This is a repository copy of *From local turn to space-relational analysis: Participatory peacebuilding in a Colombian borderland*.

Article:

Full Length Article

From local turn to space-relational analysis: Participatory peacebuilding in a Colombian borderland

Victor Barrera [a], Magda Beatríz López Cárdenas [b], Henry Staples [c], Miguel Kanai [d,*]

[a] *Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, Centre for Research and Popular Education (CINEP), Programa Por La Paz Cra. 5 ## 33B-02, Bogotá, Colombia*
[b] *Jesuit Refugee Service Latin America and the Caribbean, Carrera 45# 22-44 TC- 202, Bogotá, Colombia*
[c] *Department of Politics, University of Sheffield, Department of Geography, University of Sheffield, Winter Street, Sheffield, S3 7ND, United Kingdom*
[d] *Department of Geography, University of Sheffield, Department of Geography, University of Sheffield, Winter Street, Sheffield, S3 7ND, United Kingdom*

ABSTRACT

This paper offers a space-relational extension to the local turn in peace studies. We argue that unflattening the local in research on peace and conflict has the potential to explain why multi-modal participatory peacebuilding produces tensions, disappointments, and adaptations across a volatile and fluid state-society interface. Our analysis focuses on three space-relational dimensions: contested claims to territorial representation; the scalar organisation of the state; and the dynamics of extensive uneven urbanisation in peripheral regions. Catatumbo, a conflict-affected borderland region of Colombia, constitutes the empirical focus of our study, which covers both the protracted negotiations leading to the 2016 national peace agreement and its ongoing fraught implementation. Drawing on mixed-methods research, our findings show that despite vibrant forms of pro-peace participation, a regional consensus failed to emerge amidst ongoing violence, unfulfilled state promises and new threats to the economy and environment. Yet, grassroots peacebuilding continues to be reinvented and includes innovative forms of socio-territorial dialogue. Concluding remarks reflect on opportunities to broaden space-relational analysis of socially and geographically complex peacebuilding efforts across and beyond Colombia.

1. Introduction

Peacebuilding research has undergone two major 'turns' over recent decades. Most familiar to scholars and policy circles, the 'local turn' has elevated grassroots agency both within and beyond official peacebuilding. A more recent 'spatial turn' acknowledges 'the centrality of space in war and peace', leveraging geographical concepts to untangle its 'everyday messiness' (Gusic, 2019, pp. 47-48). Nevertheless, theoretical-conceptual cloudiness remains over the spatiality of peace processes. This is most problematic when it comes to the lingering romanticisation about the transformative power of bottom-up peace participation, whereby 'local' social actors are believed to uniformly resist and reshape top-down state and international impositions (Donais, 2009; Paffenholz, 2015). Building on political geography's recent engagements with peace as an inherently uneven socio-spatial phenomenon (Koopman, 2020), and the understanding that participation in peacebuilding is relational to space – mediated by and potentially transforming space through its expression (Björkdahl & Buckley-Zistel, 2016; Björkdahl & Kappler, 2017; Gusic, 2019), this paper suggests that more nuanced space-relational perspectives are needed to tease out tensions endemic to participation. We propose a three-part framework

especially useful for the study of peacebuilding in volatile and fragmented peripheral regions. The framework includes the following dimensions: (1) contested territorial claims; (2) the multi-scalar politics of peacebuilding; and (3) the dynamics of extensive and uneven urbanisation.

The local turn questions a chronic disregard for within- and between-country variation in how peace is understood and practised under the hegemony of a liberal, Western-dominated international system (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013). Peace agreements typically occur in - and stimulate - significant socio-political upheaval in contexts where heterogeneous social actors already employ myriad strategies to navigate and resist violence. A rich research field has emerged foregrounding these sub-national dynamics, everyday events and acts of community agency, wherein the 'local' has become a central concept 'beloved of both theorists and practitioners alike' (Hughes et al., 2015, p. 817). Yet, despite the hope that local inclusion can redirect the liberal policy agenda, conceptual clarity has been lacking concerning precisely 'what, where and who the local is' in peacebuilding (Ljungkvist & Jarstad, 2021, p. 2211). The result is often undue assumptions that social actors are unified in rejecting external impositions and in aspiring towards a more culturally sensitive and inclusive peace (Paffenholz, 2015). This

---

disregards tensions and paradoxes that may emerge in contested spatial realms as state-legitimated or 'invited' participation interacts with 'invented' practices which challenge such state oversight (Cornwall, 2002, p. 170). What happens when formal participatory processes disappoint mobilised actors? And how do different actors with potentially opposed interests maintain their autonomy in pursuit of their specific objectives? Providing robust answers to these questions is crucial to ascertaining whether increased 'local' participation in peace is conducive to genuinely transformative and emancipatory alternatives (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015, p. 834).

This paper demonstrates the analytical potential of our space-relational framework by probing the vibrant yet beleaguered civic engagement witnessed in Colombia through the negotiation and implementation of the 2016 peace agreement. Throughout an ongoing and uneven national conflict, grassroots peacebuilding efforts have been persistent and varied, with communities establishing violence-free zones, humanitarian agreements with armed actors, educational campaigns and myriad other collective actions (García-Durán & Sarmiento, 2015; Gormally, 2016; Roldán, 2014; Mitchell & Ramírez, 2014). A participatory spirit ostensibly underscored the 2016 peace agreement between the national government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP). During the negotiation process, the country witnessed an unprecedented wave of social mobilisation, wherein civil society actors demanded an end to violence alongside livelihood and other investments for people in conflict zones. Though negotiators reached an agreement for an ambitious peace-and-development programme, a 2016 national referendum saw a defeat for 'Yes', demonstrating a lack of legitimacy with Colombian society as a whole and profound geographical differences in voting behaviour. Yet, in a fraught context characterised by unfulfilled promises and resurgent armed violence, people are again mobilising for peace, including via new platforms adapted to the challenges of the so-called 'post-conflict' era.

Our analysis focuses on the goals, dynamics and outcomes of localised peacebuilding efforts in Catatumbo, a borderland region characterised by extreme poverty and marginalisation amidst the presence of rich natural resources and rapid development. Moreover, Catatumbo's resilient peace movement has historically resisted the confluence of violent non-state actors and contested weak and unresponsive state institutions. Drawing on interviews, focus groups, original databases compiled by the Centre for Research and Popular Education/Programme for Peace (CINEP/PPP), archival documents, international monitoring reports and electoral data, we examine the surge of regional mobilisation which occurred during the national negotiation process, and subsequent electoral fractures during the referendum. We then trace how vibrant participation in government-led post-agreement peace programmes gave way to disappointment, unmet expectations, and novel forms of local engagement. Our analysis demonstrates the respective roles played by our three explanatory dimensions in shaping this complex narrative of gains and tensions; namely, (1) the conflicts among organisations claiming to represent the region including *campesino* coalitions and indigenous groups, (2) misalignments between social mobilisation, voter behaviour and citizen participation at different stages and regulatory levels of the peace process, and (3) the emergence of city-oriented interests and activities in a region designated as rural yet increasingly interconnected by infrastructure networks.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews the local turn in peace research to then introduce our understanding of 'space-relationality' and develop the three elements of our framework. Section 3 situates the Catatumbo case against the complex sub-national dynamics of Colombia's armed conflict, and outlines the pertinent tenets of the 2016 peace agreement as pertaining to the region's key actors. Section 4 applies our framework to the complexities of participation which characterised the negotiation (2010–2016) and implementation periods (2016–2021). Section 5 summarises the analytical gains of our framework and proposes further directions for geographical peace research.

