



# **Understanding Peace-Building in Colombia**

## **A Framing Paper**

**Global Practice of Social Development**

**Bogota DC, November 18, 2015**

## **SECTION I. INTRODUCTION**

1. This note presents a framework for understanding key aspects of the peace-building exercise in Colombia in the context of societal transition from armed conflict to sustainable peace. The focus of the framework developed in this note is on the reintegration of ex-combatants in Colombia assuming that a negotiated outcome in Havana will set overall parameters for aspects of Colombia's war-to-peace transitions amenable to joint commitments by the Government and the FARC. Thus, this note starts by describing a global perspective for a transition to sustainable peace in Colombia and the role of reintegration programs in it. Then it highlights the challenges for a transition to happen, considering that those challenges shape the context and conditions in which ongoing DDR programs are implemented nationally, and provide the fundamental context and parameters for implementation of a negotiated framework for DDR with the FARC. Finally, this note focuses on transitional security arrangements and reintegration programming.

2. It is assumed that a future Havana agreement would include agreements on ensuring that FARC ex-combatants will be supported to be "reintegrated into civilian life in economic, social and political aspects according to its interests". Translating these agreements and reintegration outcomes into effective delivery mechanisms is a process that will need to be addressed in a number of overall war-to-peace challenges. The transformation of illegal armed groups and its fighting forces into legal stakeholders of a democratic society is a core part of the overall transition from war to peace, and involves a technical process referred to as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, or DDR.

## SECTION II. FRAMING THE ISSUE

### A. Transitioning to peace in Colombia

3. While the Colombian transition to peace is unique, lessons from other countries can be useful for policy makers. Global experiences show that the main challenge in peace processes is to prevent cycles of violence from recurring in order to allow society to build sustainable peace. This section outlines a global perspective for transitioning to sustainable peace, identifies the role of DDR policies in it, and analysis the Colombian case.

#### a. *Concurrent security, development and political transitions: international experience*

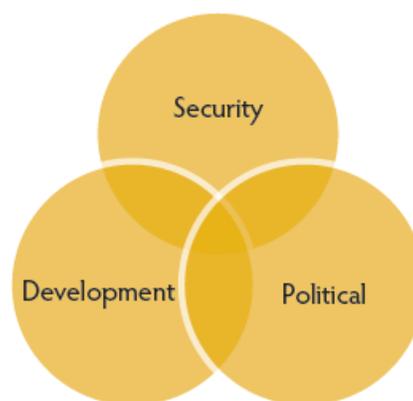
4. Considering that peace means more than simply the non-existence of violence (so called negative peace<sup>1</sup>), understanding the overall transition from war to peace involve three main interrelated transitions in the security, development, and political spheres, that happen simultaneously at the local, subnational, and national levels (see illustration)<sup>2</sup>:

5. The simplicity of the model evidently does not do full justice to the multiple challenges faced by a society in building sustainable peace based on democratic principles. For instance, different aspects of the justice transition are part of the three transitions, the process of truth and judgments of mass atrocities as well as the guarantee of non-repetition for victims will support the security transition, while the sustainable reparation of victims is part of the development transition. Also,

the social transition is often referred to as the reconciliation process between members of the society polarized by ideology, religion, social classes or ethnicity. In this perspective, reconciliation and inclusion are at the same time outcomes and underlying process of each transition which final purpose is the redefinition of the social pact.

6. Policies tend to overlap the three transitions because these are interdependent and concurrent. The framework allows policies to reduce the risk of reinforcing cycles of violence by carrying out actions for each transition, while taking into account implications for the other

**FIGURE 1-3: Three Transitions Toward Sustainable Peace**



- Security transition from violence to the respect of human rights and international humanitarian law
- Development transition from a war economy to an inclusive peace economy
- Political transition from sub-national fragility to a participatory democracy

1 Galtung, J. Positive and Negative Peace, 1964

2 Castañeda D. The European Approach to Peacebuilding, Palgrave Macmillan, November 2014 and World Bank, 2014.

transitions. It also allows for the prioritization of those actions reinforcing the three transitions, in graphic terms, actions at the intersection point such as reintegration programs.

