

“Prosperity for Everyone” in the Post-Conflict?: How Does Environmentally and Militarily Oriented State (Re)Control in the Ariari Region Propel Productive Segmentation and Social Fracturing?

Diego Andrés Lugo Vivas/ CET Washington - Universidad del Valle

Theoretical perspectives and conceptual notions

This article focuses on the role of the State in the diffusion of programs of territorialization, productive reconversion, and transnational discourses of environmental conservation under ceasefire agendas to control the frontier (Bakker 2005 2009; Brockington, Duffy and Igoe 2008; Brockington and Duffy 2010; Castree 2007; Castree 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Corson 2010; Igoe, Neves, and Brockington 2008; Kramer 2009a and 2009b; Peluso 1993, 1995; for the Colombian case see: Asher and Ojeda 2009; Ojeda 2012; Bocarejo and Ojeda 2015; Cardenas 2012; Devine 2017; Indepaz 2015; Oxfam 2013). As a part of the latter, I will emphasize the existence of socio-environmental inequalities as channels, causes or conditions that allow the emergence of new mechanisms of green grabbing and the mobility of illicit extraction (Dietz and Losada 2014; Furtado 2013; Guimaraes 2014; Göbel, Góngora-Mera and Ulloa 2014; Robertson 2011; Scholz 2014; Ulloa 2014; Vélez and Vélez 2008), in contexts of peace negotiations and the rise of new (and more focalized) micro-violences (King 2004).

Historically, the frontier has been related to the intrinsic violence inflicted in the colonization and settlement of new territories. As Duncan and J. Markoff (2006), remind us, the frontier has been a space in which barbarism, violence and political negotiation creates “civilization.” Recent conceptualizations also note how violence and political exchanges are still the analytical channels by which the frontier should be understood, although this time, under the rubric of new corporate transformations (Brockington, 2008; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Moore, 2005; Peluso & Lund, 2011).

The Colombian history is full of accounts about the violent character of the frontier. The most virulent confrontations between the 1990s and 2000s show how these territories were a laboratory of violent transactions. Drug trafficking, armed dispossession, and waves of forced displacement, among others, have been the rule in much of the territory. In recent years, however, a global politics of state re-territorialization in the frontier, a discourse of unity against insurgencies and

illicit economies, as well as an overcoming of structural violences through the legalization of the former-insurgent life, have partially decreased the intensity of the conflict while triggering new violences against hundreds of social leaders for the access and control of different resources. The promotion of a discourse of Peace through the implementation of environmental, military, and infrastructural State programs have created in the frontier new fractures, new forms of segregation and new dependencies to transnational chains of economic and environmental value.

In that perspective, political ecology has noted how processes of state-formation have been analyzed not only through the classical explanation of violent means but also through a renewed discourse of environmental preservation (Peluso 1993, 1995; Igoe, Neves, and Brockington 2008; Castree 2007; Brockington, Duffy and Igoe 2008). The first approach has been at the center of the academic discussion for decades but the second one has gained relevance, focusing on the emergence of networks of international funding, global media, environmental groups, and research communities to create an ideology of wise global resource management. As Peluso notes (1993), States usually have pursued a goal of military centralization, but under the implementation of renewed coercive conservation programs, States play a two-sided game: on one hand, they accelerate systems of resource extraction under the platform of ecological conservation and on the other they promote strong campaigns of military intervention to “recover” the contested frontier (Brockington and Duffy, 2010). The legitimate discourse of conservation is effective to the extent that it easily sums adepts and global attention to a fair green cause while it guarantees both the conditions for capital expansion (Corson, 2010) and a greater military access in territories where formal control has been limited (Bakker 2005, 2009; Castree 2008a, 2008b, 2009).

Amid processes of peace negotiations, a politics of conservation is a suitable option to re-control NFLCs: New frontiers of Land Control (Peluso and Lund, 2011). In Southeast Asia, for instance, Kramer (2009a and 2009b) and Woods (2011), among others, argue that a politics of conservation has allowed the Burmese military–state to regulate historically

contested frontiers and ethnic enclaves to increase its own territorial control while granting massive portions of land to private alliances for environmental conservation and the development of green economies. In Colombia, Asher and Ojeda (2009), Ojeda (2012), Bocarejo and Ojeda (2015), and Devine (2017), among others, argue that green economies under the discourse of paradisiacal spots in need of protection have contributed to the privatization of Natural Parks in Colombia. To the extent that the military in Colombia has guaranteed a stable path toward legality in former cocalero areas in the Caribbean Coast, environmental offices have promoted privatized development as a “responsible” option to employ minorities and former coca growers, moving them away from the illicit world. Violence in the sense of displacement of ethnic minorities, dispossession due to the commodification of the nature, and the imposition of new legal frameworks orienting (and restricting) customary uses of land are some of the consequences of those paths of state conservation (Cardenas 2012; Indepaz 2015; Ojeda 2012; Oxfam 2013; Devine 2017).

The economies of conservation and the promotion of biofuel and monocrop cultures as appropriate sustainable solutions to the threat of climate change and fossil dependence might work as state programs that boost agriculture from a legal standpoint although they unleash new inequalities, as might be inferred with the re-concentration of land in monocrop and biofuel clusters (Göbel, Góngora-Mera and Ulloa 2014).

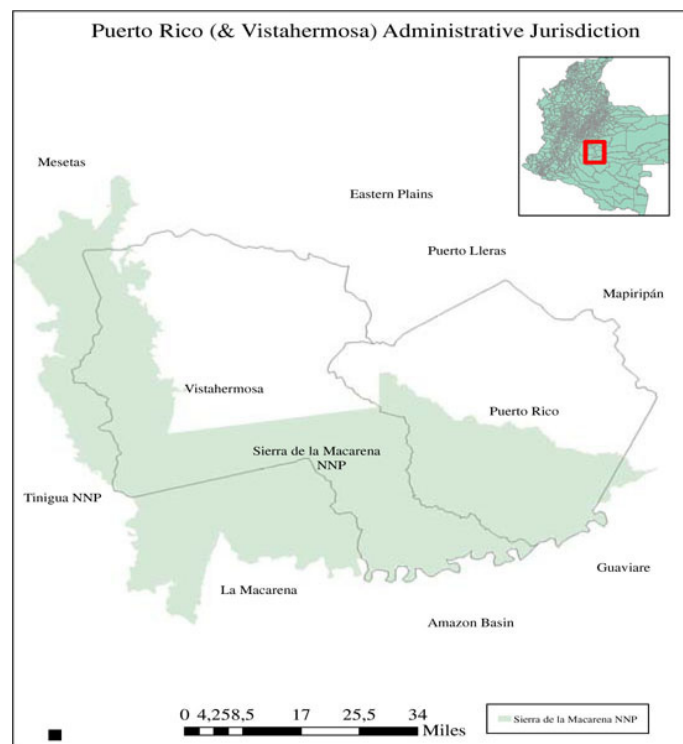
Based on this literature, the present article aims to explain the main mechanisms by which a discourse and a state agenda of unity, legality, and environmentally responsible conservation toward the (post?)-conflict have fractured the municipality of Puerto Rico (Ariari region) like never before. Fifteen years ago, this municipality was a de-facto addition to the FARC-controlled Caguán DMZ. Since then, it has experienced well-known programs of peasant titling in the west while it has been a scenario for reconversion from coca to biofuels in the north. This has gone hand in hand with a growth of coca crops in the south (around and inside La Macarena National Park), re-adjusting the socio-spatial landscape of the region. Productive fragmentation and social fracturing have been the paradoxical outcomes of these post-conflict policies of unity, legality, and responsible conservation.

The Region and Methodological Aspects

The municipality of Puerto Rico belongs to The Macarena Special Management Area (AMEM - department of Meta). Legally, a Special Management Area is intended to regulate the exploitation and use of renewable natural resources in highly bio-diverse regions. The Central Government created this Special Area in 1989 and is formed by two departments (Meta and Guaviare), 19 municipalities, 589 districts, and 15 Indigenous Reservoirs.

Politically, its history has been marked by the evolution of an armed conflict, of which it has been a fundamental piece, as it was the center of the failed Caguán peace process during the late 1990s. In 1999, former president Andrés Pastrana (1998-2002) established a demilitarized zone for the development of the peace negotiations with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) through the Resolution 85 of October 14th of 1998. The Demilitarized Zone included the municipalities of La Uribe, La Macarena, Mesetas, and Vistahermosa in the department of Meta and San Vicente del Caguán in the department of Caquetá. The history of the AMEM and especially of the Integrated Management District La Macarena North (where Puerto Rico belongs), has been a synthesis of the different political conflicts this country has experienced during its long civil war.