2. A space-relational extension to the local turn

This section explains why a space-relational analytic can further illuminate local participation in peace. Section 2.1 begins by charting the emergence of the local turn in peace studies. It then outlines the key conceptual shortcomings that geographers have addressed in their efforts to specify the complex relationality implicated in the constitution of the local. Section 2.2 introduces the three components to our space-relational framework: contested claims to represent the territory; the multi-scalar politics of peacebuilding; and the extensive yet uneven urbanisation processes re-shaping peripheral regions.

2.1. Unflattening the 'local' through space-relationality

If peace research has become sophisticated in charting the developments - and failings - of context-blind peacemaking, questions undeniably remain over the explanatory power of such localised analysis. As the dominant international policy agenda expanded to a more long-term and comprehensive set of actions predicated on state-building and the stabilisation of 'ungoverned' spaces (Tschirgi, 2013, p. 208), shortcomings became apparent in this Western-centric one-size-fits-all approach. Multiple failures to 'build peace' in countries like Rwanda, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia - among others - revealed a chronic neglect of regional differences and territorial specificities and capacities (Ibid). This gave origin to the local turn in critical peace research. John Paul Lederach (1997) proffered the notion of 'peace from below', wherein a lasting, inclusive peace demands cultural sensitivity. A broader group of researchers have foregrounded local communities as active participants in transition processes (Lederach, 1995; Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013; Mitchell & Hancock, 2012), while also highlighting their potentially contradictory roles in tolerating, resisting and/or acting in complicity with state and armed actors during conflict (Arjona, 2015; Hallward et al., 2019; Kaplan, 2017; Masullo, 2015). This work has showcased the explanatory power of fine-grained, community-centred methodologies (Autesserre, 2010), and international policy guidance is now vociferous about community consultation for 'sustaining peace' (de Coning, 2016). Nevertheless, conceptual confusion lingers regarding the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the local turn (Ljungkvist & Jarstad, 2021), hampering the ambition to understand and support bottom-up initiatives beyond the limitations of liberal peace. We need a more spatially explicit analytic to explain why such initiatives may fail and how transformative peace may be achieved in fragmented and volatile locations.

Others have called for deeper engagement with relationality within and beyond localised peace processes (Debiel & Rinck, 2016). Critical studies of development interventions show that community responses are highly fluid, subject to changing degrees of autonomy and not always concerned solely with the state (Cornwall, 2002, p. 170; Miraftab, 2004). Peace participation is no different: it involves hybrid arrangements constituted in an ever shifting state-society interface (Robins & Wilson, 2015; Söderström et al., 2020). Furthermore, this fluidity occurs amidst broader cultural, social, economic, territorial and symbolic divisions produced and perpetuated by the transition process itself (Bräuchler & Naucke, 2017; Shesterinina, 2021; Wood, 2008). It has been shown that privileging the participation of certain 'local' actors has the potential to bequeath asymmetrical opportunities for research and/or policy influence, disregard or even exacerbate their divergent aspirations and potentially obfuscate authoritarian or violent tendencies (Kappler, 2015; Klem, 2018; Simons & Zanker, 2014). Yet despite warnings against the inadvertently counterproductive effects of civil society engagement (Pouligny, 2005), too often the local - and the actors therein - are viewed as homogeneous and unified, rather than 'plural, dynamic and contested' (Hughes et al., 2015, p. 821). Space-relational perspectives can explain why and how such divisions come to be. This

paper develops a framework to provide a concrete example of what is to be gained by such geographically explicit insights on the complex relations constituting the local.

The emerging spatial turn in peace research builds on prior geographically-oriented analyses of peacebuilding (Autesserre, 2014). These reveal the varied meanings ascribed to peace in places with multiple needs and interests (Bregazzi & Jackson, 2016; Brigg & George, 2020). Reminding us that society and space are co-constituted (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996), geographers such as Koopman (2016, n.p.) argue that peace is 'shaped by the spaces in which it is made, as it too shapes those spaces.' This dialectic is particularly salient in complex post-conflict conjunctions when a full or partial ceasefire may have occurred but 'an unchallenged peace' is yet to be established (Gusic, 2019, p. 49). Under such conditions, epistemological certainty about the value of local participation is unwarranted. After all, why *should* localised decision-making produce more socially just, environmentally sustainable (or indeed, peaceful) outcomes relative to any other scale (Purcell and Brown: 2005)? Therefore, to credibly advance the local turn's analytical and practical ambitions, we herein develop and apply a three-part space-relational framework explaining the constraints and tensions that influence community peace participation, and how these are shaped both within and beyond the locations where peace is pursued.

2.2. Our framework: territorial claims, state scales, extended urbanisation

The first step to productively problematising the local is recognising that peacebuilding implicates different social groups with overlapping and - at times - conflicting logics and aspirations concerning the governance of post-conflict geographies. Said groups may all have developed validity claims about how they 'represent' the territory. Political geographers have shown that the power dynamics which configure territories extend beyond the state (Raffestin, 1980; Sack, 1981, 1986) - and thus territory must be seen as a product of social relations (Murphy, 2012). A vibrant field of research has emerged in Latin America around decolonising territory, with studies foregrounding relational, anti-capitalist, indigenous and traditional communities' understandings of territory in their analysis of struggles over land use and tenure (Fernandes, 2011; Haesbaert, 2007). Much of this literature focuses on socio-territorial movements that build symbolic and autonomist power in overt confrontation with the functional and repressive forces of the state (Haesbaert, 2020; Halvorsen et al., 2019). For Agnew and Oslender (2013: p.136), such struggles represent an opportunity to 'open up' the space of the nation-state by shifting power to the local scale, such that movements are recognised as 'alternative territorial authorities' in arrangements that may include subaltern perspectives and practices. Nevertheless, we should recognise local diversity and not assume that all mobilised actors with territorial claims align in their interests. Furthermore, post-conflict scenarios are often riddled by violent para-state actors and armed insurgent groups who community groups may need to negotiate with, potentially exacerbating fractiousness within civil society (Ballvé, 2012, pp. 603–622; González, 2014, 2018; González et al., 2003; Gutiérrez, 2018, pp. 157–208).

Secondly, given that both conflict and peace are best understood as transcalar processes (Björkdahl & Buckley-Zistel, 2016, p. 7), attention is required into how the scalar organisation of political-administrative structures conditions the dynamics of peace participation. It is well known that armed actors pursue strategies and objectives beyond their surroundings, resulting in multiple 'scales of violence' in conflict settings (World Bank Group et al., 2018: p.2). Political geographers have also studied how distinct multi-scalar state structures may (dis)empower different forms of collective action (Miller, 1994; Purcell & Brown, 2005). We expand on MacGinty and Richmond's (2013: p.770) conceptualisation of the local as produced through 'a global sense of place' to formulate a space-relational understanding of the multi-scalar politics of peacebuilding. This recognises both scalar constraints *and* the

capacity of actors to 'jump scales' by drawing on manifold national and international networks (Björkdahl & Buckley-Zistel, 2016; Hameiri & Jones, 2017, p. 9). This can include federations of economic interest, international donors, private foundations and faith-based organisations.