7. Importantly, actors, typically institutions involved in each sphere tend to have short and medium term objectives and strategies that, if pursued on individually by sector, taken together compete rather than reinforce attainment of the long term goal of sustainable peace, i.e. a situation of “positive peace”<sup>3</sup>. The key challenge is to balance competing goals, actions and implications through a system analysis approach, rather than individual sector approaches: calibration and pacing of actions matter, and typically involves trade-offs against competing priorities and interests.

8. In the aftermath of a peace agreement, governments and stakeholders are under pressure to demonstrate commitment to peace in the short term without causing instability. At the same time it is necessary to develop reforms for long-term peace including providing public, human development, social inclusion, shared prosperity and parity, and balanced sub-regional development. There are multiple short and medium term trade-offs ensuring that political and security objectives prevail over other goals, including good macroeconomics which requires a degree of flexibility in the short term, but clear growth, inclusion and human development goals in the long term.

9. In Colombia, an agreement resulting from the peace dialogues will accelerate aspects of political, security, and development transitions at the national level and in specific regions. As will be explored in the second section of this framework, the transformation of illegal armed groups and its fighting forces into legal stakeholders of a democratic society is a key process for supporting the three transitions in the short, medium and long term. It involves a technical process that is internationally referred to as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), but for which national stakeholders in many countries have devised nationally specific terminologies and adaptations. These specific processes facilitate the conversion of illegal armed groups and ex-combatant from military to civilian life. Within the overall transition from negative to positive peace described above, DDR programs pursue contributions to four meta-objectives of post-conflict processes, namely: “security, well-being, justice and governance.”<sup>4</sup>

10. In a negotiated settlement scenario, as the current conversations in La Havana, international experience shows that ‘reintegration’ takes place at two levels: the group and the individual ex-combatants levels. Whereas the ‘group’ level is typically more political, the ‘individual’ level is more technical, but the desired/agreed scope of the processes is determined at the negotiation table. Thus, political reintegration<sup>5</sup> can eventually reach the military elite of armed groups who become elected representatives, the armed group who transforms into a political party, and the individual ex-combatant who embraces democratic values and is able to participate with full and equal rights in social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of society (a marker of ‘positive peace’ at individual level).

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3 Galtung, J. Positive and Negative Peace, 1964

4 Baare, A 2006 in Soderstrom, 2013

5 Soderstrom, 2013

11. In Colombia there have been experiences at the individual and group level limited by the impossibility to protect ex-combatants life and the free exercise of political activities. For instance ex-combatants of M-19 guerrillas elite participated in presidential elections and the group converted into the political party Alianza Democratica. Also, the creation of the political party Union Patriótica as a result of negotiations between the FARC and the government is an example of a first step towards political reintegration at the group level. At the individual level, Colombian policy has addressed multiple aspects of citizenship of former combatants of the Self-defense Forces and ex-combatants of guerrilla groups demobilizing individually like issuance of identification cards, educating on civil rights and responsibilities, and satisfying basic needs.

12. Depending on the scope, a political reintegration process can reinforce the political transition towards a democratic society by creating channels of participation and resolution of differences. It can also reinforce the development transition by empowering the individual and the security transition by discouraging the use of arms for political purposes. Under the current agreements in Colombia, the full economic, social and political participation of the FARC is stipulated under the end of conflict along with the government making the necessary arrangements and changes to ensure the construction of peace.

## **B. Overall Challenges for a transition to peace in Colombia**

13. In recent decades, there have been seven attempts to end the armed conflict through dialogue in Colombia. The failure of the peace negotiations between the Government of Colombia and the FARC in the end of 1990s was a hard lesson for Colombian society and the international community. As a result, the current peace process in Havana is viewed with considerable skepticism by Colombian society while multilateral actors have not yet been called upon to participate. Nevertheless, the process could represent a real opportunity for sustainable peace if it is followed by a coherent transition to peace. This section highlights key challenges for policy makers aiming at enhancing the transition to peace in Colombia that will determine the context for any reintegration process. These challenges are: i) The territorial and inclusion challenge; ii) the institutional challenge; iii) the challenge of coexistence; iv) the legacy challenge; v) the challenge of comprehensive national peace; and vi) the challenge of societal violence.