Map # 1: Location of the Area of Study



Source: Office of National Natural Parks.

The FARC’s excesses in the DMZ with hostages brutally deprived from freedom for political and economic reasons, the boom in coca crops during the 1990s and 2000s, as well as the intense military and paramilitary re-control after the failure of the Caguán Peace Talks in 2002, illustrate the political turmoil this region has witnessed in recent times.

The municipality of Puerto Rico and the Ariari region represent a transitional zone from the Amazonian Piedmont to the Eastern Plains. Socio-spatially, the existence of different productive systems due to consecutive booms in marihuana,

oil, cattle, coca, and more recently palm, has turned this region into a socio-productive laboratory, in which licit and illicit rents have historically overlapped. Whether the chains of economic production have been integrated into peasant, state-oriented, or agribusiness systems, Puerto Rico might be defined as a classical extractive frontier with many violences over its shoulders. Its condition as a periphery with both open valves for anthropic transformation in La Macarena National Natural Park (NNP) and closed frontiers in the north, reflects its character as an extractive town, with high levels of multi-dimensional poverty, low coverage of public services, and one of the highest rates in the incidence of the armed conflict into daily activities (ELEMENTA, 2018).

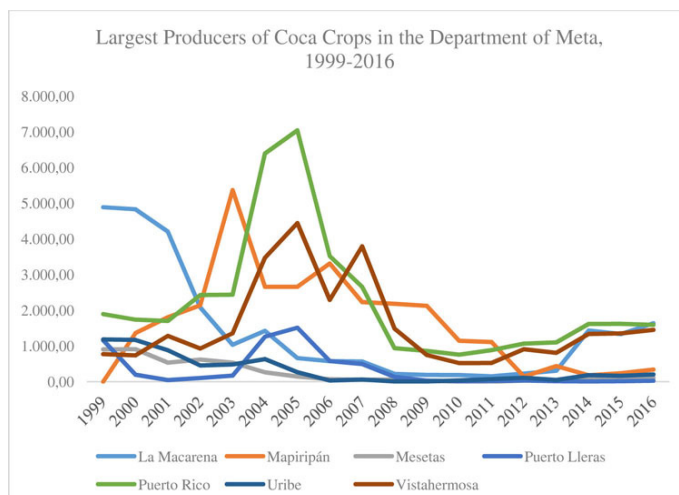
To analytically study programs of State (re)control, environmentally and militarily oriented, with a final outcome of productive segregation and social fracturing in Colombia, I have developed a multi-pronged research method in the Ariari, on the basis of three different sources: semi-structured interviews, secondary sources, and spatial panel data. Although, the selection of Puerto Rico as a case study, exceeds the limits of this research, this town is central for this special issue given the following questions: How does a region that has kept global levels of land concentration stable show such levels of intra-municipal readjustment in the property regime? What are the factors and mechanisms that explain one of the most notorious processes of fracturing and socio-productive segregation in Colombia since 2000? To answer those questions around 30 interviews were conducted during 2016 and 2017, mainly in Puerto Rico and Vistahermosa. To understand dynamics linked to the subsequent uses of land and the productive reconversion experienced in the Ariari region, spatial data and GIS techniques were also employed. Information about the mobility of illicit extraction and new agribusiness clusters processed as grid and vector data completed the interview stage. Spatial data comes from different sources, among them: IGAC, SIGOT, SINAP, UNODC / SIMCI, and DNP, among others.

A History of Illicit Production of the Ariari

The history of La Macarena North DMI mirrors the example of thousands of frontiers that have been reimagined as spaces for colonization and dependent on economic bonanzas (Arcila, et al., 1989; Molano. et al., 1989). As Tobón and Restrepo (2009) argue, different settlement processes have reconfigured La Macarena North DMI not only with bonanzas around rubber and quina (1950s), marihuana (1970s), coca (1980s-2000s), palm (2000s) but also with population resettlement due to La Violencia (1950s) and State attempts to develop directed colonization (1960s). All of the above, the coca crops are the ones that have redefined the productive specialization since the 2000s. Coca was an important resource during the 1990s, but it took off during the early

2000s, with Puerto Rico leading the road of illicit production in the department of Meta, at least, until 2005.

Graph # 1: Number of Hectares of Coca Cultivated in the Department of Meta per Municipality, 1999-2016



Source: SIMCI / UNODC

During the Caguán DMZ era, the municipality of Puerto Rico was known as a center of guerrilla control, in which an expansion of illicit economies, a bulky growth of the social activity via *cocalero* bonanzas, and a territorial emptying led by cattle ranchers who left the area due to the new guerrilla pressures, were experienced simultaneously. This situation, however, stoked the fire of violence once the Caguán DMZ was dismantled in 2002. The excesses committed by the FARC and the deployment of guerrilla forces from (and towards) this region, led to an intensification of the conflict that surpassed any rational limit. The brutality of the war, the guerrilla tradition that made civilians a justifiable military target, and the extreme actions of the groups in confrontation, meant that the military retake carried out since 2002 in this DMZ, was even bloodier than the war experienced until that time. Thus, the first steps of the institutional / military recovery in the Caguán DMZ resulted in waves of forced displacement and land abandonment that were among the highest in Colombia.

According to the Court for Humanitarian Issues and the Integrated System of Humanitarian Information, population expulsion due to the breakdown of the process, the subsequent economic recession, and the violent retake by military (and paramilitary) forces reached historical peaks between 2005 and 2008 as the following table shows:

During this period, demands for the protection of the collective and private patrimony due to events of land abandonment reached peaks of 683, 385, 385, and 166 in Mapiripán, Puerto

Table # 1: Expulsion and Reception of People in La Macarena North DMI, 2001-2008

Municipality	Category	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	008
La Macarena	Expulsion	811	345	410	934	1,030	913	559	4
	Reception	5	32	89	173	292	153	181	96
Vistahermosa	Expulsion	753	4,375	5,179	6,596	11,016	16,299	19,835	21,873
	Reception	5	218	280	536	1,448	2,030	630	426
Puerto Concordia	Expulsion	775	1,883	2,597	3,137	6,905	8,825	10,629	11,461
	Reception	28	28	161	133	886	341	471	101

Source: Sala de Situación Humanitaria and the Sistema Integrado de Información Humanitaria; quoted by Tobón and Restrepo, 2009

Rico, Vistahermosa, and Mesetas respectively. Information on the patrimony of displaced population shows that the department of Meta has been one of the regions where the problems of displacement and land abandonment have become more critical. As the following table shows, complaints for land abandonment situate Meta in the national top-tier when evaluating the impacts that the conflict and economic displacement

have had in the distribution of the property regime. Based on those figures, Puerto Rico presents the third and sixth highest rates of land abandonment in Colombia based on global/nominal and per capita estimations:

In this context, ambitious programs to decrease the intensity of the conflict and advance in the implementation of

Table # 2: Abandonment of Properties and Displacement in Colombia until 2010

Department	Municipality	People that abandoned their properties	Position of Abandonment (Nationally)	Displaced People	Position of Expulsion	Population 2005	Rate of Abandonment (%)	Rate of Displacement (%)
Bolívar	El Carmen de Bolívar	1,748	1	68,858	1	67,952	2.57	101.33
Antioquia	Turbo	758	2	46,433	6	121,885	0.62	38.10
Meta	Vistahermosa	602	3	22,581	20	21,048	2.86	107.28
Norte Santander	Tibú	513	4	3,004	10	34,773	1.48	8.64
Meta	Mapiripán	385	5	12,279	56	13,230	2.91	92.81
Meta	Puerto Rico	385	6	11,824	58	17,368	2.22	68.08

Department	Municipality	People that abandoned their properties	Position of Abandonment (Nationally)	Displaced People	Position of Expulsion	Population 2005	Rate of Abandonment (%)	Rate of Displacement (%)
Guaviare	San José	373	7	23,863	16	53,994	0.69	44.20
Chocó	Ríosucio	314	8	49,987	5	28,230	1.11	177.07
Vichada	Cumaribo	313	9	7,247	108	28,718	1.09	25.24
Arauca	Tame	308	10	25,988	13	47,576	0.65	54.62

Source: Proyecto Protección de Tierras y Patrimonio de la Población Desplazada – ACCIÓN SOCIAL

institutional discourses of unity, legality, and conservation—militarily and environmentally oriented—have been proposed since the mid-2000s. In terms of what Peluso (1993) describes as coercive conservation, meaning state programs that accelerate systems of resource extraction under platforms of ecological conservation while promoting strong campaigns of military intervention to “recover” the contested frontier, the cases of Puerto Rico and Vistahermosa go down in history as the first attempts to destroy via forced manual and aerial-spraying eradication coca crops inside a National Park. The *Colombia Verde Operation*, a military and environmental program to stop deforestation and control the legal use of land—for environmental preservation—inside La Macarena NNP was launched in 2006 (González, 2007; El Tiempo 2006a, 2006b).

