ángel Contreras Natera insists (2013, p. 261). Place, as a dynamic process, and sites of on-going re-imagination on the margins, offers conditions of possibility for creative social practice by those who mutually participate in its production (Massey, 1994 as cited in Conway, 2008, p. 212; Escobar, 2001, p.152). Jane Conway (2008) argues that especially during the current conditions of globalization, places are continuously being (re)produced through inherently dynamic social relations and practices (p. 212). Becoming and imagined, places nurture the sites within which marginalized groups are already re-shaping the exclusionary governance of political identities in order to make visible other geographies of resistance. The creative responses emergent in place are part of a transnational network of resistance that

responds to similar conditions of marginalization without falling into the trap of methodological nationalisms. Within the gaps emergent on the margins, neoliberal governance's hold is diminished as social movements build "islands" within the dominant system. These physical and symbolic spaces of resistance become "spaces of survival" (Zibechi, 2012, p. 40), or "anti-neoliberal concentration zones" (interview of Walter Mignolo by Catherine Walsh, 2004, as cited in Zibechi, 2012, p. 55). Here, the enactment of different imaginaries and relations of power, such as direct democracy, have a stronger chance of becoming established than at other scales. Moreover, because of the relative fluidity and potential in place, the spatialization of rights and identities also becomes unhinged as communities turn to each other for support. Rather than constructing boundaries to clarify belonging and title, responses in place to contested territorialities may become open possibilities to think about shared relationships to space by diverse groups. A negotiation of needs and usage beyond the governance of geographies and identities could facilitate respectful negotiations of shared, and unfixed relationships with land that are collectively managed and imagined.

Projects of resistance that cross borders, together with those that take advantage of the openings and fissures in place, jointly disrupt hegemonic discourses that govern the maintenance of difference. Together, these interruptions nurture new subjectivities that counter those of neoliberal multiculturalism. As asserted by Gibson-Graham: "A language of economic difference has the potential to offer new subject positions and prompt novel identifications, multiplying economic energies and desires" (2006, p. xxxv). Out of alternative economic realities grow possibilities to subversively disassemble the naturalized boundaries around ethnicized groups. Social movements

can then re-define struggles away from dichotomies in favour of a multiplicity that congregates around points in common. Residents of Inzá are opening up spaces of difference that they position away from the state, and developing novel subjectivities based on new ways of being. From these new positions, emergent subjects can envision possible paths of becoming in common (Zibechi, 2012, p. 66). Autochthony becomes less relevant as political identity groups re-organize themselves around their affinity to place and their commitment to (re)building toward a future in common.

Conclusion

The ACIT's initiation of the reconceptualization of identity and power presents novel opportunities for solidarity in struggle that defy the governance of neoliberal multiculturalism. These efforts further suggest what a future in common that social movements build from difference might become in Inzá. It would be a future that begins by nurturing alternative economic projects and relations that challenge the totalizing force of neoliberalism. Drawing on shared experiences of marginalization, openings in place are the beginnings of the construction of a shared subjectivity. Emerging from affinity and collaboration, this subjectivity is in a position to be distanced from a reliance on the performance of an always-imperfect ethnicized and spatialized political identity.

Conclusion:

Constructing a Future in Common

The previous chapter explored how the ACIT is opening spaces of solidarity in defiance of neoliberal multiculturalism. I also laid out how residents of Inzá might build a future in common through struggles against shared experiences of marginalization. In this concluding chapter, I revisit and re-emphasize the primary arguments of this thesis as a whole in relation to debates about geographies of power, subjectivity and belonging. I also outline the key contributions this project makes to these debates, and possible directions of future research that could address some of the limitations of this project and build on its findings.

Through a localized study of a campesinos community organization, this thesis explored the implications of the adoption of discourses of multiculturalism and autochthony by Colombian social movements. I considered the ways which neoliberalism's prioritization of autochthonous relationships to territory govern struggles against accumulation by dispossession, articulations of identity, the shaping of rights claims, and demands for land resources. Reading these struggles through a qualitative analysis of the resistance of the ACIT, I argued that Colombian multiculturalism privileges land claims forwarded by ethnicized groups that are able to construct an autochthonous belonging in a specific, delimited territory. Consequently, I affirmed that multiculturalism naturalizes and (re)constructs the cultural and physical rootedness of political identities in "their" ancestral territories. It does this, I asserted, by spatializing and ethnicizing rights and the possibility for rights claims. Therefore, multiculturalism ends up erecting and naturalizing divisions between and around subaltern groups that are

struggling against similar experiences of marginalization. As a result, the divisive and exclusionary impacts of multiculturalism as a technology that governs diversity are complementary to neoliberal globalization.

I developed my argument through an interdisciplinary analysis that drew on critical political economy, human geography, and transnational Latin American studies. In particular, Nandita Sharma and Cynthia Wright's (2008/2009) theorization of the role of autochthony in neoliberal globalization largely inspired this project. Sharma and Wright's assertion that hierarchies of belonging govern populations in shared spaces serves as a key insight into how differential collective rights based on firstness fuel conflicts between indigenous peoples and campesinos. Further, Sharma and Wright's work was helpful to illustrate how specialized rights have extremely limited potential to disrupt exclusionary structures of power.