14. The divide between two very different segments of Colombian society, a democratic upper-middle income and the conflict-affected one, is a main characteristic of Colombia framing the challenges for the transition. Indeed, Colombia can be seen as a country with two seemingly irreconcilable profiles. On one hand, it is a stable formal democracy, immune to the authoritarian and populist tendencies that have negatively impacted other South American countries. With a per capita GNI of US\$12,900 for 2014<sup>6</sup>, it is also an upper middle-income country, representing one of Latin America's most dynamic economies. It is well integrated in the global economy, with OECD standards within its reach.

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<sup>6</sup> World Bank, International Comparison Program database

15. On the other hand, Colombia has been trapped in repeated cycles of violence, where inequality, poverty, and weak institutional capacity reinforce armed conflict and vice-versa. To date, attempts to end the armed conflict through peaceful or military means have not succeeded. Starting in the early 1940s, the violence arose from ideological confrontations between two main political parties. During the Cold War East-West polarization shifted the center of gravity of violence to asymmetrical, low-intensity warfare between communist insurgencies and government forces. During the 1980s, the armed conflict morphed into a protracted confrontation of multiple actors, including drug-trafficking cartels, insurgency movements, and paramilitary forces with multiple, overlapping forms of violence. Since the 1990s, these illegal armed groups have regularly attacked infrastructure, undermined state legitimacy, and used violence and terror against civilians, dispossessing them from their lands, creating forced displacement, and damaging the social fabric. Fifty years of violence have affected at least three generations of Colombians. At the national, subnational, community, and individual level between 4.7 million and 5.7 million people were internally displaced between 1985 and 2012. During the same period, an estimated 220,000 individuals were killed, 27,000 were kidnapped, 25,000 disappeared, and illegal armed groups recruited 6,421 children.<sup>7</sup>

16. In the past decade, the Government has made strenuous efforts to reduce Colombia's levels of violence and poverty and increase state presence. The country is no longer considered a high risk for investment, and it has increased its capacity to guarantee basic citizens' rights. Even drug production, one of the main drivers of the conflict, has been significantly reduced. Despite this progress, the two incompatible profiles of Colombia still coexist, and violence continues to take a heavy toll on society. The double profile can make the transition smoother than in other upper middle income countries affected by armed conflict (Iraq, Libya, Lebanon) since a considerable part of the state is efficient, democratic and able to collect domestic resources. This part could be transformed in order to increase its presence and capacity in the conflict affected Colombia, particularly in rural areas.

17. Nonetheless, the double profile of Colombia can also make the transition more challenging since it implies breaking the equilibrium among the two profiles, which has benefitted some population groups. Resistance from these groups against the transformation of institutions for building an inclusive country is then foreseeable. Six key challenges for policy makers aiming at enhancing the transition to peace in Colombia that will determine the context for any reintegration process, have been identified:

**a. *The territorial and inclusion challenge***

An institutional framework and a set of tacit rules among stakeholders and entities preserve the coexistence of the two profiles of Colombia, the democratic upper middle-income country, and the conflict-affected one. This framework impedes a better functioning of democratic institutions

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<sup>7</sup> Source: Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica, informe general "Basta Ya", 2013. Statistics about victims are controversial, see chapter 1 of the report, p. 52. The NGO CODHES estimates 5,712,506 IDPs while the government registered 4,744,000 IDPs since 1985, date established by law for recognizing the status of victim. The Commission for Historical Memory estimates 218,094 deaths by violent conflict between 1958 – 2012 including civilians and combatants. The Unit for Integral attention and Victims' Reparation registered in January 2014 in its website a total of 5,9 million victims demanding reparation.

leaving behind regions and population groups. For instance, violence is more accentuated in regions with a juxtaposition of weak local institutions, high revenues from natural resources extraction, and the presence of illegal armed groups. Arauca, Casanare, Caquetá, Meta, Nariño, and Valle del Cauca are among the departments with a larger share of violent events.

18. In addition, violence affects specific population groups such as rural, afro-Colombian, and indigenous populations, who are overrepresented among victims of the armed conflict. Education and the fulfillment of basic social needs are also deficient in areas where conflict is intense like the Pacific and parts of the Caribbean coast or parts of the south and eastern piedmont of the Andes. This has negative implications for future generations and increases the gap with the rest of the country.