Initially, this operation was designed to destroy 5,000 hectares of coca in La Macarena via manual eradication (Colombia - Ministerio de Interior y de Justicia, 2005). Groups of eradicators started the cleaning process in adjacent areas to the park, mostly in Vistahermosa. However, the death of 29 soldiers who were protecting manual eradicators and the explosion of a bomb installed in the root of a coca plant—killing, at least, six eradicators in the Park—in 2006 led the government to execute an alternate plan of aerial spraying (El Tiempo, 2006c; González, 2007; Colombia—Presidencia de la República, 2006a, 2006b). During the manual eradication process that lasted 200 days in 2005 and 2006, 2,909 hectares of coca were destroyed. Instead, during the 5-day period of aerial spraying, 1,769 hectares of coca, were eradicated (Ruiz; 2006; see also UNODC, 2006). Thus, *Colombia Verde Operation* might be remembered as the first program of aerial eradication developed inside a NNP. The Antinarcotics Police Department was essential in the decision to eradicate coca crops via aerial spraying to the extent that they “could not allow the deterioration of a natural reserve at the hands of drug traffickers” (González, 2007).

The design and execution of *Colombia Verde* was assigned to the Presidential Program Against Illegal Crops, which

brought a group of 930 eradicators divided into 32 mobile crews, and whose goal was to eradicate in three months 4,598 hectares of coca. The National Police and the Military Forces provided additional security, which means that a total of 3,000 men between eradicators and law enforcement officers participated in this operation. Eight months later and due to the intense violence around the manual eradication process, a second stage of aerial spraying was developed. Thus, La Macarena in Puerto Rico and Vistahermosa became one of the most crystalline scenarios of environmental coercion, in which ecological efforts to recover a special territory overlapped with a strong discourse of armed confrontation against drug trafficking and terrorism (UNODC, 2007; Colombia, Ministerio de Medio Ambiente, Vivienda y Desarrollo Territorial, 2006).

Also, the *Colombia Verde Operation* might be considered as a foundational pillar of a broader program of environmental territorialization capable to decrease the intensity of the confrontation and then guarantee a smoother transition toward a likely post-conflict (lasting until the present day). As a part of this environmental territorializing agenda, three programs of conservation and promotion of green economies have been implemented in different parts of Puerto Rico since 2010, namely: 1) The Regulation and legalization of the land tenure system in areas surrounding La Sierra de La Macarena National Natural Park, Puerto Rico (2011); 2) the Eradication of illicit crops inside National Natural Parks and zones with a buffer function, 2011-2014; and 3) the CONPES 3477—Strategy for the competitive development of the palm sector.

However, the evolution of these programs has created new fractures and socio-productive segregations in areas that could not be more contrasting in terms of the discourse of development they project. On one hand, in the southern and western regions that look toward La Macarena NNP—historical hotspots for political, peasant, and insurgent contestation—, partially successful programs on land titling have led, initially, to a redistribution of the rural property inside a Peasant Reserve and, more recently, to a reallocation of

illicit activities (toward the southern parts of La Macarena NNP). The northern side of Puerto Rico's municipality, in turn, although historically connected to the coca booms and FARC's influence, have been reconverted into a corridor of biofuel production in a small period of time. The restrictive character in the access of land for a handful of entrepreneurs and corporations, as well as a homogenization of the socio-spatial landscape due to palm activities, have produced an enclosure of the rural property and a path of securitization led by state and private forces. These transformations will be explored in detail in the following sections.

The West/South

Important in the recent history of the contested west is the Peasant Reserve Zone of Güejar-Cafre (ZRC Güejar-Cafre, in Spanish), a social entity whose constitution goes back to the first waves of colonization in the 1940s toward La Macarena. Moved by population expulsion due to armed and political conflicts and thanks to programs of state colonization in the south, peasant families consecutively arrived to the area that corresponds to the Peasant Reserve Zone of Güejar-Cafre (ZRC Güejar-Cafre), and its fifteen associated districts (La Macarena NNP, 2011).

In this scenario of systematic colonization and extractive bonanzas, the western and southern parts of the municipality flourished under an intense (military) pressure for being considered a progressive insurgent frontier. In 2004, amid an active confrontation and as a by-product of both a constant military pressure to content FARC's influence and new state initiatives to provide social services in this region, the Peasant Association for Ecological Agriculture and Fair Trade in the Basin of the Güejar River (Agrogüejar) was created. This organization was not only the apparatus whereby the government and local peasant communities started negotiations to eradicate illicit crops but also the mechanism by which a program for the titling and formalization of hundreds of public vacant lands (under peasant tenancy) was developed (ZRC Güejar-Cafre, 2012)

The creation of Agrogüejar summarizes decades of political participation of more than 1,500 families settled in the area. This association was created as a means of political representation to demand state and private action to overcome rural precariousness. Agrogüejar currently has 579 families and 1,246 members (ZRC Güejar-Cafre, 2012).

Due to the conflict and the consequences of the *Colombia Verde Operation* in terms human lives, land abandonment and forced displacement in Puerto Rico, massive mobilizations in the Lower Ariari and the development of a 2000-participant Forum for Peace in 2006, laid the foundations of a voluntary and gradual process of eradication of

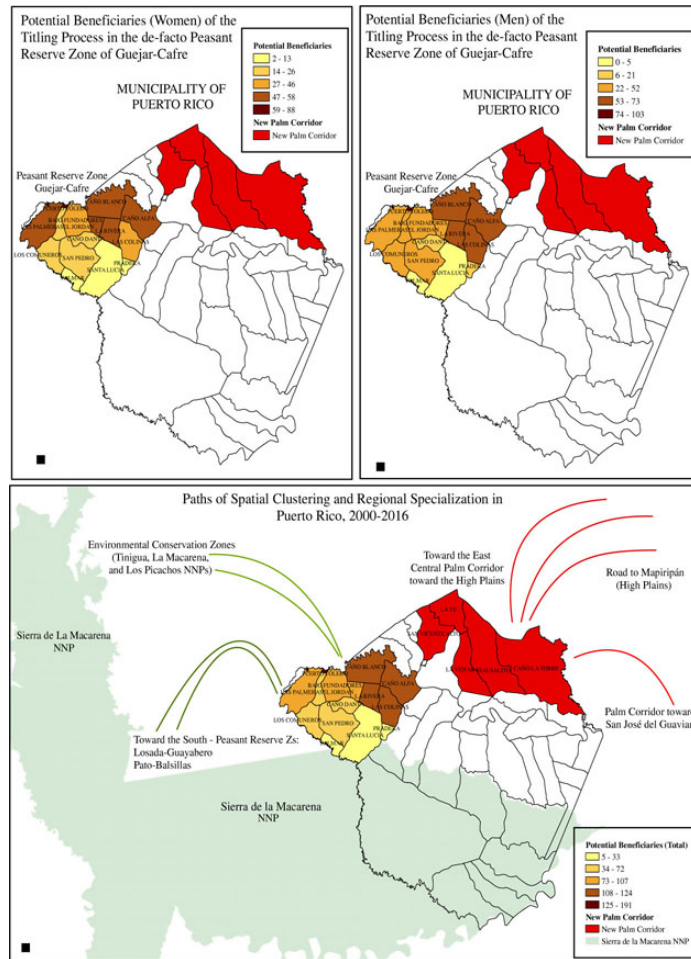
coca crops negotiated between the national government and the community.

In 2007, the government started with the so-called Integral Consolidation Plan (Oficina de PNN, 2011) which was intended to open the provision of social and public services in areas highly affected by military operations. Thus, the Integral Consolidation Plan in La Macarena (ICPM) was devised around six components: 1) humanitarian assistance, 2) justice and security, 3) social development, 4) economic development, 5) governability, and 6) territorial ordering / property rights.