Methodologically, I drew on certain insights of TNF in order to consider how social difference is a fundamental node through which exploitation moves and is organized. Specifically, the focus of TNF on the impacts of neoliberal globalization across space allowed me to explore how various expressions of oppressive, hegemonic structures of power manifest in particular locales. Transnational feminist epistemologies provided a nuanced theoretical frame through which to advance this localized, qualitative analysis of the ACIT's arguments in pursuit of state-recognition and land rights in Inzá. To advance as thorough an interrogation of the workings of power as possible, I made use of three mutually supportive methods: semi-structured interviews, interpretive textual analysis, and participant observation. Through semi-structured interviews with leaders of the organization, and an extensive interpretative analysis of texts the ACIT has recently

produced, I was able to explore how the association is articulating their collective identity and formulating rights claims. I also interviewed leaders of other civil society organizations – both campesino and indigenous – to further contextualize the arguments of the ACIT and the challenges confronting residents of Inzá. As well, I relied on techniques of participant observation to collect data during workshops and meetings of different civil society groups. In sum, the methodological approach to this study allowed a holistic exploration of the ACIT's strategies to navigate the limited opportunities for launching rights claims of the state from the margins of recognition.

Summary of the Argument

In its efforts to navigate the limited openings available to social movements within the current rights terrain, the ACIT's struggles primarily focus on establishing a Campesino Reserve Zone (ZRC). Campesinos believe that within a ZRC, they might achieve a certain degree of protection for their ways of being, and for their permanence as a collective in Inzá. In essence, the ACIT is seeking to establish a site of belonging that pushes against both the expansion of mega-projects into the region (backed by the state), as well as the aspirations of indigenous people to recuperate their ancestral territories. Behind the objective of establishing a ZRC is the pursuit of recognition of the campesinado as a political identity group by the state. As well, the ACIT seeks a redistribution of resources through the financial support of the state for the autonomous development projects that accompany a ZRC.

In a bid to secure official recognition of their territorial ambitions, the ACIT is producing reports, studies, and planning documents – or bureaucratic texts – in an attempt to launch claims through established channels. Further, the organization is also

drawing on strategies of visibilization using tactics such as demonstrations (or "strikes"). The leaders' goal is to escalate pressure on the state to obtain a response to their demands for land rights, and for the recognition of the campesinado as a collective subjectivity. Through its actions, the ACIT is simultaneously critiquing and mobilizing discourses of autochthony. It does so to construct campesinos' own arguments of belonging, and to respond to indigenous peoples' attempts to expand their resguardos in Inzá. By using these strategies, the organization concurrently reinforces the ethnicization and spatialization of rights. The ACIT roots the campesinado in an ancestral space, at the same time that it launches a challenge to the state's exclusion of groups positioned on the margins of recognition.

Alongside these divisive struggles for recognition and the establishment of a ZRC, other aspects of the ACIT's organizing suggest a response to neoliberal globalization that evades the exclusionary tendencies of multiculturalism. I outlined four primary ways in which the association is mobilizing efforts of resistance outside of the pursuit of recognition. Together, these indicate the beginnings of a collaborative construction of a future in common for all residents of Inzá. First, the ACIT structures its membership requirements around support for the political project of the organization. Therefore, those associated with the ACIT are a relatively diverse group. As an extension, these loose membership requirements suggest how "campesinos" as a heterogeneous collective identity could offer a novel, alternative subject configuration. From this position, social movements might launch efforts at resistance that do not rely on hierarchized possibilities of belonging. "Campesino" could become a subjectivity

from which to articulate common struggles against inequality in a way that does not shut down diversity within and beyond the category.

Second, this thesis argues that the ACIT's commitment to foster popular power emerges in and of itself as an important alternative to hegemonic structures of neoliberal globalization. I asserted that the organization's prioritization of the exercise of popular power is an important shift away from having the articulation of rights claims dependent on the state. Instead, the ACIT's grassroots pursuit of an experience of power that emerges out of a position critical of neoliberalism and capitalism keeps alternative ontologies vibrant, and disputes the totality of hegemonic systems of power. Moreover, by focusing on the exclusionary workings of power, the organization directs one angle of the campesinos' struggle away from overlapping territorial claims, and toward the broader issues that disadvantage social movements, and drive them apart in the first place.

Third, I demonstrated that the organization supports productive projects, such as cooperatives, community savings/credit groups, and community gardens. Grounding these projects are principles of food sovereignty, and the aim to open alternative economic spaces within which residents of Inzá are able to practice different ways of being and relating. As communal projects based on the re-structuring of relations of oppression, these attempts to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants of Inzá also notably facilitate a broader response to divisive relations of power. Alternative economic spaces act to resist the governance of neoliberal globalization by both nurturing ways of being that oppose neoliberalism, and opening possibilities to deconstruct hierarchies of division. Considering that indigenous peoples also undertake similar efforts to respond to

everyday realities of marginalization, these shared projects suggest a site from which to build struggles and acts of resistance in common.