Thirdly, the material and symbolic conditioners of peace participation can be better specified by examining extended and uneven urbanisation processes, particularly in disadvantaged regions assigned a homogenous rural status. Ljungkvist and Jarstad (2021) call for increased attention to the particularities of urban space in peacebuilding processes, as well as interrelations with rural, peri-urban and traditional spaces (See also Björkdahl, 2013; Weinmann & Juttersonke, 2019). Yet, peace studies must also consider ongoing functional and morphological transformations that occur in connection to evolving external connections, e.g. as roads are built to promote export capacity, cities and towns expand even in regions with an agricultural and resource-extraction character (Kanai & Schindler, 2022). Research on infrastructural development shows the proliferation of investment connecting peripheral regions to national and global value chains, and the ensuring flows of goods and services and back-and-forth movements of people (Kanai & Schindler, 2019). Therefore, rather than through an urban-rural binary lens, conflicted-affected regions could be productively approached as 'operational landscapes' being continually yet unevenly integrated into a functional system of planetary urbanisation (Brenner & Schmid, 2014; Kanai, 2016; Monte-Mór & Castriota, 2018). This entry to space-relationality sheds light on (mis)alignments in peace expectations across agricultural areas, resource-based zones and the urban settlements servicing them. It also explains why roads, pipelines and other infrastructure constitute focal points of contention before and long after ceasefires, and demonstrates how state efforts to 'bring peace' intertwine with developmental calculations on extracting value from peripheral geographies.

3. Learning from Catatumbo and Colombia's 'territorial peace' agenda

The Catatumbo river basin in north-east Colombia is considered a sub-region of the Norte de Santander department and commonly defined as consisting of eleven municipalities. Historically agricultural, the 1970s oil boom drove improvements in connective infrastructures such as roads and pipelines. With a current population of over 180,000 (PGN / Procuraduría General de la Nación, 2020), Catataumbo now features a diversifying economy which includes significant expansion in export-oriented crops such as African oil palm. This has intensified exploitation of natural resources such as land and water, increased population density and generated new intra- and extra-regional functional interconnections (Potter, 2020). But the continuing presence of multiple insurgent groups and cultivation of illicit crops has fuelled a widespread perception of a lawless borderland, despite being problems shared with multiple other peripheralized Colombian regions. This has exposed residents across ethnic and social groups to hard-line state policies, military abuses and extralegal violence by both guerrilla and paramilitary armed actors, forcing sometimes desperate collective actions. To illustrate, in 2001 the entire community of La Angalia, a remote riverine settlement, was displaced as a result of paramilitary violence. Residents only returned five years thereafter (Relief Web, 2020).

For residents committed to (re)shaping the state-society interface in the region, a chronic lack of social services and repeated failures to deliver on public investment promises have fuelled widespread distrust in government institutions (García Pinzón & Mantilla, 2020). The largest agrarian platform, the Catatumbo Campesino Association (*Asociación de Campesinos de Catatumbo* - ASCAMCAT), provides a preeminent example, having established thick organisational networks with other civil society actors in order to represent community needs and secure public investment. In a narrative common across conflict-affected communities, activists frame their practices within a discourse of

persistent and defiant local agency:

> The little that there is in Catatumbo - health centres, schools, electrification, roads, bridges - has depended on Community Action Boards, protests, and other collective processes. Not because the state wanted dialogue, but because it's been obliged to dialogue.
>
> - Interview with a social leader, January 2019.

Despite seeming unity in collective struggles, territorial and other cleavages cut across Catatumbo in multiple ways. Firstly, ASCAMCAT have long sought the creation of a *Campesino Protection Zone* (Zona de Reserva Campesina – ZRC), which would devolve powers, guarantee land access and enable the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods. Opposed to this, the Barí people, an indigenous group from the region's northern fringes, seek an expansion of their two indigenous reserves. Secondly, residents are often forced to enter informal agreements with violent actors and desist from more contentious social mobilisation, which the latter may perceive as a threat to the stealth functioning of illegal economies (Aponte, 2012). These pragmatic responses occur in an overall context of para-state power, wherein illicit armed groups coerce communities to recognise them as the prevailing form of social authority (Idler, 2019). Thirdly, rapid and extensive urbanisation has deepened cleavages across communities. Though certain locations - especially Tibú, the largest town - have expanded faster than others, the downstream effects are region-wide, including noticeable environmental degradation and massive in-flows of people from neighbouring Venezuela, who provide cheap and precarious labour for both extractive industries and illicit crop cultivation (Idler, 2019).

The 2010–2016 peace process brought about new opportunities and challenges for collective action in the region. Soon after President Santos announced full negotiations with the FARC, chief negotiator Sergio Jaramillo began employing the concept of 'territorial peace' in national and international fora. This notion promised a focus on conflict-affected peripheral regions like Catatumbo, while unifying the government and FARC around a compatible narrative and agenda (Diaz et al., 2021; López, 2014; Santos, 2017). It seemed that more public resources would arrive, including investments to support combatant demobilisation. Yet it soon became evident that hard-line policies would continue, with investments limited to profitable economic sectors amidst ongoing conflict and (non-)state coercion (Piazzini Suarez, 2018). Facing soaring tensions and relentless violence, social actors mobilised around their own visions of peace in massive and unprecedented numbers.

The expectations for peace held by social actors such as ASCAMCAT diminished in the wake of the failed national referendum and the early stages of implementation. The narrow No vote victory against the Santos government's Yes campaign unveiled important social and spatial divisions across Colombia. Partisan divides and overall distrust in the electoral system translated into high levels of abstention, and it appeared that rural support for peace clashed with relative apathy or outright antipathy among urban communities (Tellez, 2019). Still, after a brief renegotiation and rapid ratification by Congress, implementation of the ambitious Final Agreement continued with the participatory spirit integral to the territorial peace discourse. In particular, the flagship scheme for local participation known as Development Programmes with a Territorial Focus (*Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial* – PDET), promised comprehensive rural reform and an "equitable relationship between the countryside and the city" (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia, 2016, p. 21). This garnered much interest, with 2200 organisations comprising 229,000 people participating across the country (ART, 2021: p.13). Yet Catatumbo - one of 16 selected PDET regions - offers a clear example of the disappointments that ensued amidst incoherent implementation, hardening securities policies and the aforementioned divisions and conflicts. Nevertheless, as our analysis below shows, Catatumbo provides insight on innovative and enduring participation beyond the agreement's narrow policy framework and proscribed consultation channels.

4. Analysis: conditioners and modalities of peace participation

This section provides a space-relational explanation of why the participatory opportunities offered by the national peace process produced such complex and apparently paradoxical outcomes in Catatumbo. Section 4.1 uses our three-part framework to explain how, despite massive mobilisation and ongoing grassroots peacebuilding efforts, Catatumbo voters failed to turn out in large numbers and show uniform support for the peace agreement in the national referendum. Section 4.2 then analyses the post-2016 implementation period; we highlight how, amidst further frustration with the process and an unresponsive state, mobilised citizens successfully negotiated local rivalries, identified new developmental threats, and repositioned their demands and strategies through novel forms of participation. In sum, we show that the three space-relational dimensions of our analysis help to specify the constraints faced by social actors, but that these do not constitute insurmountable obstacles to build peace from and for the region.