In this vein, a program of inter-institutional support called "Regulation and legalization of the land tenure system in areas surrounding La Sierra de La Macarena National Natural Park, in the municipality of Puerto Rico" (Oficina de PNN, 2011) was designed under the leadership of Agrogüejar between 2007 and 2011. Previous efforts materialized in Colombia during the late 1990s and early 2000s by the Office of National Natural Parks and both the Peasant Reserve of Pato-Balsillas (Caquetá) and the Peasant Reserve of Losada-Guayabero (Meta) opened the door for an initial process of topographic survey and an identification of transferrable rights of private property (former public vacant lands under peasant tenancy) in 1,258 farms in the municipality Puerto Rico. Although, this type of titling experience was not the first one in Colombia given previous advances in Pato-Balsillas and Losada-Guayabero, the whole process in this municipality might be assessed as the largest adjudication and titling initiative developed in Colombia during the transitional period toward a de-escalation of the conflict.

Between 2009 and 2011, of the 1,258 surveyed properties, 825 were granted a status of "titled property." Around 1,500 people were the primary recipients and beneficiaries of these titles, in a process that is usually referred as a milestone of collective action and a socioeconomic and political achievement by a peasant organization (La Macarena PNN, 2011).

Map # 2: Trajectories of Spatial Clustering and Productive Specialization in the Municipality of Puerto Rico



Source: La Macarena National Natural Park Office, 2011

Table # 3: Properties in the Ariari-Güejar-Cafre Area according to their socio-spatial location

Location	Number	Percentage
Populated center	389	24,84%
Populated center within the La Macarena NNP	32	2,04%
Property contained by La Macarena NNP	170	10,86%
Rural Property within the de-facto Peasant Reserve	962	61,43%
Others	13	0,83%
Total	1566	100,00%

Source: La Macarena National Natural Park Office, 2011

Table # 4: Rural Properties in the Ariari-Güejar-Cafre Area

Range of extension (Hectares)	Number of properties	Percentage
> 0 – 1 Has.	74	7,69%
> 1 – 10 Has.	349	36,27%
> 10 – 25 Has.	203	21,10%
> 25 – 59 Has.	203	21,10%
> 59 – 80 Has.	116	12,05%
> 80 – 100 Has.	5	0,52%
> 100 – 200 Has.	11	1,14%
> 200 Has.	1	0,10%
Total	962	100%

Source: La Macarena National Natural Park Office, 2011

According to the SINAP information, of the 962 rural properties subject of topographic survey and titling assessment, 86.15 percent (829 properties) are below the Family Agricultural Unit, (UAF, in Spanish), which for the case of Puerto Rico, ranks between 59 and 80 hectares. The UAF is a basic agricultural, livestock, forest, or/and acquicultural entity that allows a family to cover 1) the minimum wages necessary for its subsistence, 2) the labor involved in the production of the agricultural unit, and 3) a surplus for capital formation. Based on these statistics, this titling initiative was developed around properties where tenancy was proved, land accumulation was low, and a peasant mode of living was essential. This partly successful program of peasant titling, focused on micro and small land tenure systems, involved the legal transfer of rights from public vacant lands to new properties for micro and small farmers and their families.

The tiling process developed between 2007 and 2011 and the investment projects this region has implemented in alliance with national and international funders, are part of a broader agenda of territorial appropriation by a peasant community. The Peasant Reserve of Güejar-Cafre is a de-facto social construct; not a legally recognized entity. In Colombia there are six peasant reserves formally and legally constituted, although Güejar-Cafre is still on the way to get their final approval.

Agrogüejar has simultaneously advanced in the formalization of the Peasant Reserve and the development of the previous titling process. Decisions to approve the legal status

of this de-facto territorial entity, still have to be made. And although, the community has gone back and forth in the formalization of this Peasant Reserve, its unsolved status puts on the table the same concern that additional in-process reserves have: there is no willingness from the national government and other instances to accelerate a final decision. In this context, the titling of 37,800 hectares in 825 properties in the Ariari-Güejar-Cafre region has been seen by many as an intermediate step to legally consolidate a new socio-cultural entity. And although, the road for constituting this legal figure is still under construction, a process of conferring titles and land rights to hundreds of families in a region highly affected by different structural and cultural violences, has been seen by many as an unprecedented achievement by a peasant community.

With the demobilization of the FARC in 2016, new winds of support for this organization emerged. A plan to accelerate voluntary eradication has been progressively implemented. The National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Illicit Crops (PNIS, in Spanish) has prioritized different regions in the Caribbean Coast, the Pacific Basin, and the Eastern Plains. One of the pilot programs developed in Colombia has been established in the districts that belong to the Peasant Reserve of Güejar-Cafre. Voluntary eradication has become a sort of mandate in the Ariari-Güejar-Cafre region to the extent that all the titling benefits received by the community might disappear if state agencies prove recidivism in the production of illicit crops. However, the community has hardly been integrated into chains of economic value

to the extent that subsistence economies, levels of poverty, infrastructure precariousness, and closeness to circles of illicit rents are still considerable. In that matter, projects such as the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Illicit Crops (PNIS) act as relievers when it comes to the generation of economic income and social investment.

This parceling program, which serves as the largest initiative for property titling recorded in Colombia during the ceasefire transitionality, was unimaginable fifteen years ago. This experience, however, contrasts radically with a trajectory of re-concentration that has evolved during the same period of time in the northern side of the municipality. During the last fifteen years, two contradictory systems of development and capital reproduction have emerged, reinforcing two different trails of spatial clustering and regional-productive specialization. This alternate scenario of re-concentration in the north, and the speed, depth, and scale of the productive reconversion associated to it, will be the elements of discussion of the next section.

The North/East

Semana, one of the most prominent media conglomerates in Colombia, presented—in one of its news reports for the rural sector—the current situation of the municipality of Puerto Rico:

Legal plantations are going ahead and making benefits over illicit crops in this southern town of the department of Meta. Pineapple, banana and palm oil can make this region an important center for food production in the department.

Back in 2000, Fabián Delgado arrived to Puerto Rico, in the south of Meta, to work in illicit crops. At that time, the economy revolved around the cultivation and transformation of the coca leaf. “There were coca bushes near the municipal populated centers. Between 1998 and 2002 there were crops as close as on the right bank of the Ariari River and in some parts of the Güejar River. Also, they were present in small populated cores such as Puerto Toledo, Barranco Colorado or Chispas”

...[But now] According to the municipal agricultural evaluation made by the Ministry of Agriculture in 2016, Puerto Rico is the seventh producer of oil palm in Colombia, with 11,536 planted hectares and 10,400 harvested hectares.

The fact that today we think in agriculture and not in illicit crops is due to the peace process. The population of Puerto Rico did not imagine that, at some

point in our lives, this post-conflict situation was even possible. (Puentes, 2018; my translation)

Parallel to the process of peasant titling in the west, a phenomenon of biofuel specialization and land grabbing in former cocalero districts took-off in the northeast. One by one, the districts that connect Puerto Rico with Mapiripán and the Colombian High Plains (the largest agribusiness cluster in Colombia) were subject of focalized eradication programs. Military interventions in Caño La Torre, Sausalito, La Venada, La Y, and San Vicente, made part of a long-run program to transform the illicit landscape of Puerto Rico, initially as a coalition of military and environmental agencies under the leadership of the National System of Protected Areas (SINAP) and then under the baton of infrastructure and agribusiness clusters. The main goal was to attenuate the population’s dependency on coca crops and to promote new and clean energies capable to enlighten the world, provide alternative sources of income for peasant and cocalero groups, and secure a legitimate barrier against illicit rents.¹

In this contention crusade, the evolution of forced eradication and the devising of strategies to create a more inclusive and participatory scenario with the local communities in Puerto Rico, encouraged a number of institutions led by La Macarena NNP Office to advance in the implementation of a program called “Eradication of Illicit Crops inside the National Natural Parks and Zones with a Buffer Function” (NNP, 2014) during the early 2010s.

In 2010, the lowest peak in the cultivation of illicit crops was reached. From 7,040 hectares cultivated in 2005, Puerto Rico recorded a sustained decrease until getting 757 hectares in 2010 (UNODC, 2017). A plan to reorient the productive vocation led by La Macarena NNP, the Unit for Agricultural Rural Planning, the National Program for Voluntary Substitution of Illicit Crops, the National Roads Institute in charge of the Granada – Guaviare Highway, and a number of private investors of which Indupalma, Grupo Empresarial Agropecuaria Santa María, and Aceites Cimarrones are some of the most renowned brands, crystalized an anti-insurgent vision of development that would allow the progressive modernization of the peasant economy far from the obscured past of the “easy-money & cocalero culture.”