Fourth, I suggested that residents of Inzá are well-positioned to build a future in common based on the aforementioned commitments to maintaining alternative social relations of production. Rather than maneuvering within the limited possibilities of neoliberal multiculturalism, assembling a common response to conditions of marginalization has potential to reconnect and empower social movements. A place-based commitment to counter-hegemonic practices of cooperation becomes a subversive response to the hierarchies of belonging shaped by neoliberal relationships of power. Organizing in place is an opportunity to disconnect from confrontational discourses of autochthony in favor of peaceful co-habitation. Residents of Inzá could then negotiate everyday relationships and challenges between themselves. By building on shared goals emergent within a shared place, all residents are then able to (re)consider how to build a mutually beneficial future that is respectful of diversity.

Implications, Interpretations, and Applications of Findings

There are two key contributions that this thesis makes to the debates with which it engages. The first is the study's work to bring together literatures that address issues related to autochthony and multiculturalism, applying them to a project focused on Latin America. While much of the multiculturalism literature has emerged from the Global North (mainly from Canada and the United States), many scholars whose work discusses Latin America are increasingly adapting the literature to this context. However, scholars have centred less on theorizing autochthony in Latin America through the lens of multiculturalism and its influence on expressions and experiences of belonging. This

study directly addresses this gap. I attended to many of the warnings the multiculturalism literature puts forth about the governance implicit in recognition. As well, I take into account the links between these concerns and the debates regarding the way that autochthony erects boundaries around possibilities of belonging in space. By reading these two bodies of literature together, I further unpacked how recognitions that prioritize autochthony are closely entangled with neoliberal globalization and exclusionary, oppressive structures of power. More specifically, this thesis helps to understand how the spatial dimensions of multiculturalism act as technologies of neoliberalism. These technologies simultaneously fix populations in "their" space, while leaving others without a space to claim. I presented the concept of the "ethnicization and spatialization" of rights and rights claims to clarify how multiculturalism and autochthony together foreclose opportunities for advancing demands of the state along constructed ethnic and spatial frontiers.

Secondly, and more specifically, this is a localized study that focuses on the margins of recognition and rights claims. Many investigations explore how recognized groups negotiate and resist governance as they assert their rights claims, or how such groups affront the many challenges of pursuing their rights. This project took a novel approach in order to centre political identity groups who do not fit clearly within established possibilities for rights protections. This perspective shed light on many of the contradictions and material implications of the ethnicization and spatialization of rights. Moreover, by locating this study on the margins, I was able to reveal the material, discursive, and representational structures of power that neoliberal multiculturalism leaves undisrupted. This project contributes to the literature a close exploration of how

the state's closures of sites from which subaltern populations might make demands exacerbate conditions of marginalization. Perhaps most importantly, this original research complicates and nuances debates regarding the relationships between identity-based rights claims, territory and governance.

By analyzing the strategies of a civil society group on the margins, this study also offers a concrete reflection on certain social movements' creative acts of resistance in response to the closing down of rights possibilities. That is to say, not only did this thesis consider current debates, it also explored actual struggles that illuminate the cracks and imperfections within neoliberal multiculturalism, and suggested opportunities for the disruption of hegemonic structures of power. This focus attends to the efforts by social movements to pursue alternate futures that centre cooperation and solidarity, and which have the potential to contribute to the extension of the meaning of democracy and rights in Latin America (Contreras Natara, 2013, p. 265). All of this indicates that struggles from the margins are very clearly demanding a recognition of difference that is inseparable from calls for redistribution and equality.

Consequently, unpacking the strategies and arguments launched by campesinos from the margins is a contribution to the effort to confront oppressions of neoliberal globalization. As I outlined in the preceding chapter, the attempt to respond to marginalization through alternative economic spaces suggests a way forward for social movements seeking to construct a future in common. In short, this practice both expands upon, and seeks to disrupt geographies of power, and the governance of diversity.

How then might activists and scholars apply this research in their own work? The motivation behind this project was to produce an analysis useful for social movements'

strategizing and efforts at resistance in a context in which discourses of multiculturalism and/or autochthony dominate. In particular, I see the findings of this study to be particularly relevant to those individuals and groups that aim to disrupt naturalized boundaries around similarly marginalized groups as a step toward constructing collaborative responses to oppression. More specifically, the limitations and opportunities that I outline with regards to current rights systems could inform social movements' efforts to assemble a coalition through which marginalized groups autonomously assert possibilities for recognition and redistribution. Ideally, such a coalition would involve multi-scalar responses to geographies of power, and would act as an expression of a collaborative way of being. While likely most useful for Colombian civil society, the conclusions could also be applicable to other contexts in Latin America in which states have adopted policies of multiculturalism.