4.1. A mobilised region seeking peace, but without the votes

> "We are an organisation of more or less 10,000 people. But here you find [even among] campesinos [those] who vote for the Conservative Party, campesinos who are now with the FARC party. … In 2013, thousands of us marched … but those thousands don't vote for a real [unified] political alternative [across the region]".
>
> - Interview with social leader, May 2020.

Whilst approximately two thirds of Catatumbo voters supported the 'Yes' option, much above the national average and in alignment with other conflict-affected regions expected to benefit from the peace process, at about a quarter of the registry, voter turnout was dismal and outcomes varied significantly across and within the region's municipalities (Vanegas & Vergara, 2016). The high levels of mobilisation and local pro-peace activism leading to the referendum make these underwhelming results even harder to explain. The year 2013 witnessed the largest agrarian strike in decades, which seemed poised to reconfigure the state-society interface in favour of land reform and social investment. Over 10,000 residents participated, imposing a roadblock that brought the regional economy to a standstill (Caracol Radio, 2013). Strikers garnered significant media attention, inspired multiple other mobilizations around the country and obtained a response from the national government, who promised to address historical problems. Subsequent efforts to amalgamate local perspectives into a shared peace agenda included regional summits, numerous symbolic acts, and dialogue with the Colombian government and other national and international non-state actors (Semanario Voz, 2014).

Recognising that a social actor's claim to represent the local or regional interest may be partial and contested helps to explain why campesino-led mobilisation and attempts at broad-based coalition-building failed to establish a shared understanding of the benefits of peace. After the 2013 roadblock, ASCAMCAT maintained active communication with municipal authorities and international NGOs. Associated events, including a two-day Regional Peace Assembly in the El Tarra municipality, were intentionally inclusive of residents beyond their campesino constituency in order to incorporate multiple social mandates (Semanario Voz, 2014). Still, campesino demands remained centred on the creation of a Campesino Reserve Zone, which re-ignited long-standing grievances from the Barí people who sought constitutional guarantees against its creation (Verdad Abierta, 2017). Moreover, for some the 2013 roadblock had been 'very aggressive', 'disproportionate', and caused 'a lot of harm' to the territory,[1] casting doubt over ASCAMCAT's political legitimacy and compounding accusations that

---

[1] Interview with a resident of Tibú, November 2019.

they covertly served FARC interests (Rodríguez, 2017: p.91). Even interviewees sympathetic to ASCAMCAT's agenda criticised their disjointed approach, which produced fatigue among participants. Meanwhile, initial hopes for investment and peace diminished rapidly amidst concerns that still-active armed groups would soon contest the power vacuum left by FARC disarmament (Kreiman & Masullo, 2020, pp. 21-22). This confluence of tensions was especially evident in the Sardinata municipality, where actors struggled to consolidate a shared agenda for peace amidst ongoing criminal activity and violence involving multiple armed groups (Fundació n Ideas Para la Paz, 2013,).

Scale factors played a crucial role in the failure to consolidate a regional peace agenda, with national party politics shaping public understandings and expectations. If the mobilised campesinos initially inserted their claims in the national debate, the region was not exempt from the conservative backlash to Santos' peace programme. Since President Santos announced the referendum in 2013, Yes/No positions increasingly polarised in alignment with party-political loyalties. Opinion-pieces circulated across traditional and social media, offering vocal critique of the FARC amnesty and the overly progressive and revolutionary orientation supposedly underpinning negotiations. Opposition was bolstered by disinformation concerning a rumoured reduction in pensions to finance implementation, and a supposed LGBT agenda threatening the traditional Colombian family (Angelo, 2017, p.136; Carnes, 2016; Koopman, 2018). Amidst an ineffective government information campaign and concerns with undue assumptions of a Yes victory, some grassroots actors organised pedagogic activities to persuade residents of the direct local benefits of a pro-peace vote (El Tiempo, 2016). Yet, such efforts could not counter the No discourse, especially in conservative strongholds like Sardinata, where voters rejected the peace agreement overwhelmingly (65%). In sum, as the mayor of Tibú stated, the referendum became "a political issue" in the strict sense; that is, it reflected the scale structures of electoral processes and party allegiances, rather than expressing shared regional commitment to a transformative politics of peacebuilding (El Tiempo, 2016).

Whilst Catatumbo's external perception remains uniformly rural, extensive urbanisation processes have introduced material and symbolic divisions that explain notable differences in support for the Yes option in urban (58.4%) and rural (76.4%) areas,[2] with the benefits of the peace agreement much clearer for the latter. Among the most commonly cited explanations for the No victory nationally is the failure to make the benefits of the agreement's ratification clear to urban voters amidst a legacy of geographically contrasting perceptions of peace and conflict (Koopman, 2018, p. 473). Whereas such analysis distinguishes between, on the one hand, large- and mid-size cities and conflict-affected peripheries, on the other, this cleavage also manifested *within* Catatumbo. The campesino-led regional peace agenda did attempt to incorporate urban needs and aspirations (ASCAMCAT, 2014), and solidarity ran both ways as residents of urban districts maintained close 'symbolic, sociocultural and political ties' to rural remote settlements (Rodríguez, 2017, p. 102). Yet, as evinced during the 2013 roadblock, economic divisions between urban and rural sectors were undeniable and, as regional flows of goods came to a standstill, shop-owners in Tibú harboured resentment over the losses incurred (El Colombiano, 2013). Moreover, our informants reported that confrontations with security forces in and around the town escalated to a repressive state response, which negatively impacted daily life and left residents with painful memories. In sum, the increasing bifurcation of interests, sensibilities, land uses and access to connective infrastructure provides an explanation to the lower level of support for peace across the region's urban areas.

4.2. Peace under threat, participation reinvented

Our space-relational framework explains why participatory peacebuilding has generated expectations and disappointments in the post-2016 agreement implementation period. It also sheds light on how mobilised social actors continue adapting to contend with shifting state initiatives for peace-and-development, amidst resurgent violence as multiple armed actors vye for territorial control. The flagship component to the agreement's provisions for comprehensive rural reform, the Development Programme with a Territorial Focus (*Programa de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial* – PDET), initially stimulated a vibrant process of citizen participation. In its first stage, 8136 residents participated in over 100 meetings of the Catatumbo PDET, developing 1115 community- and municipal-level proposals for infrastructural and public facility investments (ART, 2018). These inputs were then amalgamated into an Action Plan for Regional Transformation, which expressed the ambition to transform Catatumbo into a "biodiverse, agroecological, eco-touristic and innovative territory" (Verdad, Abierta 2019). However, after the election of President Duque, this vision was replaced with a narrower agenda for a 'Sustainable Catatumbo' within a national framework for 'peace with legality'. Resurgent armed conflict has further diminished local prospects for peace. The result has been multiple forms of resistance by various social groups, combining renewed attempts to negotiate governance and conviviality arrangements with armed actors and innovative actions to secure improvements to living conditions. Specific concerns with the deteriorating natural environment have further undergirded the search for a consensus on a more ecological peace. Drawing from Marín et al. (2022), we argue that these constitute *socio-territorial dialogues* as a form of ontological struggle rooted in place-specific experience and challenges.