As a state policy, productive reconversion and institutional recovery was oriented by the strategic position of Puerto Rico as a connection between the Amazonian piedmont and the savannahs that lead to the Colombian High Plains. Puerto Rico, connects two socio-spatial universes (the Amazonian Piedmont and the Eastern Plains), which count with significant environmental and economic resources. This spatial differentiation explains why two regions in the same municipality deserved complementary strategies by the State to guarantee a nuanced variety of post-conflict landscapes. The history of the west and the south have been written with

stories of illicit production and peasant contestation but the north and the east, although, connected to former coca plantations, are now the window of the biofuel sector to the High Plains (the largest and more recent cluster of biofuel production in Colombia).

Thus, a comprehensive program of environmental protection and state-led green grabbing was materialized in the region. First, there was the role of the SINAP through La Macarena NNP Office to implement a program of “Eradication of Illicit Crops inside the National Natural Parks and Zones with a Buffer Function” (PNN 2014). The zones with that buffer function clearly collide with the districts in which palm has been prioritized. And second, there existed an alliance between state, private and infrastructure conglomerates to guarantee the conditions to advance in the reconversion of Puerto Rico, from a coca grower village to a dream of an agricultural center.

The national policy CONPES 3477, or the “Strategy for the competitive development of the Colombian palm sector” is the orienting voice and the institutional compass, which delimits the type of state action to be deployed in this sector.

Table # 5: Cultivated Area with African Oil Palm in Puerto Rico

Year	Cultivated Area (Has.)	Production (Ton)
2007	675	1350
2008	450	1350
2009	670	2010
2010	675	2025
2011	7400	15000

Source: Gobernación del Meta - Coyuntura Agropecuaria 2012

This specific type of development, requires high levels of capitalization and a monocrop culture in which just a handful of investors are able to intervene. As several respondents note for the case of the districts in which palm has grown, companies are not renting properties to third actors; they are buying themselves the properties covering an estimated area of 35,000 hectares. Central in this productive path are Induariari, Indupalma, Agropecuaria Santa María Economic Group, and Cimarron Oils Free Zone (Aceites Cimarrones Zona Franca), which have developed activities in former cocalero zones under the dual system of direct investment / ownership and land leasing.

The Agropecuaria Santa María Economic Group, the motor behind the most significant investments in Puerto

This CONPES establishes the guidelines for palm promotion, recalling that this good (back in 2007) counted for more than 100,000 direct jobs and was the most promising alternative for job creation, agricultural production, and a legal, peaceful, and stable occupation in many tropical regions in Colombia (DNP, 2007). Meta was one of the focus of that vision. Since 2007, in the municipality of Puerto Rico—as in many other palm clusters in Colombia—the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development has boosted palm investment with successive financing lines among them: FINAGRO, the Agricultural Fund of Guarantees, The Incentive of Rural Capitalization, the Program of Productive Alliances, the Program of Research, Science, and Technology, and the Program of Exchange Hedges (CONPES 3477).

According to the Governor’s Office in the department of Meta, the cultivated area for palm in Puerto Rico grew by a factor of nine from less than 1000 hectares to 7400 hectares of palm in less than five years, with production of oil increasing by a factor of 11. Since 2011 until 2017, estimations by the Municipal Council are even higher, updating the figure of cultivated areas to 35,000 hectares.

Rico is also the parent company of the first agro-industrial unipersonal economic zone in the Eastern Plains: Aceites Cimarrones. Both are the new forces behind the productive reconversion in the north and the consolidation of an enclave economy, oriented to a politics of land grabbing and a diffusion of a “responsible and sustainable” green force capable to attenuate fossil dependence and constrain the influence of illicit rents.

Although, Agropecuaria Santa María owns around 5,000 hectares, it has sub-contracted more land for the production oil palm in Puerto Rico. Aceites Cimarrones Free Zone, in turn, is an industrial economic zone under the lead of a single company: Aceites Cimarrones. To be established as a unipersonal economic zone, it must be in the capacity to invest

75,000 monthly Colombian legal salaries or \$20 million or create 500 direct jobs. The final goods produced in this type of economic zone must be included in the following sectors: biofuels, meats and fish, oils, animals and vegetables, dairy products, prepared or preserved vegetables and fruits, tea, soups, broths, vinegar, sauces and yeasts, as well as coffee and threshing derivatives.

Regarding InduPalma and its subsidiary InduAriari, InduPalma currently owns around 3,500 hectares in the districts of Caño la Torre and Sausalito. Although InduPalma has projected an estimated area for palm activities of 20,000 hectares, it was impossible to check current levels of accumulation due to the activation of mechanisms of sub-contracting and land leasing that hide potential conditions for land grabbing.

Under the leadership of these three private companies, Puerto Rico has become one of the most profitable centers for palm cultivation in Colombia. Regardless the predominant type of land tenure, a monocrop revolution and new grabbing mechanisms supported by a handful of companies have taken-off in the northern side of Puerto Rico.

Legally, this system needs to be enclosed to operate. As legal requests demand, at least, for the case of unipersonal economic free zones, there must be a total enclosure to guarantee the legal-spatial limits of the free zones. This physical enclosure, the relatively new monocrop's visual and social landscapes as well as a fenced enclave economy surrounded by investments in infrastructure show the scale and depth of the productive dynamics and the social implications of such green revolution. For example, the new highway that crosses the palm districts of Puerto Rico leading to San José Guaviare (with an estimated cost of \$ 60 million), contrasts with the marginal access that the Peasant Reserve Güejar-Cafre and La Macarena NNP still have.

As Cárdenas (2012) note for the cultivation of palm in Nariño (Southern Colombia), the articulation of neoliberal environmental policies with agendas of political and military stabilization, especially in ethnic and contested territories, presents serious paradoxes. First, there is the formation of an enclave economy, highly organized and patronized inside the fence borders but hardly connected to the reality of surrounding poorer areas in need of domestication and indoctrination against the cocalero culture. Because of their intrusive nature, plantations need to be developed in enclosed territories with few relations with their exterior. Also, security and legal reasons support this colonial form of intervention. To attenuate the impact of alienated forms of production in a rural territory such as Puerto Rico, companies tend to provide services, that in this case, are related to job creation, improvements in infrastructure, and increases in the property tax, that work as free-destination resources to strengthen public and social investments. As one of the interviewees note, the

northern side of the municipality has not only experienced a total reconversion from coca to palm, creating a totalizing vision of monocrops but also has limited the access to more productive lands. They now belong to an impenetrable set of crops, which has produced a feeling of isolation and alienation inside the very communal borders.

This trajectory of productive reconversion matches a broader context of institutional readjustment linked to the transitionality of the (post)conflict. Thus, the “recovery” of this frontier represents a major project for the reconstruction of some forms of sociability (García, 2017) that suit with the vision of progress and development promoted by the governments in power. The politics of the transition in Colombia, as several authors argue, represents a new-enlightened discourse, or a New Age of Reason, in which:

The politics of a transition “Hacia una Nueva Colombia” must be integral. “‘The National Rehabilitation Plan’ uncovers economic, social, institutional, and regional actions. It looks for the economic and socio-democratic recovery of Colombia. For this institutional mentality, a policy of transition is indivisible of an orientation that triggers the homogenization in the access, use, and control of the natural resources... To advance in this vision, the foundations of the transitional political discourse is based on an idea of development, progress and rehabilitation (García 2017, 310).²

Second, there is the idea of a renewed rush for land and an intricate network of mechanisms to grab land in (post?)-conflict contexts. Although, global levels of land concentration remain stable in Puerto Rico, two forms of land grabbing emerge in the local landscape. First, the expansion of monocrops and the constitution of different joint stock-simplified companies to break the ownership of thousands of hectares into different hands (without exceeding the limits of the agricultural family unit) prevail in this corridor. Second, the leasing of properties to bigger companies, in a process of regional productive clustering has climbed. Land accumulation is not always necessary when a process of specialization and productive re-concentration might be handled through a leasing scheme. According to interviews to members of the Municipal Council in Puerto Rico, the predominant system to usufruct land is the acquisition of properties to absent or original-land-titling owners who had the possession rights during the DMZ period. Direct ownership by conglomerates and medium entrepreneurs/investors who sale their production to bigger companies in Puerto Rico, seems to be the predominant land tenure system operating in the area.