Limitations of This Project

In thinking about the potential utility of this study for social movements, it is also important to evaluate some of its limitations. First, considering other groups that are similarly disadvantaged in their rights claims would have added greater depth to my discussion of the effects of neoliberal multiculturalism on un-recognized collectives. For example, even though the minimal population of Afro-descendants in Inzá is not organized into a separate, identity-driven association, those living in the neighboring municipality of Páez do have a small, organized community group. Analyzing the arguments that these neighboring groups mobilize for recognition would have offered a perspective from another collective that is located on the margins of rights protection.

This might have offered further insight into the hierarchization of and collaboration between (relatively) excluded civil society groups.

Second, while Colombia's armed conflict has undoubtedly affected Inzá's residents in a substantial way, the municipality as a whole has escaped the more acute and sustained experiences of violence that dramatically impact other social movements' organizing. Organizers in other municipalities and regions regularly face death threats, assassinations of friends and colleagues, criminalization, forced displacement, and disappearance. Leaders of the ACIT are certainly also affected by these expressions of violence and the resulting closure of space for dissent. However, the organization is in a favorable position relative to other civil society groups. Therefore, this study's resonance is somewhat limited in other areas of Colombia, and in other international contexts where armed violence is prevalent. On the other hand, the ACIT is an organization that influences, inspires and supports other campesino community groups. Therefore, its strategies and efforts at resistance are likely a predictive example of the future, abridged, or aspirational struggles of other organizations, particularly in the department of Cauca.

A third limitation of this study is its relatively narrow engagement with debates currently circulating within Colombian/Latin American literature. Many authors are analyzing how groups and individuals live multiculturalism in Latin America, and a further exploration would have been a helpful addition to the theoretical positioning of this project. More specifically, from these debates, it would have been useful to incorporate a more detailed analysis of the potential responses to the problems associated with neoliberal multiculturalism. With more emphasis on these debates, my exploration

of the worrying implications of autochthonous discourses on rights claims, and the suggestions I advance might have been more attentive to the subtleties of context.

Where to now?

With the above-mentioned limitations in mind, I propose three principal directions for future research in this area. The first is an exploration of the strategies of other marginalized groups in other locations – both within Colombia, and in other areas in Latin America – as they attempt to launch land and rights claims of the state. Some of these groups include Afro-descendants, as I mentioned above, indigenous peoples on the margins of recognition, or diverse communities composed of multiple and mixed political identity groups. It would be illuminating to consider if and how these groups are engaging with acts of resistance similar to those of the ACIT, particularly in regards to food sovereignty and alternative economic spaces. Drawing on the struggles of other groups in order to build a comparative study is likely to reveal further contradictions, inconsistencies, and thus other opportunities to confront neoliberal globalization transnationally. Therefore, inquiries into such efforts would be apt to contribute to the growing spaces and strategies of resistance, and the imagination of a future that opposes neoliberal globalization.

The second area for future research is the already-existent openings within which collaboration continues between similarly marginalized groups. Regardless of the conflicts between marginalized groups, many strong examples of cooperation still exist. The themes and causes that unite diverse groups present a starting point from which to reweave the damaged fabric of civil society and to think about defying the exclusionary work of neoliberal globalization. For instance, in Inzá and Páez (that together form the

region of Tierradentro), a group of campesino and indigenous post-secondary students organized themselves into a group called "Protierradentro." These students are primarily concerned about the degradation of the regional environment, as well as the improvement of the quality of life of residents of the region through productive projects. This might be the only remaining space in Inzá in which indigenous peoples and campesinos are actively collaborating. Protierradentro offers an opportunity to explore a case study of efforts to build a different way of being in place by drawing on the shared concerns of residents (regardless of their ethnicized political identity). Such a case study could pick up where this project concludes in order to explore how the organization's struggles affect broader attempts at resistance, and how its work shapes claims to subjectivity and territory. An investigation of this collective might reveal further insights into the possible deconstruction of naturalized boundaries, as well as alternative approaches to the assertion of rights claims. One such line of inquiry could be the capacity building/educational component of Protierradentro's mandate. As the organization assembles projects that seek an alternative model of development, it would be interesting to ask how it also supports the cultivation of the diverse ways of knowing that the political identity groups of Tierradentro hold in common. This is to say, in turning to existing sites of collaboration, future research could investigate if and how such sites are disrupting the divisions neoliberal multiculturalism is erecting within the polity, and suggest how to expand such efforts.

The third opportunity that I identify for future research is an engagement with some of the debates regarding neoliberal multiculturalism and land claims currently ongoing between Latin American intellectuals. Bringing together Latin American

literature with that from the Global North has the potential to provide a more exhaustive analysis of the complexity of transnational struggles from different viewpoints.

Moreover, debates centred in Latin America are likely to be an important contribution to the thorough contextualization of experiences of neoliberal multiculturalism, and histories of division and collaboration. Such an effort is an opportunity to disrupt the (still) entrenched notion that the Global North is *the* global knowledge production centre. It also opens space to draw on much of the excellent recent work of diversely situated intellectuals working on and writing from Latin America.