19. Subnational areas where the institutional framework is not strong are not well prepared to handle external and internal stresses. External stresses can come from instability of neighboring countries like Venezuela, price fluctuations of primary good international markets, drug trafficking, and cartel strategies, illegal trafficking of natural resources, and many other factors stemming from regional and global dynamics, none of which are under the control of the government. Internal stresses can come from the presence of illegal armed groups and their strategies to control territory or populations (e.g. landmines, confrontations with other groups, threats), illegal economic activities, polarization of society, and mistrust of the government, corruption and impunity, limited access to justice and participation, high income inequalities, unemployment, and difficulties in accessing production means such as land and credit, and other factors under the control of individual states.

***b. The institutional challenge***

20. The capacity of the government also varies across sectors and public entities; central policies in rural regions are not as effective as urban centers and less peripheral areas. For example, government entities such as the Ministry of Finance, the Central Bank, the Planning Department, and the Ministry of Defense are better equipped, more efficient, and have more stable and qualified staff than average line ministries. In this regard, central government public policies may be unable to reach violence-affected areas and may even have perverse effects. Thus, while in some regions, key democratic institutions such as the division of powers, free elections, and freedom of expression are respected, they are not in others, and the scope of central state policies is very limited.

21. Progress in violence reduction has been achieved, but the national trends disguise regional differences. Violence is more prevalent in regions with weak local institutions, high revenues from natural resources extraction, and the presence of illegal armed groups. Since the early 2000s, Colombia has seen substantial declines in the number of new internally displaced people (IDP), politically motivated homicides, victims of land mines, and homicide rates (related not only to the conflict but to general criminality). However, occasional peaks show the continued risk of bursts or cycles of violence.

22. In summary, international experience shows that countries and subnational areas with the weakest institutional legitimacy and governance are the most vulnerable to violence and instability and the least capable of responding to internal and external stresses. Subnational conflicts like the Colombian one can be analyzed as dynamics of violence and conflict embedded in a stable state, geographically concentrated, but with implications for the whole country.

**c. *The challenge of coexistence***

23. The Government has moved forward on several fronts to attain sustainable peace. Nonetheless, sustainable peace in Colombia will depend on the results of a collective effort of envisioning the country at peace and building it. An essential element of this process will be coexistence. International experience on pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict situations around the globe includes that for relationships between different ethnic, religious, or social groups to be positive and sustainable one needs to “move beyond the notion of mere tolerance, to a definition of coexistence that incorporates equality, diversity, and interdependence. Coexistence is evidenced in relationships across differences that are built on mutual trust, respect, and recognition, and is widely understood as related to social inclusion and integration. The term coexistence has a particular focus on inter-group relations. Other language that seeks to describe a similar vision includes social cohesion, social inclusion, and social integration.”<sup>8</sup>

24. Achieving social inclusion of population groups like victims and ex-combatants are essential for guaranteeing sustainable of peace. The Government has made steps in this direction. Under the Ley de Justicia y Paz (Justice and Peace Law) and the Ley de Víctimas y Restitución de Tierras (Victims and Restitution Law) of 2011, the Government has set a framework for reintegrating ex-combatants, returning land to people displaced by conflict, and providing reparations to enable families and communities to resume their livelihoods. However, achieving and sustaining coexistence requires a more coordinated public policy approach to communities, communities’ empowerment through active participation and a greater and meaningful engagement of multiple sectors of the national society.

**d. *The legacy challenge***

25. DDR in Colombia has a long history, over which time a wide variety of legal frameworks, policies and approaches have been used to end conflict through alternating or concurrent uses of hard and soft power – military confrontation and negotiated settlements. Consequently, DDR in Colombia through these adjustments and adaptations has a complexity of overlaying and concurrently active legal frameworks, approaches, and target groups with different processes, obligations and entitlements. The unintended effect of this continuous evolution of the program and the resultant multiple changing strategies has been an overall environment of uncertainty regarding the DDR process and negative impacts on the level of trust of ex-combatants and community members in these processes.