Despite local fractiousness, state neglect and external threats can galvanise unified regional opposition, even bringing together social actors with misaligned territorial understandings and interests. The post-agreement conjuncture has been characterised by a more overtly extractive model of development, resurgent violence and hardening state repression, which led to a dynamic convergence of Catatumbo's social actors around common problems. Interviewees described how diverse PDET participants felt disillusionment with the programme's failure to transcend a fundamentally exploitative land use model. Regional unity vis-a-vis implementation disappointments appears to have further strengthened since the designation of Catatumbo as a *Strategic Zone for Comprehensive Intervention*, prompting a return to forced crop eradication and a strengthened military presence (Cruz, 2020). Responding, campesino and indigenous organisations have co-founded an independent committee to monitor delivery of the PDET Action Plan, in parallel to government-led oversight (ATI, 2019). Moreover, in the wake of FARC disarmament and the resultant contestation for territorial control between remaining armed actors (HRW / Human Rights Watch, 2019, 8 August), local groups have engaged in collective action 'without protagonism, sectarianism, or individualism', organising multi-sector humanitarian roundtables and protest marches expressing discontent with sluggish implementation and calling on armed actors to 'resolve their problems through dialogue' (La Opinión, 2018).

The political-administrative scales that shape Catatumbo's governance, with much centralisation at the departmental capital of Cúcuta, played a constraining role in the realisation of the aspirations expressed in the PDET diagnostic phase. Although community-level meetings were viewed as broadly inclusive, several interviewees reported exclusion from higher-level events organised outside the region in Cúcuta (see also ATI, 2019). Scale has proved additionally restrictive during implementation, which mostly occurred during President Duque's time in office (2018–2022). According to independent analysis, delivery followed a 'municipalization' logic that sidelined the aims of regional coordination or local accountability in favour of alignment with national schemes (CEPDIPO / Centro de Pensamiento y Diálogo Político, 2021,

---

p.9, p.21).

Responding to the difficulties surrounding PDET implementation, mobilised communities have proved able to sidestep scale restrictions by reaching out and collaborating with extra-regional networks of support to advance their peace and development goals. The riverine community of La Angalia provides a telling example. It was briefly considered by the Colombian government for siting one of the FARC reintegration facilities, which raised expectations for infrastructural upgrades. After another site was chosen, a local residents' committee secured the reconstruction of their damaged port and established new peaceful use protocols. Support from a number of external organisations proved essential, including Caritas Colombia, USAID and the German Embassy (Relief Web, 2020).

Transcending the urban-rural divide, peace activists can identify common interests and forge new solidarity relations across locations with diverging material conditions and place identities. This bridging can occur both in official state-sponsored programmes and more disruptive contentious actions. PDET consultation in Catatumbo uncovered interdependencies between larger towns and remote areas, including labour flows of urban residents seeking work in agricultural and extractive projects (Angulo, 2021). The recognition of such dynamics informed subsequent proposals for connective infrastructure investment between towns and hinterlands. Yet, critics of President Duque's plans for a Sustainable Catatumbo point to a radical disavowal of the peace agreement's original vision for regional transformation (Ortega, 2020). Instead of promoting synergistic collaboration across an urban-rural continuum of economic activity, government initiatives now emphasise developing external infrastructure connectivity at the service of export-oriented extractive industries (CEPDIPO / Centro de Pensamiento y Diálogo Político, 2021). Projections of increased service-sector employment for the region's youth justify such investment – thereby reducing dependence on illicit crop cultivation – but doubts remain over the quality and robustness of these livelihood prospects. Crucially, discontent with this approach to infrastructure-led development that privileges freight transport cuts across needs in towns and rural areas, galvanising a new round of roadblocks. This time, residents explicitly demanded improvements to road paving conditions to make the region's main highways more suitable for passenger vehicles travelling between urban and rural areas (Estévez, 2020).

Finally, it is noteworthy that growing concerns with environmental deterioration have underscored innovative socio-territorial dialogues (Marin et al., 2022). These efforts to achieve a more ecologically sustainable form of peace supersede competing territorial claims; demand greater regional autonomy concerning environmental governance; and collate a programme that brings together communities along the urban-rural spectrum. Now with a functioning port and serviced by paved road and electric grids, La Angalia has become an important node linking more remote riverine communities to the region's core towns and beyond. Leveraging this position, community representatives have played a pivotal role in the creation of a regional environmental committee, which brings together 90 communities from across the river basin. The committee's achievements include the development of norms, protocols and sanctions for handling solid waste and restricting deforestation, though preventing oil spills has proved more challenging due to the role of organised crime in sabotaging pipelines, while the degree of indigenous representation remains unclear. Nevertheless, Community Action Boards throughout the region have instituted similar committees to tackle ecological challenges, alongside other activities focused on well-being and peaceful coexistence (CNMH / Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2020, p.595). In collaboration with multiple external organisations including the National Centre for Historical Memory (CNMH) and international universities, environmental activists coordinate regional efforts to engage both licit and illicit economic actors driving environmental deterioration and appropriate governmental agencies. These emergent practices demonstrate the broader potential of socio-territorial dialogue to pursue ecological peace.

5. Conclusion

This paper has proposed a space-relational framework for analysing the opportunities, tensions, challenges, and strategic re-orientations underlying local engagement with peace. We departed from the recognition that, far from operating one-dimensionally, peacebuilding processes involve multiple modalities of participation across a complex and ever-shifting state-society interface. Our specific goal was to demonstrate that space-relationality can explain seeming paradoxes and discontinuities in outcomes across invited and invented spaces, and thus inform transformative peace imaginaries beyond the liberal discourse. We operationalised this by examining the roles played by (mis)aligned territorial claims, the restrictive (yet evadable) state scales governing peace processes, and the (dis)continuities of material conditions and place identities associated with extensive urbanisation. This extension to the local turn belies romantic or reductive assumptions about participation to refine and deliver community-centred understandings of peace. Rather, it calls for more geographically explicit consideration of how and why participation may fail to synergise or produce optimal outcomes. By way of conclusion, we outline the key lessons of our study.

Firstly, our findings underscore the need for peace research to properly grapple with how (mis)aligned territorial claims may condition the dynamics of peace participation. This must include careful examination of how social actors called upon - or claiming to - represent the local interest may be excluding others. In grappling with long-term land challenges, the campesinos of Catatumbo, a majority and well-organised constituency, faced a dilemma between forceful actions that risked alienating potential allies, and horizontalist yet ineffective consensus-building. Nevertheless, in the face of an unresponsive state and a return to hardline security policies, the campesinos and the Bari people articulated a joint autonomous platform to monitor the peace agreement's implementation.

Secondly, we showed that charting out the scalar organisation of electoral and administrative processes helps to identify elements hampering the realisation of peacebuilding aspirations. At the 2016 referendum, efforts to build a regional consensus for peace clashed with a deeply embedded network of local allegiances associated with national party politics. The post-agreement promise of a consensus-based regional peace and development plan failed to materialise against the backdrop of a governance structure that remained centralised and disjointed. Nevertheless, our study shows the importance of extra-local and international *peacebuilding networks* in enabling local actors to realise their ambitions.

Thirdly, our analysis suggests that although polarisation may occur due to differing sensibilities and understandings of peace, fractious relations across an assumed urban-rural divide are not the only possible outcome in a context of extended urbanisation. The 2013 roadblock and its aftermath evinced that focused contention at connective nodes within unevenly-developed landscapes can negatively affect urban livelihoods, thereby diminishing support for transformative agendas. Still, the emergence of post-agreement urban-rural coalitions shows the potential for innovative joint proposals to recognise interdependencies and foster solidarity around shared infrastructural, land use and livelihood concerns.