Whether or not future work in this area moves in these suggested directions, what remains clear is that further exploration of the transnational implications of the ethnicization and spatialization of rights claims for collective political identity groups is an urgent priority for those who are concerned about advancing social justice.

Appendix A – List of Acronyms

ACIT: Asociación Campesina de Inzá, Tierradentro (Campesino Association of Inzá, Tierradentro)

ACMI: Asociación Campesina del Municipio de Inzá (Campesino Association of the Municipality of Inzá)

ASORCAFE: Asociación de Productores de Café del Oriente Caucano (The Association of East Caucan Coffee Producers)

CIMA: Comité de Integración del Macizo Colombiano (Committee for the Integration of the Colombian Massif)

CRIC: Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (Indigenous Regional Council of Cauca)

FENSUAGRO: Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria (National Unified Agricultural Trade Union Federation)

INCODER: Instituto Colombiano de Desarrollo Rural (The Colombian Institute of Rural Development)

INCORA: Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria (The Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reform)

JAC: Juntas de Acción Comunal (Communal Action Boards)

PUPSOC: Proceso De Unidad Popular Del Suroccidente Colombiano (Process of Popular Unity in the Colombian Southwest (PUPSOC))

TNF: Transnational Feminism

UAF: Unidad Agrícola Familiar (Family Agricultural Unit)

ZRC – Zona de Reserva Campesina (Campesino Reserve Zone)

Appendix B – Fieldwork

B.1 - Oral script to request informed consent (Spanish)

Estimado Sr., estimada Sra.:

Reciba Ud. un cordial saludo.

Mi nombre es Sarah-Jane Hamilton y soy estudiante de economía política en la Universidad de Carleton, en Ottawa, Canadá. Estoy llevando adelante una investigación sobre reclamos de tierras en Inzá. Me interesa particularmente la manera en que los diferentes grupos marginados (como son los pueblos indígenas, los campesinos y los afro descendientes) efectúan sus reclamos de territorio y cómo estos reclamos pueden derivar en conflictos entre dichos grupos.

Los resultados de la investigación serán presentados en mi tesis, en conferencias o talleres académicos, en los informes finales a entregar a las organizaciones que participen en mi proyecto y, potencialmente, en publicaciones disponibles para académicos y/o para el público en general. Por lo tanto, mi trabajo podría contribuir al aumento de la atención internacional al proceso de reclamos de tierras que se lleva adelante en Inzá.

Si Ud. acepta participar, le haré algunas preguntas sobre la manera en que su comunidad y la organización a la que Ud. pertenece enfrentan los desafíos relacionados con la obtención de más tierras y con los conflictos que surgen en determinados casos. La extensión de la entrevista dependerá de sus respuestas, pero tengo prevista una duración aproximada de 2 horas.

Quisiera que Ud. supiera que participar en mi investigación conllevará algunos riesgos. Existe el riesgo de que las entrevistas afecten su trabajo (lo que podría, a su vez, afectarle económicamente) debido a que Ud. restará tiempo a otras tareas para poder conversar conmigo. Para minimizar los inconvenientes, Ud. podrá especificar la hora y el lugar de la entrevista y podrá solicitarme que nos encontremos en varias ocasiones y por períodos de tiempo más cortos. Le reembolsaré los costos de viaje en los que Ud. incurriera para participar de la entrevista y, de ser necesario, trataré de colaborar para organizar el cuidado de los niños (asimismo, proveeré compensación monetaria para este fin cuando corresponda).

Mi trabajo presentará sus opiniones como si fueran las de su organización (a menos que Ud. me indique lo contrario). Por lo tanto, proporcionarme información podría afectar las negociaciones sobre derechos a la tierra en caso de que dicha información sea utilizada por terceros. En consecuencia, la participación en mi investigación podría presentar riesgos económicos y legales para Ud. y para su organización. Además, existe el riesgo de que la participación en mi investigación y las opiniones allí manifestadas resulten en desacuerdos entre Ud. y su círculo social (a lo que se

sumaría el aumento en la exposición pública que la participación en mi proyecto conlleva).

Para mitigar estos riesgos, es importante que Ud. considere cuidadosamente qué información me proporcionará, teniendo en cuenta de que esta será de conocimiento público. Mi estudio se centra en las posiciones oficiales tomadas por las organizaciones y los organismos de gobierno y, por tal motivo, estoy particularmente interesada en la información que ya consta en registros. Le sugiero que haga una clara distinción entre cualquier opinión personal y la información que me proporcione en nombre de la organización (y que clarifique si desea que dichas opiniones personales sean incluidas o no en mi trabajo). Por mi parte, también aclararé con Ud. cualquier posible punto polémico para asegurarme de que comunicaré con exactitud el significado completo de sus respuestas.