26. The Colombian reintegration experience is different compared to many others as DDR has been implemented in a war context in the absence of a peace agreement. This in turn has

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<sup>8</sup> Brandeis University” What is Coexistence?”, <http://heller.brandeis.edu/coexistence/faculty/coexistence.html>>

generated an underlying tone of DDR being pursued in the service of counter-insurgency rather than one of peace building. The DDR legacy challenge thus translates into a multi-dimensional trust-deficit that makes the overall landscape for reintegration challenging. While the consistent support of the ACR in recent years has begun to rebuild trust, the legacy challenge posed by the different peace agreements and ongoing conflict includes a patch of legal measures and programmatic reintegration processes that until today are not always consistent with a common reintegration and peacebuilding objective.

***e. The challenge of comprehensive national peace***

27. It should be recognized that the FARC is only one of the multiple stakeholders in the armed conflict, and – like other countries – the risk of increased violence is high in the aftermath of the peace agreements.

28. The peace process is a means to end the violence while defining solutions to five core issues in Colombian society that need to be resolved independently of political and ideological affiliations. These core issues are: a) Rural development and land reform; b) political participation; c) cessation of conflict; d) addressing the problem of illegal drugs; and e) victims' rights. Thus, a peace agreement with the FARC will define “what to do” without the threat of armed violence from the FARC. However, that still leaves an unresolved and ongoing-armed conflict with the ELN and other smaller groups that may not rally behind the national goals and agreements

29. Thus, in the aftermath of peace negotiations with the FARC, the Colombian government's greatest challenge in ensuring the agreement's success will be guaranteeing a minimum level of stability after the negotiations. This includes strengthening current institutions, implementing institutional changes agreed on during the final Havana peace accord, and transforming institutions that perpetuate cycles of violence. Beyond the peace agreement, national policies and programs from different sectors would need to share the common objective of preventing cycles of violence from recurring, and they would need to be designed to reinforce the three transitions to peace — political, security, and development. An agreement resulting from the peace dialogues will accelerate political and security transitions, and open up space for addressing development deficits at the national level and in specific regions. At the same time, insecurity may rise as a result of negotiations because other armed actors will try to fill spaces left by FARC.

***f. The challenge of societal violence***

30. Without proper social, political, economic, and strategic measures, post-conflict scenarios can continue to produce violence and hamper long lasting peace efforts. The case of El Salvador is a salient example where several years after the signing of a peace agreement that ended the civil war, armed violent groups continue to affect the entire nation, hamper its development and affect all sectors of society. The transition from conflict to peace, thus requires a set of short-medium- and long-term strategies that reduce the likelihood of reintegrated groups to rearm or transform themselves into illegal armed groups with different purposes. This is particularly

important in Colombia where previous insurgent groups have morphed into criminal bands (known as Bacrim or ECOs). Strategies to ensure that interpersonal and group violence are prevented need to be incorporated into municipal and subnational plans at an early stage. To be most effective, proper institutional, legal and participatory arrangements need to be in place to allow accurate and reliable monitoring of violent events, implementation of violence prevention strategies, and informed deployment of enforcement measures aimed at civilian (and not military) maintenance of peace under a democratic judicial framework.

### C. Transitional security arrangements and reintegration programming

31. By looking at international experiences, this section highlights the importance of the national narratives in defining reintegration as part of DDR programs. It also identifies meta-objectives and describes the political economy of the DDR programming for Colombia.

**Philippines:** “Normalization is the process through which communities affected by the decades-long armed conflict in Mindanao can return to a peaceful life and pursue sustainable livelihoods free from fear of violence and crime. It involves the transition of the MILF's Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) to a peaceful civilian life, which includes putting their weapons beyond use. It also involves the redress of unresolved legitimate grievances and the rehabilitation of conflict-affected areas.”

“The process of normalization has three main components: 1) security aspect; 2) socio-economic development; and 3) transitional justice. The security aspect of normalization includes policing, decommissioning of MILF forces and weapons, redeployment of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) from or within the conflict-affected areas, and the disbandment of private armed groups (PAGs). The security aspect of normalization will take into account the needs of the communities involved. Socio-economic development programs will be undertaken for the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development of the Bangsamoro. In particular, socio-economic programs will be instituted to address the needs of BIAF members, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and poverty-stricken communities.”