And third, there is not only the representation of the palm industry as a legitimate and legal regulator of the social life in “former violent” territories but also the diffusion of an environmental discourse based on the promotion of clean energies

capable to enlighten the world and constrain the “perverse influence” of illicit rents. State and private discourses stimulating the palm industry are based on a number of moral, political, environmental, and transnational platforms, which might ease the implementation of programs of productive re-conversion and re-concentration such as the ones developed in this region. The legitimate discourse of conservation and green economies is effective to the extent that it easily sums adepts and global attention to a fair cause (the production of renewable energies with a minimum risk of deforestation) while guarantees both the conditions for global capital expansion (Corson 2010) and greater military access to territories where formal control has been limited (Bakker 2005, 2009; Castree 2008a, 2008b, 2009).

In that vein, the oil palm sector in Puerto Rico complies with two moral causes. First, it emerges as a legal solution for hundreds of families (usually attracted as salaried units) that have been victims of both the armed conflict and the illicit economies that have fed it up. Palm becomes the entry point to legality for former cocalero groups, even when the problem of land access (one of the fuels of the armed conflict) is still unsolved. And second, it guarantees optimal environmental and productive conditions to the extent that palm crops, at least in Puerto Rico, do not accelerate processes of deforestation and cleaning of forests to advance in the frontier. The northern side of this municipality is formed by flooded savannahs with no significant forest cover. In this encounter of opportunities, the consolidation of both a socio-cultural landscape typical of a monocrop system and renewed grabbing mechanisms to control, at least, 35,000 hectares, have emerged with intensity since 2008.

Increases in palm cultivations from Mapiripán to Puerto Rico tell the story of a spatially extensive industry that controls some of the most productive lands around the eastern border of the Ariari River. Also, although this spillover has defined the broader inter-regional limits of the palm industry in the High Plains (covering 13 million of hectares), it has also delimited the intra-municipal borders of two conflicting systems: the peasant economy and the agribusiness sector. Thus, a socio productive and spatial segregation between two property regimes is visible, creating some sort of ghettoization since the late 2000s.

I contend that transitions of this sort produce new forms of sociability leaving profound distortions in the social fabric (García, 2017). From continuous extractive booms that have connected Puerto Rico with the national economic cycles, palm has become the valve that has led this town to the complexities of the most lucrative transnational economies. A vision of legality, development, anti-insurgent progress, frontier expansion with no deforestation, and a program to “institutionalize and educate” the colonizer, have meant a process of territorial exclusion as some of the interviewees have noted: “What you find in those districts is the monopoly of

the monocrop. We cannot look over there. We can no longer cross those properties as we usually did... You see: we live enclosed in our own town” (Interview #15).³ Also, as other group of respondents highlight:

Although, in general, [political] violence has decreased, the new productive systems have meant a monopoly of the agribusiness [mentality]. Palm took all the lands and it is impossible to look toward those regions. Although, some people in the community have resisted, others have been working in the plantations as there are no economic options available. We [the respondents] do not do that. But many more have mouths to feed. There is a sense of exclusion. With coca we did not experience that. But palm has broken the town. These are new times. (Interview #28)⁴

The exclusion experienced by many who not only live near these crops but also have serious restrictions in the access of properties that are totally enclosed as well as the moral dilemmas they face before transitional, legalized, and more dynamic economies represent the denial of peasant identities settled in Puerto Rico since 1950s. These scenarios materialize new technologies of power (Feierstein, 2011; see also Castillejo 2014, 2015) and in that sense, provide renewed dilemmas to tenants and peasant owners, as García reminds us:

[Dichos habitantes] sobreviven entre el jornal que les ofrecen las empresas para llevar comida a casa y el hambre digna que se sufre en la mesa cuando no lo aceptan. Entre la complicidad con el saqueo sistemático de los recursos naturales de la isla para que la generación que venga pueda salir del desierto en el que se han convertido, y la lucha contra los planificadores del exterminio que han dejado sembrado el miedo en la isla. Entre la inmediatez del eterno presente y la ilusión de recuperar la libertad de la vida perdida (García 2017, 314).

Beyond this approach, I argue that the municipality of Puerto Rico experiences a sort of division that reinforces a very complex segregated landscape. The National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (1998), Eslava (2008), and Castillejo (2015), among others, reflect on the process of productive “recovery” derived from programs of transitional justice when they represent a continuum of exploitation, systemic exclusion, and ecological destruction linked to transnational chains of economic-environmental value and corporate governance.

As Castillejo (2015) reminds us, “en este contexto no se da ni una fractura radical con el pasado violento ni el prospecto de la promesa de una nueva sociedad”. That is why the implementation of transitional agendas is so controversial when the same political and economic hegemonies persist

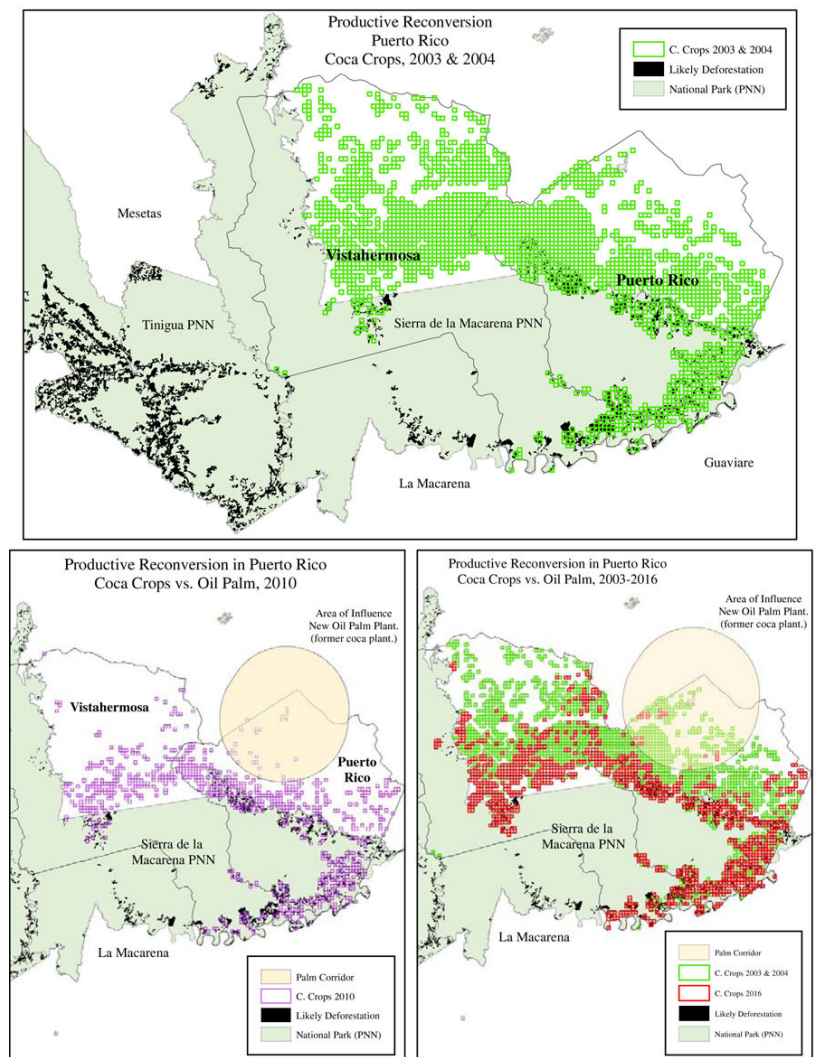
through renewed productive activities. The case of Puerto Rico is certainly ambiguous and complex to the extent that peasant groups made viable the titling of hundreds of properties before local and regional offices developed programs of infrastructural and productive reconversion. Preliminarily, exclusion did not come as a product of alienation but as a consequence of enclosure and spatial segregation. Even before the access to productive lands in the north was restricted and customary uses of land contested, land for peasant families was secured in the west. This character of alienation and homogenization typical of a monocrop scene was partially contained thanks to the alliance between the Office of Natural Parks and Agrogüejar through the titling experience previously described. Thus, a new fractured landscape and a multi-dimensional sense of belonging emerged. As a result, some peasant families became owners in the west, laborers in the north, and *raspachines/cocalero* growers in the south;

everything in the same town and as part of the same everyday experience.