En mi informe, tengo la intención de incluir su nombre y de atribuirle a Ud. sus dichos de manera textual. Como otra forma de reducir los riesgos asociados con su participación, indíqueme si desea que alguno de sus comentarios quede fuera del registro o no sea atribuido a Ud. También puede indicarme si no desea ser identificado en absoluto.

Si en cualquier momento Ud. no deseara responder a una de mis preguntas o prefiriera dejar de hablar sobre un tema, tenga a bien indicármelo para cerrar ese tema y pasar a otro. Asimismo, la entrevista puede detenerse en el momento que Ud. desee. En cualquier momento durante la entrevista y hasta tres meses posteriores al día en que se haga la misma, Ud. puede solicitar ser excluido completamente de este estudio y, en este caso, todos los registros realizados durante las entrevistas serán destruidos.

Con su permiso, también me gustaría tomar fotografías, filmar y grabar audios. Estos elementos jugarán un papel muy importante en mi proyecto de investigación dado que me ayudarán a recordar los detalles de nuestra entrevista. Pero me gustaría tener la oportunidad de entrevistarle incluso en el caso de que Ud. no quisiera ser filmado, fotografiado o grabado.

Si Ud. acepta ser fotografiado, filmado y grabado, le pediría que por favor me manifieste su consentimiento expreso e informado:

--

Soy consciente del tema que trata esta tesis y he sido informado de lo que significa permitir el uso de los materiales previamente registrados. Autorizo la publicación de esta información bajo las siguientes condiciones:

Materiales previamente registrados (indique todos los que correspondan)

Autorizo el uso de:

- Grabaciones de audio
- Grabaciones de audio y video

Fotografías

Identificación (uso de mi nombre)

Cuando se publiquen los resultados del proyecto y cuando se presente esta información a terceros, deseo ser identificado de la siguiente manera (elijá una opción):

- QUIERO que mi nombre sea utilizado para así obtener el debido reconocimiento (mis opiniones serán atribuidas a mi nombre)
- NO QUIERO que mi nombre sea utilizado, pero puede haber un reconocimiento general (por ejemplo: "Comentario de un residente de Inzá")

Publicación de la información

Entiendo que la información por mí proporcionada será utilizada al presentar los resultados de la tesis de maestría, en futuras publicaciones escritas como así también en exhibiciones fotográficas y de video que serán de dominio público.

--

Este proyecto ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Consejo de Ética para Investigaciones de la Universidad de Carleton. Si Ud. tiene alguna inquietud, puede comunicarse con el presidente del Consejo:

Professor Andy Adler, Chair
Research Ethics Board
Carleton University Research Office
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6
Tel: (+1) 613-520-2517 - E-mail: ethics@carleton.ca

Si Ud. quisiera comunicarse conmigo, puede hacerlo por correo electrónico escribiendo a SarahJaneHamilton@cmail.carleton.ca

¿Tiene alguna pregunta sobre mi investigación, sobre la entrevista o sobre mí antes de que empecemos? Si no, ¿podríamos comenzar?

Appendix B.2 - Oral script to request informed consent (English)

Hello. My name is Sarah-Jane Hamilton. I am a political economy student from Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. I am doing research in Inzá about land claims. I am interested in how different marginalized groups (such as indigenous peoples, campesinos, and afro-descendants) make claims to territory, and how these claims can lead to conflicts between these groups. Research findings will be presented in my thesis, academic conferences or workshops, final reports delivered to organizations that participate in my research, and also potentially in scholarly and/or publically available publications. Therefore, my work may contribute to the development of greater international attention to the land claims process in Inzá.

If you agree to participate, I will ask you some questions about how your community and the organization that you belong to are dealing with the challenges related to getting more land and the conflicts that sometimes result. The length of the interview will depend on your responses, but I anticipate that it will last approximately two hours.

I want you to know that there will be some risks involved in participating in my research. The interview may impact your employment (and thus may pose an economic risk) due to a need to take time away from other tasks in order to speak with me. To minimize inconvenience, you are free to specify the time and place of the interview, and you may request that we meet on multiple occasions for shorter periods of time. I will reimburse any travel costs that you incurred in order to participate in this interview. If necessary, I will also try to help arrange childcare (and provide financial compensation, when appropriate).

Also, my work will present your views as those of the organization (unless you specifically tell me otherwise). Therefore, the information shared with me may impact ongoing negotiations over land rights, and may be used by other parties in the negotiations. Consequently, participating in my research may pose economic and legal risks yourself and your organization. Further, there is a risk that participating in my research may lead you to experience disagreement within your social circle as a result of the views that you communicate to me (and the increased public exposure that inclusion in my project entails).

In order to mitigate these risks, it is important that you carefully consider what information to share with me, keeping in mind that it will be made publically available. My study focuses on the official positions taken by organizations and governing bodies, and as such, I am particularly interested in information that is already on-the-record. I encourage you to clearly differentiate any personal opinions from the information that you communicate to me on behalf of the organization (and to clarify if you would like these opinions included in my work). I will also carefully clarify all potentially contentious points with you to ensure that I clearly communicate the full meaning of your responses.