Despite unwavering peace activism, Catatumbo remains a troubled and contested borderland where everyday life is punctuated by crossfire between armed groups and a militaristic state. Our field research also uncovered growing grassroots concerns regarding environmental degradation and emerging agendas for a more ecologically sustainable peace. The socio-territorial dialogues that frame these efforts require further research, including thorough socio-ecological analysis. Furthermore, space-relational analysis in and beyond Catatumbo can be refined by engaging with non-western cosmologies of place, tracing the deep histories and traditions of grassroots peacebuilding, and

considering how emergent digital technologies create opportunities and challenges for situated and inclusive peace. These entry points would complement – rather than substitute – our three-part focus on territoriality, scales and urbanisation. The 'space-relational turn' could also be advanced by examining other cases of multi-modal peacebuilding efforts in diverse, fractured and volatile sub-national spaces. Such analysis, we contend, would inform and empower grassroots peacebuilding, thus providing a logical extension to the critical and inclusive spirit of the local turn.

Declaration of competing interest

Acknowledgements

References

Abierta, V. (2019, 15 February). In *'Catatumbo: Los PDET de la incertidumbre'*. Retrieved from: https://verdadabierta.com/catatumbo-los-pdet-la-incertidumbre/. (Accessed 12 July 2022).

Agnew, J., & Oslender, U. (2013). Overlapping territorialities, sovereignty in dispute: Empirical lessons from Latin America. In W. Nicholls, & B. Miller (Eds.), *Spaces of contention* (pp. 121–142). Taylor and Francis.

Angelo, P. (2017). The Colombian peace process: Trial and error. *Survival, 59*(1), 135–148. https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2017.1282680

Angulo, R. (2021). *'Tres Instantáneas de un PDET'*. Portafolio. Retrieved from: https://www.portafolio.co/opinion/otros-columnistas-1/tres-instantaneas-de-un-pdet-roberto-angulo-549471. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Aponte, A. (2012). Cúcuta y el catatumbo entre la integración y a marginalización". In F. González (Ed.), *(2012) Conflicto y Territorio en el Nororiente Colombiano. Bogotá: Odecofi*.

Arjona, A. (2015). Institutions, civilian resistance, and wartime social order: A process-driven natural experiment in the Colombian civil war. *Latin American Politics and Society, 58*(3), 99–122. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2016.00320.x

ART/Agencia de Renovación del Territorio. (2018). *Plan de Acción para la Tranformación Regional del Catatumbo*. Retrieved from https://www.renovacionterritorio.gov.co/en_las_regiones/Documentos/planes_estrategicos/programas_de_desarrollo_con_enfoque_territorial_pdet/planes_de_accion_para_la_transformacion_regional_patr. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

ART/Agencia de Renovación del Territorio. (2021). *Estabilización en los Municipios PDET*. Informe Julio 2021. Retrieved from: https://portal.renovacionterritorio.gov.co/descargar.php?idFile=28586. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

ASCAMCAT/Asociación Campesina del Catatumbo. (2014, 13 November). *'Constituyente Regional del Catatumbo: "Construimos Mandatos para la Paz y el Territorio"'*. Agencia Prensa Rural. Retrieved from: https://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article15464. (Accessed 12 July 2022).

ATI/Asociación de Trabajo Interdisciplinario. (2019, 9 October). *Al PDET le falta gente: Comunidades del catatumbo expresan preocupaciones por su forma de implementación.* ' Retrieved from: https://www.ati.org.co/index.php/al-pdet-le-falta-gente. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Autesserre, S. (2010). *The trouble with the Congo*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Autesserre, S. (2014). *Peaceland : Conflict resolution and the everyday politics of international intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ballvé, T. (2012). *Everyday state formation: Territory, decentralization, and the narco landgrab in Colombia*. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. https://doi.org/10.1068/d4611

Björkdahl, A. (2013). Urban peacebuilding. *Peacebuilding, 1*(2), 207–221. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.783254

Björkdahl, A., & Buckley-Zistel, S. (2016). *Spatializing peace and conflict: Mapping the production of places, sites and scales of violence*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Björkdahl, A., & Kappler, S. (2017). *Peacebuilding and spatial transformation: Peace, space and place*. London, [England]; New York: Routledge.

Bräuchler, B., & Naucke, P. (2017). Peacebuilding and conceptualisations of the local. *Social Anthropology, 25*(4), 422–436. https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12454

Bregazzi, H., & Jackson, M. (2016). Agonism, critical political geography, and the new geographies of peace. *Progress in Human Geography, 42*(1), 72–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516666687

Brenner, N., & Schmid, C. (2014). The 'urban age' in question. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 38*(3), 731–755. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12115

Brigg, M., & George, N. (2020). Emplacing the spatial turn in peace and conflict studies. *Cooperation and Conflict, 55*(4), 409–420. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836720954488

Carnes, M. (2016). *Religion, the catholic church, and peace in Colombia. Berkley Centre for Religion, Peace and World Affairs*. Retrieved from: https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/responses/religion-the-catholic-church-and-peace-in-colombia. (Accessed 12 July 2022) [last accessed.

CEPDIPO/Centro de Pensamiento y Diálogo Político. (2021). *Las "hojas de ruta" de los programas de Desarrollo con enfoque territorial (PDET) - crítica a una metodología para el falseamiento del Acuerdo de paz.* ' Retrieved from: https://cepdipo.org/portfolio/las-hojas-de-ruta-de-los-programas-de-desarrollo-con-enfoque-territorial-pdet-critica-a-una-metodologia-para-el-falseamiento-del-acuerdo-de-paz/. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

CNMH/Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2020). *Catatumbo: Memorias de Vida y dignidad.* ' Retrieved from: http://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/catatumbo_memorias-de-vida-y-dignidad.pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

de Coning, C. (2016). From peacebuilding to sustaining peace: Implications of complexity for resilience and sustainability. *Resilience, 4*(3), 166–181. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2016.1153773

Cornwall, A. (2002). *Making spaces and changing places: Situating participation in development*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies Working Paper. Retrieved from: https://www.powercube.net/wpcontent/uploads/2009/11/making_spaces_changing_places.pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Cruz, R. L. (2020). 8 june). Zonas futuro: ¿territorios donde podrían incrementarse las violaciones de derechos humanos? *Verdad Abierta*. Retrieved from https://verdadabierta.com/zonas-futuro-territorios-donde-podrian-incrementarse-las-violaciones-de-derechos-humanos/. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Debiel, T., & Rinck, P. (2016). In E. T. Debiel, T. Held, & U. Schneckener (Eds.), *Peacebuilding in crisis: Rethinking paradigms and practices of transnational cooperationRethinking the local in peacebuilding. Moving away from the liberal/post-liberal divide* (pp. 240–256). New York: Routledge.

Diaz, J. M., Staples, H., Kanai, J. M., & Lombard, M. (2021). Between pacification and dialogue: Critical lessons from Colombia's territorial peace. *Geoforum, 118*, 106–116. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.12.005

Donais, T. (2009). Empowerment or imposition? Dilemmas of local ownership in post-conflict peacebuilding processes. *Peace & Change, 34*(issue 1), 3–26. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2009.00531.x

El Colombiano. (2013, 3 August). *Terminó el paro agrario en el Catatumbo después de 53 días*. Retrieved from https://www.elcolombiano.com/historico/termino_bloqueo_vial_en_el_catatumbo_tras_53_dias_de_paro-ACEC_253939. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

El Tiempo. (2016, 3 October). *Incertidumbre en pueblos víctimas de la guerra que dieron el 'Sí'*. Retrieved from https://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/otras-ciudades/los-pueblos-que-votaron-si-en-el-plebiscito-43293. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Estévez, E. L. (2020). *Anuncia inversión para la Vía Tibú-Cúcuta en Norte de Santander, 6 November*. RCN Radio. Retrieved from: https://www.rcnradio.com/colombia/santanderes/anuncia-inversion-para-la-Tibú-Cúcuta-en-norte-de-santander. (Accessed 12 July 2022) [last accessed.