Current Conditions and Final Remarks

Currently, the peasant enclosure in the west of Puerto Rico has been even more visible not only due to the palm consolidation in the north but also to the surge of coca cultivation after 2012. In 2010, SIMCI reported 757 hectares of coca in the municipality. Six years later the number of coca hectares had jumped to 1,800 hectares. In recent years and due to the emergence of criminal bands controlling new and more focalized forms of micro-trafficking, the peasant frontier has been pushed toward La Macarena National Park via coca and cattle in similar ways that have been found across adjacent NNPs.

Map # 3: Productive Reconversion – Coca Crops vs. Palm in the Municipality of Puerto Rico, 2000-2016



Source: SINAP, UNODC-SIMCI, SIGOT, and ELEMENTA

There is no recurrence of coca production in the north, where palm production has become the most important line. Coca and cattle pastures, in turn, are pushing the frontier toward La Macarena NNP from different fronts. And parallel to the resurgence of coca, there has been a transformation of forests into pastures, which are pushing up illegal accumulation of land in areas where the state does not have any type of control. Therefore, a combination of coca and cattle pastures seems to be altering the frontier, with the entrance of criminal paramilitary and guerrilla-dissident bands imposing a new territorial order. This situation contrasts with the transformation experienced in both the peasant reserve zone where coca cultivation is prohibited as recently titled properties must certify the inexistence of this crop to keep the title valid and along the northern palm corridor of the municipality of Puerto Rico.

State recovery and the progression of a contentious program, environmentally oriented, to stop coca, cattle and deforestation in conservation areas while promoting green economies with no risks of further deforestation in the north, re-territorialized the socio-spatial landscape and transformed the distribution of land and its associated uses. Peasant titling experiences, an enclosure of the traditional economy in the west and a re-introduction of coca cultivations inside the Park since 2015 contrast radically with the progress of land grabbing and the emergence of an enclave palm economy, fenced for social and security reasons in the north. The existence of two discourses and two conflictive developmental visions, might be attributed to the implementation of an environmental/military program by the State to increase its control inside a highly contested frontier and guarantee a stable and lasting post-conflict peace.

Thus, peasant titling in the west, coca in the south, and palm in the north summarize the segregated efforts by different groups to re-territorialize the Ariari. And in the middle of these territorial dynamics, coca has gone back and forth, stimulated by a highly profitable transnational chain of illicit rents. Coca has moved toward southern and more inaccessible districts inside la Macarena NNP, showing the fragility and ambiguity of state initiatives oriented, greatly, by an economic, environmental, and military transnational agenda.

Finally, recent events seem to support the idea that things might radicalize in the future. On one hand, the approval of Law 1726 of 2016 known as Ley de Zonas de Interés de Desarrollo Rural Económico y Social –ZIDRES– might propel land grabbing for productive purposes in public vacant lands as is happening right now in the department of Vichada. The new agribusiness sector in Puerto Rico could take advantage of this Law to enforce land grabbing and consolidate spatially extensive economies. On the other, increases in the number of coca hectares in Natural Parks especially in La Macarena, Tinigua, and Nukak as well as the expansion of the frontier via pastures and cattle by peasant colonizers with external support reinforce this idea of armed actors, illegal economies, and ethnic minorities (indigenous, peasant and Afro-Colombian communities) tied in an increasingly complex network of productive extraction, cultural survival, and political cooptation. All the above-mentioned processes occur in regions that are economically and institutionally attractive and those areas will be both strategic and revealing of the new conditions that Colombia will face under a new Post-Accords scenario.

Works Cited

- Arcila, O. et al. 1989. “Sectores de actividad económica regional”, in: *La Macarena: Reserva biológica de la humanidad*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia
- Asher, Kiran & Diana Ojeda. 2009. “Producing Nature and Making the State: Ordenamiento Territorial in the Pacific Lowlands of Colombia”. In, *Geoforum*, 40, 292-302.
- Bakker, Karen. 2005. “Neoliberalizing nature? Market environmentalism in water supply in England and Wales”. In, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95(3):542–565
- . 2009. Neoliberal nature, ecological fixes, and the pitfalls of comparative research. *Environment and Planning A* 41(8):1781–1787
- Beretta, S. and John Markoff. 2006. “Civilization and Barbarism”, in Coronil F. and J. Skurski (Eds.), *States of Violence*, University of Michigan Press. (originally in *CSSH*, 20/4, 1978, pp.587-620).
- Bocarejo, Diana. and Diana Ojeda. 2015. “Violence and conservation: Beyond unintended consequences and unfortunate coincidences”. In, *Geoforum* Volume 69, February 2016, Pages 176-183.

- Borras Saturnino. Jr., Jennifer Franco, Cristobal Kay, and Max Spoor. 2011. *Land grabbing in Latin America and the Caribbean viewed from broader international perspectives*. FAO Office, Santiago, Chile.
- Borras, Saturnino, Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, Ben White, and Wendy Wolford. 2011. “Towards a better understanding of global land grabbing: an editorial introduction”. In, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(2), 209–216
- Borras, Saturnino, Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, Ben White, and Wendy Wolford., eds. 2013. “Governing global land deals: the role of the state in the rush for land. Special Issue”. In, *Development and Change*.
- Brockington, Dan. 2009. *Celebrity and the Environment: Fame, Wealth, and Power in Conservation*. London: Zed Books
- Brockington, Dan, Jim Igoe, and Katia Neves. 2010. “A spectacular eco-tour around the historic bloc: Theorizing the convergence of biodiversity conservation and capitalist expansion”. In, *Antipode* 42 (3): 486-512.
- Brockington, Dan, and Jim Igoe. 2006. “Eviction for conservation: A global overview”. In, *Conservation and Society* 4 (3): 524-470.
- Brockington Dan, Rosaleen Duffy, and Jim Igoe. 2008. *Nature Unbound: Conservation, Capitalism, and the Future of Protected Areas*. London: Earthscan Publishers
- Brockington, Dan and Rosaleen Duffy. 2010. “Capitalism and Conservation: The Production and Reproduction of Biodiversity Conservation”. In, *Antipode* Vol. 42, pp 469–484
- Brockington Dan and Katherine Scholfield. 2010. “The conservationist mode of production and conservation NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa”. In, *Antipode* 42(3):551–575
- Cárdenas, Rosbelinda. 2012. “Green multiculturalism: articulations of ethnic and environmental politics in a Colombian ‘black community’” in *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39:2, 309-333
- Castillejo, Alejandro. 2014. “La Imaginación social del Futuro: notas para una comisión de verdad” en José Antequera (Comp.) *Detrás del espejo: los retos de las comisiones de verdad*. Bogotá: Centro de Memoria, Paz y Reconciliación
- Castillejo, Alejandro. 2015. *La imaginación social del porvenir: reflexiones sobre Colombia y el prospecto de una Comisión de la Verdad*. Buenos Aires: Clacso.
- Castree, Noel. 2007. “Neoliberal ecologies”. In, *Neoliberal environments: False promises and unnatural consequences*, eds. N. Heynen, S. Prudham, J. McCarthy, and P. Robbins, 281-286. London: Routledge.
- . 2008a. Neoliberalizing nature: “The logics of deregulation and reregulation”. In, *Environment and Planning A* 40 (1): 131-152.
- . 2008b. Neoliberalizing nature: Processes, effects, and evaluations. *Environment and Planning A* 40 (1): 153-173.
- Coronil, Fernando and Julie Skurski. 2006. *States of Violence*. University of Michigan 2006
- Corson, Catherine. 2010. “Shifting environmental governance in a neoliberal world: USAID for conservation”. In, *Antipode* 42 (3): 576–602.
- Devine Jennifer. 2017. “Colonizing space and commodifying place: tourism’s violent geographies”. In, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25:5, pages 634-650.
- Devine, Jennifer and Diana Ojeda. 2017. “Violence and dispossession in tourism development: a critical geographical approach”. In, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25:5, pages 605-617.
- Dijohn, Jonathan. 2002. “Mineral Resource Abundance and Violent Political Conflict. Crisis States”, *Working Paper Series #1*, LES, 2002.