Source: Government of the Philippines

#### a. National narratives, national ownership

32. The Philippine government has been engaged in a peace process with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front for more than 17 years. A milestone was reached a year ago with the signing of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) that served as basis in the drafting of a proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL).

33. Pertinent for the Colombia process is that during negotiations, the international vocabulary on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration as reflected in the UN's Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS), was not regarded appropriate: the innovative solution the negotiating parties created for framing discussions on the security transition is a common narrative on ‘normalization’: this normalization process aims, among others, at decommissioning MILF weapons and allow combatants of the group to return to peaceful and productive civilian lives (see box).

34. It is international best practice to ensure flexibility of narrative around negotiating security arrangements and avoiding ‘forcing’ technical DDR acronym on political negotiations.

35. In the example of the Philippine, unpacking ‘DDR’ to its essential transition process in the context of the three overall societal transitions (security-political, development), and creating a new common narrative that translates appropriately to vernacular is a key achievement of the negotiations.<sup>9</sup> This ‘national ownership = national narrative’ approach also sets the framework for the ex-combatant reintegration program that in design, focus and process is similar to programs implemented elsewhere that use the international DDR terminology (as is the case for the Colombia reintegration program). For the purpose of editorial clarity, this note has used the term DDR with the explicit caveat that this does not prejudice the ongoing negotiations in Havana. Like in Colombia, the security transition negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front had to confront a societal legacy of earlier DDR narratives and processes with mixed outcomes, and related public and ex-combatant opinions, perceptions and trust deficits.

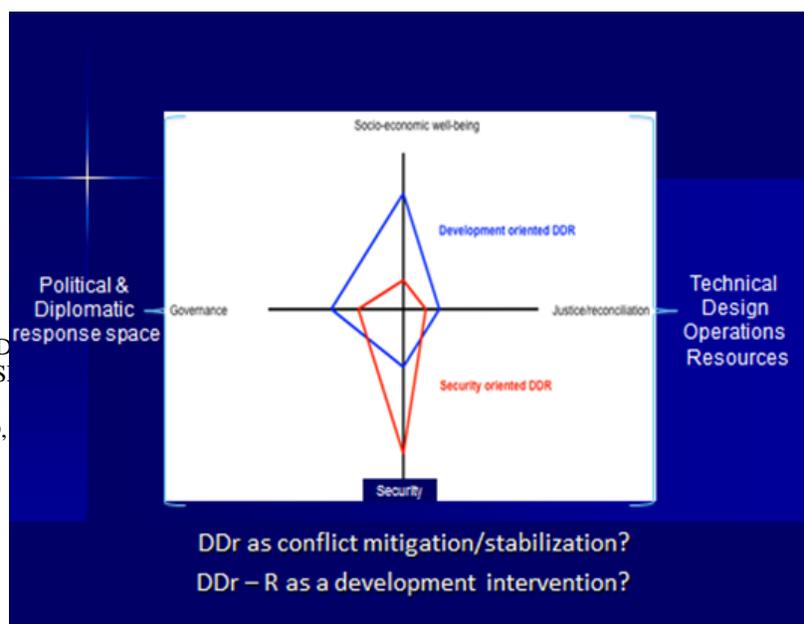
**b. Security and development oriented demobilization and reintegration processes**

36. Negotiating DDR frameworks and designing DDR processes is the art of pursuing and balancing the meta-objectives of security (encompassing public and personal safety), governance (encompassing political reintegration and participation), justice (encompassing co-existence and reconciliation), and socioeconomic wellbeing (encompassing development, inclusion and shared prosperity)<sup>10</sup>

**Rwanda:** Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC) extended and formalized collaboration of its Demobilization and Reintegration program with at all levels of all national State Ministries, local government authorities, private sector, civil society and academia as a means of ensuring their beneficiaries maximized all opportunities available to them. The underlying premise behind the mainstreaming strategy was that the RDRC recognized its lack of resources, expertise and ability to ensure that their ex-combatants could avail themselves of all available opportunities. The RDRC advocated for their inclusion, made available all social and market opportunities and trained ex-combatants to enhance their ability to identify, assess and take advantage of opportunities.