Fundación Ideas Para la Paz. (2013, September). *Dinámicas del conflicto armado en el Catatumbo y su impacto humanitario*. Retrieved from https://cdn.ideaspaz.org/media/website/document/5b72fe7f2b9d1.pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

García Pinzón, V., & Mantilla, J. (2020). Contested borders: Organized crime, governance, and bordering practices in Colombia-Venezuela borderlands. In *Trends in organized crime, open access*. November 2020.

García-Durán, M., & Sarmiento, F. (2015). Demining in micoahumado: From civil resistance to local negotiation with the eln. In S. Haspeslagh, & Z. Yousuf (Eds.), *Local engagement with armed groups: In the midst of violence. Accord Insight 2* (pp. 21–26). Londres: Conciliation Resources.

Gobierno Nacional de Colombia. (2016). *Acuerdo Final para la Terminación del Conflicto Armado y la Construcción de una Paz Estable y Duradera*. Retrieved from https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Colombia%20Nuevo%20Acuerdo%20Final%2024%20Nov%202016_0.pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

González, F. (2014). *Poder y Violencia en Colombia*. Bogotá: Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP/PPP).

González, F. (2018). *"¿Llevar el Estado a las regiones o las regiones al Estado?"*. En.

González, F., Bolívar, I., & Vásquez, T. (2003). *Violencia Política en Colombia*. Bogotá: Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP/PPP).

Gormally, B. (2016). *Diálogos locales con grupos armados en medio de la violencia. Papeles de Paz, num. 11*. Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP/PPP).

Gusic, I. (2019). The relational spatiality of the postwar condition: A study of the city of mitrovica. *Political Geography, 71*, 47–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j. polgeo.2019.02.009

Gutiérrez, F. (2018). *¿Qué hacer con el Tierrero? Tierra, territorio y paz sostenible*. Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario.

Haesbaert, R. (2007). Território e multiterritorialidade: Um debate. *Geographia, 9*(17), 19–45.

Haesbaert, R. (2020). Territory/ies from a Latin American perspective. *Journal of Latin American Geography, 19*(1), 258–268. https://doi.org/10.1353/lag.2020.0005. Translated by Mason-Deese, L.

Hallward, M., Masullo, J., & Mouly, C. (2019). Civil resistance in armed conflict: Leveraging nonviolent action to navigate war, oppose violence and confront oppression. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development, 12*(3), 1–9. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/15423166.2017.1376431, 2017.

Halvorsen, S., Fernandes, B. M., & Torres, F. V. (2019). Mobilizing territory: Socioterritorial movements in comparative perspective. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 109*(5), 1454–1470. https://doi.org/10.1080/ 24694452.2018.1549973

Hameiri, S., & Jones, L. (2017). Beyond hybridity to the politics of scale: International intervention and 'local' politics. *Development and Change, 48*(1), 54–77. https://doi. org/10.1111/dech.12287

HRW/Human Rights Watch. (2019, 8 August). *The war in catatumbo: Abuses by armed groups against civilians including Venezuelan exiles in northeastern Colombia.* Available from: https://www.hrw.org/report/2019/08/08/war-catatumbo/abuses-ar med-groups-against-civilians-including-venezuelan-exiles. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Hughes, C., Öjendal, J., & Schierenbeck, I. (2015). The struggle versus the song – the local turn in peacebuilding: An introduction. *Third World Quarterly, 36*(5), 817–824. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1029907

Idler, A. (2019). *Borderland Battles. Violence, crime and governance at the edges of Colombia's war*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kanai, J. M. (2016). The pervasiveness of neoliberal territorial design: Cross-border infrastructure planning in South America since the introduction of IIRSA. *Geoforum, 69*, 160–170. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.10.002

Kanai, J. M., & Schindler, S. (2019). Peri-urban promises of connectivity: Linking project-led polycentrism to the infrastructure scramble. *Environment & Planning A, 51*(2), 302–322. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X18763370

Kanai, J. M., & Schindler, S. (2022). Infrastructure-led development and the peri-urban question: furthering crossover comparisons. *Urban Studies, 59*(8), 1597–1617.

Kaplan, O. (2017). *Resisting war: How communities protect themselves*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kappler, S. (2015). The Dynamic Local: Delocalisation and (Re-)Localisation in the Search for Peacebuilding Identity. *Third World Quarterly, 36*(5), 875–889. https:// doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1025740

Klem, B. (2018). The problem of peace and the meaning of 'post-war. *Conflict, Security and Development, 18*(3), 233–255.

Koopman, S. (2016). *Geographies of Peace, an annotated bibliography*. Oxford Bibliographies. www.oxfordbibliographies.com.

Koopman, S. (2018). A plural and territorial peaceH. Cairo, et al. (Eds.). *"Territorial Peace": The Emergence of a Concept in Colombia's Peace Negotiations. Geopolitics* (Vol. 23,, 474–481. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1425110, 2.

Koopman, S. (2020). Building an inclusive peace is an uneven socio-spatial process: Colombia's differential approach. *Political Geography, 83*, Article 102252. https:// doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102252

Kreiman, G., & Masullo, J. (2020). Who shot the bullets? Exposure to violence and attitudes toward peace: Evidence from the 2016 Colombian referendum. *Latin American Politics and Society, 62*(4), 24–49. https://doi.org/10.1017/lap.2020.14

La Opinión. (2018). *Comunidades le dan ultimátum al ELN y al EPL, 26 October*. Retrieved from: https://www.laopinion.com.co/region/el-catatumbo-da-ultimatum-al-eln-y-e l-epl-164453. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Lederach, J. P. (1995). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse.

Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Leonardsson, H., & Rudd, G. (2015). The 'local turn' in peacebuilding: A literature review of effective and emancipatory local peacebuilding. *Third World Quarterly, 36*(5), 825–839. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1029905

Ljungkvist, K., & Jarstad, A. (2021). Revisiting the local turn in peacebuilding - through the emerging urban approach. *Third World Quarterly, 42*(10), 2209–2226. https:// doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1929148

López, C. (2014). *Adiós a las FARC. Construir ciudadanía, estado y mercado para unir las tres Colombias. Bogotá: Editorial Debate*.

Mac Ginty, R., & Richmond, O. (2013). The local turn in peace building: A critical agenda for peace. *Third World Quarterly, 34*(No. 5), 763–783. https://doi.org/10.1080/ 01436597.2013.800750, 2013.