- DNP. 2014. *Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social República de Colombia Departamento Nacional de Planeación POLÍTICA PARA EL DESARROLLO INTEGRAL DE LA ORINOQUIA: ALTILLANURA - FASE I*
- Duffy, Rosaleen. 2005. "The politics of global environmental governance: the powers and limitations of transfrontier conservation areas in Central America". In, *Rev. Int. Stud.* 31(2):307–23
- El Tiempo. 2006c (4 de agosto). "Por atentado de las FARC el Gobierno decidió iniciar fumigaciones en La Macarena" [en línea], disponible en: http://www.eltiempo.com/conflicto/noticias/ARTICULO-WEB-NOTA_INTERIOR-3066609.html
- _____. 2006a (12 de febrero). "El presidente Uribe estuvo en La Macarena y les ofreció casa a los 310 erradicadores que quedan", Bogotá
- _____. (2006b, 23 de enero). "Presidente Uribe inspeccionó labores de erradicación, arrancó coca y ofreció ayuda a raspachines", Bogotá
- Furtado, F. 2013. "La economía verde en Brasil: ¿El futuro que queremos o un paquete de bondad para las empresas?". In, *Medio ambiente. Deterioro o solución Río+20*, M. Florez et al., 43-84. Bogotá: Asociación Ambiente y Sociedad-ediciones Aurora.
- García, Juan F. 2017. "Mas allá del exterminio", in Castillejo, A. (comp.) *La ilusión de la justicia transicional. Perspectivas críticas desde el Sur Global*. Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes
- González, S. 2007. La erradicación manual de cultivos ilícitos en la sierra de La Macarena: un ejercicio sobre la futilidad de las políticas. Centro de Estudios y Observatorio de Drogas y Delito (CEODD). Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario
- Goodland, Jonathan. 2005. "Frontiers and wars". In, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 5/2
- Hogan, Richard. 1985. "Frontier as social control". In, *Theory and Society*, 14
- Humphreys, Macartan. 2005. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms", in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4: 508-537.
- INDEPAZ. 2015. Recoquista y despojo en la Altillanura. El Caso de Poligrow en Colombia, Amsterdam: SOMO
- Kahl, Colin. 2006. *States, Scarcity, and Civil Strife in the Developing World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- King, Charles. 2004. "The Micropolitics of Social Violence". In, *World Politics* 56:3, 431-455
- Korf, Benedikt. 2011. *Resources, Violence and Telluric Geography*, PIHG, 34.
- Kramer, Tom. 2009a. *Neither War nor Peace: The Future of the Cease-fire Agreements in Burma*. Transnational Institute, Amsterdam.
- Kramer, Tom. 2009b. *Burma's Cease-fires at Risk; Consequences of the Kokang Crisis for Peace and Democracy*. Transnational Institute, Amsterdam.
- Igoe, Jim. 2004. *Conservation and Globalisation: A Study of National Parks and Indigenous Communities from East Africa to South Dakota*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning
- Colombia, Ministerio de Ambiente, Vivienda y Desarrollo Territorial 2006. "Resolución 1742 del 31 de agosto de 2006", por la cual se formula un pliego de cargos y se toman otras determinaciones, Bogotá.
- Colombia, Ministerio del Interior y Justicia, Consejo Nacional de Estupefacientes. 2005. "Resolución 0015 del 5 de agosto de 2005, por la cual se concede una autorización (...) para decidir sobre la aspersion aérea con el herbicida Glifosato", in: *Diario Oficial*, número 46.037, Bogotá.

- Molano, A. et al. 1989. “Aproximación al proceso de colonización de la región del Ariari-Gejar- Guayabero”, in: *La Macarena: Reserva biológica de la humanidad*, Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Moore, Donald. 2005. *Suffering for territory: race, place and power in Zimbabwe*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- NNP. 2011a. *Documentación y Caracterización de la Experiencia de Ordenamiento Territorial y Formalización de la Tenencia de la Tierra en sectores aledaños al Parque Nacional Natural Sierra de La Macarena, Municipio de Puerto Rico I Departamento del Meta*. (2007-2011).
- _____. 2011b. *Parques Nacionales Naturales de Colombia. 2011. La estrategia integral y diferenciada de reordenamiento territorial y resolución de los conflictos por uso, ocupación y tenencia en las áreas protegidas y sus áreas de influencia*.
- _____. 2015. *Propuesta para la erradicación de cultivos de uso ilícito al interior y en las zonas con función amortiguadora de los parques nacionales naturales*.
- Oficina de las Naciones Unidas Contra la Droga y el Delito (2006). “Monitoreo de cultivos de coca” [en línea], disponible en: <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/colombia/simci/Censo%20Cultivos%20Colombia%202006.PDF>
- Ojeda, Diana. 2012. “Green pretexts: Ecotourism, neoliberal conservation and land grabbing in Tayrona National Natural Park, Colombia”. In, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39:2, 357-375
- Oxfam. 2013. *Divide y comprarás: Una nueva forma de concentrar tierras baldías en Colombia*. OXFAM, Pp. 40
- Peluso, Nancy. 1993. “Coercing conservation? The politics of state resource control”. In, *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 3, Issue 2, Pp. 199-217.
- Peluso, Nancy and Cristian Lund. 2011. “New Frontiers of Land Control: Introduction”. In, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38:4, 667-681.
- Puentes Ramos, José. 2018. “Puerto Rico: de pueblo cocalero a prospecto de despensa agrícola,” *Semana* [en línea], disponible: <https://semanarural.com/web/articulo/puerto-rico-meta-de-pueblo-cocalero-a-despensa-agricola/628>
- Colombia, Presidencia de la República. 2006 (23 de enero). “Palabras del Presidente a erradicadores de cultivos ilícitos de La Macarena”, [en línea], available in: <http://www.presidencia.gov.co/sne/2006/enero/23/15232006.htm>
- Colombia, Presidencia de la República. 2006 (12 de febrero). “Palabras del presidente Uribe a los erradicadores de La Macarena”, [en línea], disponible en: <http://www.presidencia.gov.co/sne/2006/febrero/12/01122006.htm>
- Redclift, Michael. 2005. *Frontiers*. Routledge.
- Richards, Paul. 1999. *Fighting for the Rainforest. War, Youth & Resources in Sierra Leone*. Heinemann.
- Richards, Paul and Krijn Peters. 2011. “Rebellion and agrarian tensions in Sierra Leone”, in *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 11.
- Robertson, Morgan. 2011. “Measurement and Alienation: Making a World of Ecosystem Services”. In, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 7 n.º 3: 386–401
- Ross, Michael. 2006. “A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War”. In, *Annual Review of Political Science* 9, no. 1 (6): 265-300.
- Ruiz, M. (2006). *Operación Colombia Verde ¿asunto de locos?*
- Vandergest, Peter and Nancy Peluso. 1995. “Territorialization and state power in Thailand”. In, *Theory and Society*, 35, 385–426.

- Taraki, Lisa. 2008. "Enclave Micropolis: The Paradoxical Case of Ramallah/al-Bireh". In, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 37(4), 6–20.
- Velez Hildebrando e Irene Velez. 2008. "Los espejismos de los agrocombustibles". In, *Agrocombustibles «Llenando tanques, vaciando territorios»*, ed. I. Velez, 15-58. Bogota: CENSAT Agua Viva y El Proceso de Comunidades Negras en Colombia-PCN.
- West, Paige, Jim Igoe and Brockington, Dan. 2006. "Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas". In, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:1, Pp. 251-277
- Woods, Kevin. 2011. "Ceasefire Capitalism: Military–Private Partnerships, Resource Concessions and Military–State Building in the Burma–China borderlands". In, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38:4
- ZRC. 2012. *Plan de Desarrollo Sostenible de ZRC del sector Güejar-Cafre de Puerto Rico*, Meta. Mayo

Notes

1. Interview # 29 with a male social leader that lived in Puerto Toledo during the early 2000s and has knowledge of the broader transformations experienced in Puerto Rico during the last two decades.
2. For Castillejo (2015), the predominant discourse around the transitional justice(s) usually entails the advent of a new future. According to the author: "lo que me interesa resaltar aquí es que esta idea de ruptura esconde más bien una dialéctica entre el cambio y la continuidad implícita en el paradigma transicional, aplicado particularmente a ciertos contextos (Fletcher y Weinstein, 2002). Con esto lo que quiero decir es que en el marco de esta dialéctica entre el antes y el después, se dan reformas y programas, en áreas específicas de una sociedad, en donde operan mecanismos que dan la impresión de un movimiento hacia adelante" (Castillejo, 2015: 19).
3. Interview # 15 with a group of leaders that, at the moment of the interview (mid-2016), were participating in projects of social development with different NGOs.
4. Interview # 28 with a social leader that lived in Puerto Toledo during the early 2000s and left the area during the post-Caguán period. He actively participates in the promotion of socio-economic and peasant-oriented projects in different districts in the Ariari region, not only in the municipality of Puerto Rico.