37. The Stockholm Initiative on DDR (SIDDR, 2006) asked the question: When does DDR end? What is the ‘end state’ of the reintegration process, and when do non-targeted national systems take over?

38. The core issue at the heart of these questions is whether to view DDR as a conflict mitigation stabilization measure, or a development



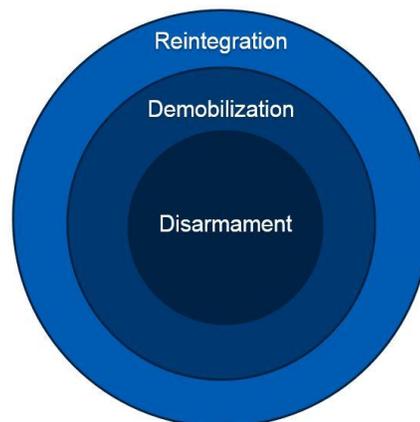
9 Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD SECURITY ISSUES IN PEACE PROCESS by Cate Buchanan, 2008

10 Baare, A. SIDDR, Baare, A. 2008 in HD,

intervention.<sup>11</sup> A political economy analysis of DDR brings out that the process and programs are intrinsically political and technical. In the political transition sphere agreements, contestation and consensus determine the ‘political response space’, the type of processes, procedures, benefits, institutional set-up and mandates of the ‘technical design’ of a DDR are often agreed centrally but determined locally in terms of program delivery, and related local political reverberations. Accordingly, in Colombia, the general territorial and inclusion challenges discussed above also set the basic preconditions that the mandated organization for reintegration programming, the ACR, has to navigate and deal with.

39. Internationally, actors who determine DDR policy, processes and programs increasingly understand the political economy of DDR as framed within a set of meta-objectives akin to the ones offered above, and in a way civilian, security, government and civil society can relate to and have and form a ‘good enough coalitions’<sup>12</sup> workable degree of consensus on the country and context specific distinctions between ‘security oriented DDR’ and ‘development oriented DDR’ that mix aspiration for the perfect, with the art of the possible.

40. The sequencing of letters in the **D**isarmament, **D**emobilization, and **R**eintegration in the DDR acronym makes it tempting to view implementation of a DDR process as a linear progression. However, international experience shows that DDR is not linear. As the Clingendael Institute articulated: “In practice, disarmament and demobilization occur at a variable pace geographically within the same country”. This means that individuals managing DDR programs should be prepared to implement disarmament, demobilization and reinsertion and reintegration activities simultaneously. In some cases, reintegration takes place without disarmament, although this aspect relatively recently became a theme for international research on DDR.<sup>13</sup>



DDR is directional but not a linear process: disarmament, demobilization and reintegration aspects of the transition process exist concurrently, and internationally there are examples of reintegration preceding disarmament.

41. In summary, the political economy of DDR in Colombia is inherently shaped by the six key challenges articulated in this note. Addressing these challenges requires a deeper understanding of ongoing and past reintegration programming in Colombia. The following section presents the findings of a World Bank technical review of the ongoing ACR program that applies the above frameworks for transitioning out of conflict and negative peace in Colombia, and the politico-technical DDR negotiation and programming considerations presented above.

11 Disarmament, Demobilization, reinsertion DD r-write small, or as a development intervention: R write large: Reintegration; DD r-R.

12 World Development Report 2011

13 See for example: Post-conflict Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Bringing State-building Back In , Global Security In A Changing World, Apr 28, 2013 by Antonio Giustozzi, and the work of the The Centre for Study of Political Violence (CSPV) in India, <http://www.jsia.edu.in/cspv/content/ongoing-research-projects>



### SECTION III. Supplementary Technical Studies

#### A. Reintegration of Ex-Combatants

42. At the request of the Colombian Reintegration Agency (ACR - Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración) the World Bank undertook a technical review to provide a clear assessment of the policy and reintegration approach taken by the country in the last decade. This was done in order to prepare for the upcoming challenges concomitant with the transition to peace in Colombia. Reintegration programs are a key aspect of the whole transition to sustainable peace. Considering that peace means more than simply the non-existence of violence, understanding the overall transition from war to peace involve three main interrelated transitions in the security, development, and political spheres, that happen simultaneously at the local, subnational, and national levels.