I plan to use your name in my report and attribute quotations to you. As another ways to reduce risks associated with your participation please let me know if you would like any of your comments to be off-the-record, not attributed to you, or if you would prefer not to be identified.

If at any time you don't want to answer one of my questions or continue talking about something, please tell me and we will move on and not go back to it. We can also stop at any time if you wish. At any time during the interview, and up to three months after the date of this interview, you can request that you be removed entirely from this study. If you chose to withdraw, all recordings/photos made/taken during the interview(s) will be destroyed.

With your permission, I would also like to take photographs, film and audio recordings. These will play an important part of my research project, as they will help me remember the details of our interview. Even if you do not want to be videotaped, photographed, and/or recorded I would still like to have the opportunity to interview you.

If you agree to be photographed, filmed and recorded, I would like you to please give your informed consent:

--

I am aware of what this thesis is about, I have been informed of what it means to allow the use of my previously recorded materials, and I am willing to allow the publication of this information under the following conditions.

Previously recorded materials (indicate all that apply)

I allow the use of:

- Audio recording
- Audio and video recording
- Photographs

Identification

For the publication of project results and sharing this information with others I wish to be identified in the following way (check one):

- I DO want my name to be used to provide due credit (this information will be attributed to me)
- I DO NOT want my name to be used, but general acknowledgement can be provided (example credit: "Resident of Inzá")

Sharing of information

I understand that information I share will be used to communicate the results of a mater's thesis, in future written publications, as well as video and photographic exhibitions that will be publicly available.

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The project has been reviewed and approved by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns, you can contact the Chair using the following information:

Professor Andy Adler, Chair
Research Ethics Board
Carleton University Research Office
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6
Tel: 613-520-2517 E-mail: ethics@carleton.ca

If you would like to contact me, I can be reached via email at SarahJaneHamilton@cmail.carleton.ca

Do you have any questions about my research, our interview, or me before we begin?
If not, may we now start?

B.3 – Basic Interview Guide (Spanish)

Información general

- ¿Cuál es su nombre?
- ¿Dónde vive? ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que vive allá?
- ¿Qué hace en su tiempo libre?
- ¿Dónde trabaja (o con cuál organización hace trabajo voluntario o colabora)?
 - ¿Cuál es su puesto de trabajo?
 - ¿Qué hace en este puesto?
 - ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en esta organización?
 - ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en el puesto actual?
 - ¿Por qué se involucró originalmente en esta organización?
- Por favor, ¿podría hablarme sobre la organización con la cual trabaja? Por ejemplo, ¿podría decirme cuáles son las principales metas de la organización?
 - ¿De qué manera busca la organización lograr sus metas?
 - ¿Con quién trabaja la organización para lograr sus metas?
 - ¿Tiene la organización diferentes grupos o secciones?
 - ¿Puede describir el trabajo y las metas de estos grupos?

Relación entre reclamos de tierra, identidades políticas y reconocimiento

- ¿Trabaja su organización en representación de un grupo desfavorecido?
 - ¿Puede describir cómo su organización define a este grupo?
 - ¿Alguna vez cambió esta definición?
 - ¿Quién pertenece a este grupo?
 - ¿Alguna vez cambió la gente que pertenece a este grupo?
 - Por favor, ¿podría explicarme cómo fueron estos cambios?
- Desde el punto de vista político, ¿cuáles desafíos o dificultades enfrenta este grupo?
 - ¿Cómo responde su organización a estos desafíos?
- ¿Cómo define usted a una persona indígena? ¿Y a un campesino?
 - ¿Alguna vez cambiaron estas definiciones?
 - ¿Cómo cambiaron? ¿Por qué cambiaron?
- Desde el punto de vista político, ¿qué similitudes existen entre estos grupos con respecto a sus desafíos o dificultades?
 - ¿Y con respecto a las relaciones que tienen con la tierra sobre la cual trabajan/viven?
 - ¿Y con respecto a cómo se relacionan con el estado (a nivel local, regional o nacional)?
- ¿Cómo y por qué estos grupos están políticamente divididos?
 - ¿Cuáles son las razones de estas divisiones?
 - ¿Cuáles son los efectos de estas divisiones?
- ¿Cómo describe su organización a la relación que los campesinos de su comunidad tienen con la tierra sobre la cual trabajan/viven?
- ¿Cómo describe su organización a la relación que los indígenas de su

- comunidad tienen con la tierra sobre la cual trabajan/viven?
- Si hay una conexión entre su grupo y la tierra, ¿es esta conexión reconocida por otros grupos o por el estado?
 - ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?
 - Si es reconocida, ¿cómo se evidencia este reconocimiento?
 - ¿Tiene problemas su grupo para conseguir tierra?
 - ¿Por qué piensa que esto es así?
 - ¿Qué tendría que cambiar para que los miembros de su grupo pudieran conseguir más tierra?
 - ¿Cuáles son algunos de los factores que favorecen la posición de su grupo a la hora de hacer reclamos de tierra?