Marín, J., Rushton, S., Díaz-Arévalo, J. M., & Mosquera, C. D. (2022). El diálogo social territorial. Contribuciones teórico-prácticas desde la experiencia de Buenaventura , Colombia. *Colombia Internacional, 109*. https://doi.org/10.7440/ colombiaint109.2022.03

Masullo, J. (2015). *The power of staying put: Nonviolent resistance against armed groups in Colombia*. International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. Retrieved from: https ://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/wp content/uploads/2015/12/ColombiaMon ographForOnline.pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Miller, B. (1994). Political empowerment, local-central state relations. And geographically shifting political opportunity structures: Strategies of the cambridge,

Massachusetts peace movement. *Political Geography, volume13, issue, 5*, 393–406. https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298(94)90047-7

Miraftab, F. (2004). Invited and invented spaces of participation: Neoliberal citizenship and feminists' expanded notion of politics. *Wagadu, 1*. Retrieved from : http: //colfax.cortland.edu/wagadu/Volume%201/Printable/miraftab.pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022).

Mitchell, C., & Hancock, L. (2012). *Local peacebuilding and national peace. Interaction between grassroots and elite processes*. London: Bloomsbury.

Mitchell, C., & Ramírez, S. (2014). Las comunidades locales de paz en Colombia. Una comparación inicial de tres casos. In V. Bouvier (Ed.), *(2014) La Construcción de Paz en Tiempos de Guerra. Bogotá* (pp. 319–349). Editorial Universidad del Rosario.

Monte-Mór, R. L., & Castriota, R. (2018). Extended Urbanization: Implications for urban and regional theory. In A. Paasi, J. Harrison, & M. Jones (Eds.), *Handbook on the geographies of regions and territories* (pp. 332–345). Cheltenham, Northampton: Edgard Elgar, 2018. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781785365805.

Murphy, A. B. (2012). Entente territorial: Sack and raffestin on territoriality. Environment and planning. D. *Society & space, 30*(1), 159–172. https://doi.org/ 10.1068/d4911

Ortega, H. (2020). *Las promesas de 'Catatumbo Sostenible', dos años después de su lanzamiento. El Espectador, 5 December*. Retrieved from: https://www.elespectador. com/colombia2020/territorio/las-promesas-de-catatumbo-sostenible-dos-anos-des pues-de-su-lanzamiento/. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Paffenholz, T. (2015). Unpacking the local turn in peacebuilding: A critical assessment towards an agenda for future research. *Third World Quarterly, 36*(5), 857–874. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1029908, 2015.

PGN/Procuraduría General de la Nación. (2020). *Catatumbo Informe sobre el estado de avance en la implementación del Acuerdo de Paz en la subregión PDET*. Retrieved from https://www.procuraduria.gov.co/portal/media/file/MSI-Reporte%20Catatumbo. pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022).

Piazzini Suarez, C. E. (2018). Beyond the countryside: Territorial focus in the process of negotiation and implementation of the peace agreement in Colombia. In H. Cairo, et al. (Eds.)*, Vol. 23. Territorial peace": The emergence of a concept in Colombia's peace negotiations* (pp. 474–481). Geopolitics. https://doi.org/10.1080/ 14650045.2018.1425110, 2.

Potter, L. (2020). Colombia's oil palm development in times of war and 'peace': Myths, enablers and the disparate realities of land control. *Journal of Rural Studies, 78*, 491–502. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.10.035

Pouligny, B. (2005). Civil society and post-conflict peacebuilding: Ambiguities of international programmes aimed at building 'new' societies. *Security Dialogue, 36*(4), 495–510. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605060448

Purcell, M., & Brown, J. C. (2005). Against the local trap: Scale and the study of environment and development. *Progress in Development Studies, 5*(4), 279–297. https://doi.org/10.1191/1464993405ps122oa

Radio, C. (2013). *El paro del catatumbo marcó en 2013 a Norte de Santander, 27 December*. Retrieved from: https://caracol.com.co/radio/2013/12/23/regional/1387801 920_042798.html. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

Raffestin, C. (1980). *Pour une geographie du Pouvoir*. Paris: Librairies Techniques.

Robins, S., & Wilson, E. (2015). Participatory methodologies with victims: An emancipatory approach to transitional justice research. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 30*(2), 219–236. https://doi.org/10.1017/cls.2015.17

Rodríguez, E. C. (2017). La rebelión de las ruanas: El paro nacional agrario en Colombia. *Revista Análisis, 49*, 90.

Roldán, M. (2014). Cambio de Armas". La negociación de alternativas a la violencia en el Oriente Colombiano. In V. Bouvier (Ed.), *(2014) La Construcción de Paz en Tiempos de Guerra* (pp. 355–375). Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario.

Sack, R. (1981). Territorial bases of power. In A. Burnett, & P. Taylor (Eds.), *Political studies from spatial perspectives* (pp. 53–71). New York: John Wiley.

Sack, R. (1986). *Human territoriality: Its theory and history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Santos, J. M. (2017). Colombia, a laboratory for history. *Journal of International Affairs, 71*(1), 11–16.

Shesterinina, A. (2021). *Mobilizing in uncertainty : Collective identities and war in abkhazia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Simons, C., & Zanker, F. (2014). *Questioning the local in peacebuilding. Working papers of the priority programme 1448 of the German research foundation*. Retrieved from: https ://www.spp1448.de/fileadmin/media/galleries/SPP_Administration/Working_Pape r_Series/SPP1448_WP10_Simons_Zanker.pdf. (Accessed 12 July 2022). last accessed.

World Bank Group, UN Peacekeeping, Social Science Research Council. (2018). *The changing landscape of armed groups: Doing DDR in new contexts* (pp. 3–8). May 2018, Retrieved from: https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/changing-landscape-of-armed-g roups-doing-ddr-new-contexts. (Accessed 12 July 2022) [last accessed.

Söderström, J., Åkebo, M., & Jarstad, A. K. (2020). Friends, fellows, and foes: A new framework for studying relational peace. *International Studies Review, 2020*, 6–24. https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viaa033

Soja, E. W. (1996). *Thirdspace: Journeys to los angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Maiden, MA: Blackwell.

Tellez, J. F. (2019). Peace agreement design and public support for peace: Evidence from Colombia. *Journal of Peace Research, 56*(6), 827–844. https://doi.org/10.1177/ 0022343319853603

Tschirgi, N. (2013). Securitization and peacebuilding. In *Routledge handbook of peacebuilding* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Vanegas, E. A., & Vergara, J. C. G. (2016, 6 October). *Votando por la paz: Entendiendo la ventaja del "No". Fundación ideas para la paz*. Retrieved from https://www.ideaspaz. org/publications/posts/1411. (Accessed 12 July 2022).

Verdad Abierta. (2017, 20 January). Las tensiones tras la Zona de Reserva Campesina del Catatumbo. Retrieved from: https://verdadabierta.com/las-tensiones-tras-la-zona-de-reserva-campesina-del-catatumbo/. (Accessed 12 July 2022).

Voz, S. (2014). *Constituyente Regional en el Catatumbo, 10 December.* Retrieved from: http://semanariovoz.com/constituyente-regional-en-el-catatumbo/. (Accessed 12 July 2022).

Web, R. (2020). 'Caritas Colombia building peace through river-side community' Retrieved from: https://reliefweb.int/report/colombia/caritas-colombia-building-peace-through-river-side-community. (Accessed 12 July 2022) [last accessed, 22 Sept.

Weinmann, A., & Juttersonke, O. (2019). *Urban safety and peacebuilding. New perspectives on sustaining peace in the city.* Routledge.

Wood, E. (2008). The social processes of civil war: The wartime transformation of social networks. *Annual Review of Political Science, 11*, 539–561. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.082103.104832