43. DDR in Colombia has a long history, over which time a wide variety of legal frameworks, policies and approaches have been employed. The present national policy for economic and social reintegration has been designed as a long-term strategy though implemented through time-specific programs involving simultaneous activities at the individual and community levels. The Colombian Agency for Reintegration (ACR) has for some time coordinated national efforts for implementing the policy of reintegration and offers direct services to adult former combatants using a multidimensional approach.

44. The objective of this study is to frame the discussion on potential aspects of reintegration in Colombia in a post-Havana context. The report looks to provide both i) a holistic, evidence-based technical review of the key elements of the current reintegration programming<sup>14</sup> and ii) a technical framing of international and national reintegration experiences as they may be relevant to the upcoming peace process. Information from this assessment will be key to identify potential modalities and support an informed discussion on a long-term DDR approach in Colombia such as integration with other social policies affecting the entire population or future additional peace processes such as those that could happen with the ELN.

45. Reintegration programs are a key aspect of the whole transition to sustainable peace. Considering that peace means more than simply the non-existence of violence, understanding the overall transition from war to peace involve three main interrelated transitions in the security, development, and political spheres, that happen simultaneously at the local, subnational, and national levels<sup>15</sup> The transformation of illegal armed groups and its fighting forces into legal stakeholders of a democratic society is a key process for supporting the three transitions in the short, medium and long term. It involves a technical process that internationally is referred to as

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<sup>14</sup> ACR and independent academics have conducted topical and thematic analyses on specific topics such as recidivism, the gender approach, community reintegration, economic factors affecting reintegration, etc., however these pieces did not reflect holistically on the policy or the program. For example, the last nation-wide assessment of the program was done in 2010, before the ACR was officially established, and there is no mechanism in place for further assessments.

<sup>15</sup> Castañeda D. *The European Approach to Peacebuilding*, Palgrave Macmillan, November 2014 and World Bank, 2014.

disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) which sits in the midst of four meta-objectives of post-conflict processes, namely: “security, well-being, justice and governance.”<sup>16</sup>

46. Despite significant successes with the current policy, several territorial, institutional, legal, and political challenges remain. Within the current context structural modifications, design of the program and the delivery of its services need to account for participation of new actors including the FARC and more community participation. Accommodation of activities to more rural settings and different subnational priorities is key while maintaining a national policy with enhanced communication and dissemination strategies. This new context implies an integration of existing policies for current ex-combatants, newer policies for future ex-combatants from the FARC, all within a context of an ongoing conflict with other irregular groups. Several recommendations stem out of the current situation and analysis of future contexts.

## **B. Post-Conflict Residual Violence**

47. Policy makers are often surprised to find that the post-conflict security environment is different from what they had envisioned. Armed conflicts that were supposed to have a bloody and chaotic aftermath sometimes end with a whimper, while others presumed to produce stable post-conflict environments turn out to be more violent than expected. Criminality and residual violence are commonly found in most post-conflict environments. Post-conflict societies have experienced visible and disturbing levels of violent crime, often and baffling higher than the violence experienced during the conflict. Recent experiences in Northern Ireland, Spain, Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo, East-Timor, Afghanistan and Iraq show that even short and decisive conflicts can sometimes produce post-conflict environments bloodier than the war itself and how predictions about violence in the aftermath of wars can go very wrong.

48. Although one might assume that the signing of a peace agreement or the cessation of hostilities begins an era of peace and non-violence, in reality this is not generally the case. A post-conflict environment is often a breeding ground for violence and criminality for a number of reasons, including the culture of violence that surrounds the conflict; the free flow of weapons; the presence of a large number of ex-combatants; the breakdown of the criminal justice system; the lack of accountability mechanisms; and the existence of “spoiler” groups that were either not part of the peace process or that reject the results of the peace process and that turn to violence to pursue their objectives.

49. This review tackles the issue of the remnant and persistence violence associated with post-conflict environments. It looks at the perspective of recent international cases, as well as the trade-offs associated with “making peace” while limiting its effects on citizen security and interpersonal or criminal violence.

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<sup>16</sup>Baare, A., 2006 in Soderstrom, Peacebuilding and Ex-Combatants: Political Reintegration in Liberia, 2013