Reivindicación de derechos

- ¿Cómo consigue obtener tierra la gente de su grupo?
 - ¿La gente de su grupo trabaja en conjunto para intentar conseguir más tierra?
 - ¿Quiénes trabajan en conjunto? ¿Cómo intentan conseguir más tierra?
- ¿Alguna vez el estado les ha otorgado tierras?
 - ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?
- ¿Piensa que podrían recibir (más) tierra en el futuro?
- ¿Están tratando de obtener más tierra? ¿Cómo?
- ¿Trabajan directamente con las oficinas/departamentos del estado en sus intentos de obtener más tierra?
 - ¿Con cuáles oficinas/departamentos?
 - ¿Puede explicarme cómo es su relación con estas oficinas?

Resistencia

- ¿De qué manera trata su organización de apoyar los reclamos de tierras?
 - ¿Quiénes están involucrados en este proceso?
 - ¿Tuvieron éxito alguna vez?
 - Si es así, ¿por qué cree que tuvieron éxito?
 - Si ustedes no han tenido éxito, ¿por qué cree que ha sido así?
 - ¿Están ustedes cambiando (o considerando cambiar) sus estrategias como resultado de su éxito o de su falta de éxito?
- ¿Trabaja su organización con otras comunidades u organizaciones para tratar de exigir al estado que reconozca sus derechos?
 - ¿Puede describir estas otras comunidades/organizaciones?
 - ¿Qué tienen en común con su grupo?
 - ¿Por qué empezaron a trabajar juntos?
 - ¿De qué manera trabajan juntos?
- ¿Ha colaborado la gente de su grupo (o de su organización) con otras personas, grupos u organizaciones de otras regiones?
 - ¿Dónde están ubicadas estas personas, grupos u organizaciones?
 - ¿Cómo colaboraron o colaboran?

- ¿Están todavía en contacto con ellos? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué no?

B.4 – Sample questions/interview guide (English)

Background

- What is your name?
- Where do you live? How long have you lived here?
- Where do you work (or volunteer [in the case of members of community organizations])?
 - What is your position?
 - What do you do in this position?
 - How long have you worked there?
 - How long have you held that position?
 - Why did you first get involved in this organization?
- Can you please tell me about the organization that you belong to/work for – what are the primary goals or concerns of the organization?
 - How does it pursue these goals? Who does it work with?
 - Is the organization composed of different groups?
 - If so, can you please describe the work and goals of these different groups?

Relations between land claims and political identities and recognition

- Does your organization represent a marginalized group(s)? If so, which group?
 - Can you please describe to me how your organization defines this group, and who belongs to it?
 - Who belongs to this group? Has this definition ever changed or have the people that belong to your group ever changed?
 - If so, could you please describe these changes?
- What political challenges does your group face?
 - How has your group been responding to these challenges?
- How do you define an indigenous person? A campesino?
 - Have these definitions ever changed?
 - How did they change? Why?
- What similarities exist between these groups in regards to their political challenges or problems?
 - In regards to the relationships that they have with the land on which they live/work?
 - In regards to how they interact with the Colombian state (at the local, regional, or national level)?
- How and why are these groups divided?
 - What are the sources of these divisions?
 - What are the impacts of these divisions?
- How does your organization describe the relationship that the campesinos in your community have with the land on which they work/live?
- How does your organization describe the relationship that the indigenous

peoples in your community have with the land on which they work/live?

- If there is a connection between your group and the land that you and your community live on (see previous question), is this connection recognized by other groups, or by the Colombian state?
 - Why or why not?
- Does your group have problems getting access to land?
 - Why do you think that this is the case?
 - What would have to change for you and other members of your community to be able to get access to land?
 - What are some factors that are currently helping your land claims or making them stronger?

Rights claims

- How do people in your community usually come to have land?
 - Do people work together to try to get more land?
 - If so, who works together, and how do they try to get more land?
- Have you ever been assigned land by the Colombian state?
 - Why or why not?
 - Do you think that you might be assigned (more) land in the future?
- Are you currently trying to get access to more land? If so, how?
- Do you deal directly with any offices/departments of the Colombian state in your attempts to get access to more land? If so, which offices? Can you describe your relationship to these offices?

Resistance

- How does your organization try to claim land?
 - Who is involved in this process?
 - Have you ever been successful?
 - If so, why do you think that you were successful?
 - If you haven't been successful, why do you think that is the case?
 - Are you changing (or considering changing) your strategies as a result of your success or lack of success?
- Do you work with other communities or organizations to try to demand your rights of the state?
 - Can you please describe these other communities/organizations?
 - What do they have in common with your group?
 - Why did you start working together? How do you work together?
- Have people from your group (or your organization) collaborated with other people, groups or organizations from other regions?
 - Where are these people, groups, or organizations located?
 - How did you collaborate?
 - Are you still in contact with them? Why or why not?

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